University of London

606136

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/reportsfromcommi0039grea_i8t8

REPORTS

FROM

COMMISSIONERS:

TWENTY-FOUR VOLUMES.

—(24.)—

TRADES UNIONS.

Session

19 *November* 1867 —— 31 *July* 1868.

VOL. XXXIX.

1867-8.

REPORTS FROM COMMISSIONERS:

1867-8.

TWENTY-FOUR VOLUMES:—CONTENTS OF THE

TWENTY-FOURTH VOLUME.

N. B.—*THE* Figures *at the* beginning of the line, *correspond with the* N° *at the foot of each* Paper; *and the* Figures *at the* end of the line, *refer to the* MS. Paging *of the Volumes arranged for The House of Commons.*

TRADES UNIONS:

[3980-I.] FIFTH REPORT of the COMMISSIONERS appointed to inquire into the ORGANIZATION and RULES of TRADES UNIONS and other ASSOCIATIONS; together with MINUTES of EVIDENCE - p 1

[3980-II.] SIXTH REPORT; together with MINUTES of EVIDENCE and APPENDIX - - - - - - - - - - 149

[3980-III.] SEVENTH REPORT; together with MINUTES of EVIDENCE, 259

[3980-IV.] EIGHTH REPORT; together with MINUTES of EVIDENCE, 325

[3980-V.] NINTH REPORT; together with MINUTES of EVIDENCE - 375

[3980-VI.] TENTH REPORT; together with MINUTES of EVIDENCE - 445

[3980.] REPORT presented to the TRADES UNIONS COMMISSIONERS by the EXAMINERS appointed to inquire into ACTS of INTIMIDATION, OUTRAGE, or WRONG, alleged to have been Promoted, Encouraged, or Connived at by TRADES UNIONS in MANCHESTER and its Neighbourhood.—Vol. I. REPORT - - - - - - 571

Vol. II. MINUTES of EVIDENCE - - - - - - 597

FIFTH REPORT

OF

THE COMMISSIONERS

APPOINTED TO INQUIRE INTO THE

ORGANIZATION AND RULES OF TRADES UNIONS AND OTHER ASSOCIATIONS:

TOGETHER WITH

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY GEORGE EDWARD EYRE AND WILLIAM SPOTTISWOODE,
PRINTERS TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.
FOR HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE.

1868.

CONTENTS.

	Page
COMMISSION - - - - - - - - - -	iii
REPORT - - - - - - - - - - -	v
MINUTES OF EVIDENCE - - - - - - - -	1
INDEX OF WITNESSES - - - - - - -	142

COMMISSION.

VICTORIA R.

Victoria, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith.

To Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Sir William Erle, Knight; Our right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin Thomas George Earl of Lichfield; Our trusty and well-beloved Francis Charteris, Esquire (commonly called Lord Elcho); Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Sir Edmund Walker Head, Baronet, Knight Commander of Our most Honourable Order of the Bath; Our trusty and well-beloved Sir Daniel Gooch, Baronet; Our trusty and well-beloved Herman Merivale, Esquire, Companion of Our most Honourable Order of the Bath; Our trusty and well-beloved James Booth, Esquire, Companion of Our most Honourable Order of the Bath; Our trusty and well-beloved John Arthur Roebuck, Esquire, one of Our Counsel learned in the Law; Our trusty and well-beloved Thomas Hughes, Esquire, and Frederic Harrison, Esquire, Barristers at Law; and Our trusty and well-beloved William Mathews, Esquire, greeting.

Whereas it has been represented unto Us that it is expedient that inquiry should be made into the several matters herein-after mentioned.

Now Know Ye, that We, reposing great trust and confidence in your ability and discretion, have nominated, constituted, and appointed, and do by these Presents nominate, constitute, and appoint, you, the said Sir William Erle, Thomas George Earl of Lichfield, Francis Charteris, Esquire (commonly called Lord Elcho), Sir Edmund Walker Head, Sir Daniel Gooch, Herman Merivale, James Booth, John Arthur Roebuck, Thomas Hughes, Frederic Harrison, and William Mathews, to be Our Commissioners for the purposes of the said inquiry.

And We do hereby enjoin you, or any Four of you, to inquire into and report on the Organization and Rules of Trades Unions and other Associations, whether of Workmen or Employers, and to inquire into and report on the effect produced by such Trades Unions and Associations on the Workmen and Employers respectively, and on the Relations between Workmen and Employers, and on the Trade and Industry of the Country; with power to investigate any recent acts of intimidation, outrage, or wrong alleged to have been promoted, encouraged, or connived at by such Trades Unions or other Associations, and also to suggest any improvements to be made in the law with respect to the matters aforesaid, or with respect to the relations between Workmen and their Employers, for the mutual benefit of both parties.

And for the better discovery of the truth in the premises, We do by these Presents give and grant unto you, or any Four of you, full power and authority to call before you, or any Four of you, such persons as you shall judge necessary, by whom you may be better informed of the truth in the premises, and to inquire of the premises and every part thereof by all other lawful ways and means whatsoever.

And Our further Will and Pleasure is that you, Our said Commissioners, do, with as little delay as may be consistent with a due discharge of the duties hereby imposed upon you, certify unto Us from time to time, under your hands and seals, your several proceedings in the premises.

And We do further will and command, and by these Presents ordain, that this Our Commission shall continue in full force and virtue, and that you, our said Commissioners, or any Four of you, shall and may from time to time proceed in the execution thereof, and of every matter or thing therein contained, although the same be not continued from time to time by adjournment.

And for your assistance in the execution of these Presents We do hereby authorize and empower you to appoint a Secretary to this Our Commission, to attend you, whose services and assistance We require you to use from time to time as occasion may require.

Given at Our Court at St. James, the Twelfth day of February 1867, in the Thirtieth Year of Our Reign.

By Her Majesty's Command.

S. H. WALPOLE.

FIFTH REPORT.

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

We, Your Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into and report on the Organization and Rules of Trades Unions and other Associations, whether of Workmen or Employers, and to inquire into and report on the effects produced by such Trades Unions and Associations on the Workmen and Employers respectively, and on the Relations between Workmen and Employers, and on the Trade and Industry of the Country; with power to investigate any recent acts of intimidation, outrage, or wrong alleged to have been promoted, encouraged, or connived at by such Trades Unions or other Associations, and also to suggest any improvements to be made in the law with respect to the matters aforesaid, or with respect to the relations between Workmen and their Employers, for the mutual benefit of both parties, have held several meetings, and humbly beg leave to submit to Your Majesty the evidence given before us at our meetings held upon the 20th, 21st, 22nd, 27th, 28th, and 29th days of November 1867, and upon the 3rd and 10th days of March 1868.

(Signed) W. ERLE, Chairman.
LICHFIELD.
ELCHO.
DANIEL GOOCH.
H. MERIVALE.
JAMES BOOTH.
J. A. ROEBUCK.
THOMAS HUGHES.
FREDERIC HARRISON.
WM. MATHEWS.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE THE

ROYAL COMMISSION

APPOINTED TO INQUIRE INTO

TRADES UNIONS AND OTHER ASSOCIATIONS.

1, Park Prospect, Westminster, Wednesday, 20th November 1867.

PRESENT :

The Right Hon. Sir WILLIAM ERLE.	HERMAN MERIVALE, Esq., C.B.
The Right Hon. the EARL of LICHFIELD.	JAMES BOOTH, Esq., C.B.
Lord ELCHO, M.P.	FREDERIC HARRISON, Esq.
Sir DANIEL GOOCH, Bart., M.P.	WILLIAM MATHEWS, Esq.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR WILLIAM ERLE IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. JOHN KANE examined.

Mr. J. Kane.
20 Nov. 1867.

8205. (*Chairman.*) What is the society of which you are the president ?—I am president of what is called the National Association of Ironworkers, whose headquarters until recently have been at Gateshead ; they are now at Walsall.

8206. (*Mr. Mathews.*) May I ask you what your occupation was before you became president of the National Association ?—A roller.

8207. How many years is it since you were a roller ?—It was in the beginning of 1864 that I left off rolling.

8208. Have you been a practical workman since 1864 at all ?—No, I have not since the month of March 1864, when I lost my situation in consequence of defending the Leeds and Low Moor men when locked out.

8209. Where did you work then ?—I worked for 28 years with Messrs. Hawkes, Crawshay, and Sons, at Gateshead.

8210. Do you reside now at Gateshead ?—I still reside at Gateshead.

8211. What is your occupation now at Gateshead, irrespective of being president of the National Association of Ironworkers ?—I have no other occupation except looking after the interests of the association, and travelling from place to place as circumstances may require.

8212. You do not keep a public house ?—No ; I have not such a misfortune.

8213. May I ask whether this is a paid office that you hold as president of the association ?—Yes.

8214. And may I ask, if it is not an impertinent question, what the rate of pay is which you have for undertaking this duty ?—140*l.* per year.

8215. What particular district do you take immediate charge of ?—At the present time do you mean, or during the past ?

8216. Recently, until the place of meeting was changed from Gateshead to Walsall ?—My duties have extended, since I accepted the office, from Cardiff in Wales to Motherwell in Scotland.

8217. In point of fact, this National Association of ironworkers embraces a very large area ?—A very large area.

8218. And your business has been to communicate with the different districts for the purpose of getting a joint co-operation between all the districts for certain objects ?—Yes, in the past that has been so.

8219. What is the number of the members in this National Association ?—I could not say what the number of members is exactly now, because since the last dispute that we had with the employers, commencing in July 1866, and terminating in the beginning of the present year, the suffering of the men and the depression of trade have been such that I should say the larger number of men have been recently non-paying members.

8220. Have you any idea what the total number was at that time of paying and non-paying members ?—Up to that period non-paying and paying members would number about 6,500. The *bonâ fide* members, such I mean as we could always rely upon, would be, say about 5,000.

8221. Have you any statement showing what the annual income is of this association ?—The annual income from July 1865 to July 1866, after paying off some very heavy claims consequent on the great lock out (what is called the national lock out of the iron trade in 1865) was something like 4,000*l.* gathered together in the various lodges.

8222. Was that the net income or the gross income ?—That was the amount after settling the other claims ; that was the amount of money we had in hand when the strike commenced.

8223. That was the cash balance in fact ?—Yes, the cash balance.

8224. I want to know the actual income of this association ?—The actual income at that time was 6,000*l.* ; it would not be anything like that now, not more than one-sixth of that.

8225. You think it would be about 1,000*l.* a year now ?—Yes, I should think it would ; but I wish the Commissioners distinctly to understand this, that an immense number of men are now out of employment. Those that are out of employment pay nothing —many of those that have employment, many in consequence of short time, are not expected to pay, nor can they pay even if we would desire it, and taking

Mr. J. Kane.
20 Nov. 1867.

that fact in addition to the very low prices to which the employers have reduced the value of labour, it now seems a very serious question whether the men can live or not.

8226. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) What is the proportion of the men in the union not paying to those that are paying?—I should think not above one-tenth of the men are paying at the present time.

8227. (*Mr. Mathews.*) I suppose that in the iron trade, owing to the depression of trade, a very large proportion of men are out of employment?—A considerable number are out of employment, and a considerable number are working short time, and there is a still larger number that are very badly paid for their labour.

8228. To what do you attribute the want of employment in the iron trade chiefly?—A reckless competition is, in my opinion, the cause of it, and the large number of works which have recently been established in the north of England, and the continuous desire on the part of some of the employers to undersell each other.

8229. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) How does a lower price of iron put men out of work; competition produces low prices, does it not?—Yes.

8230. How does that reduce the number of men employed?—I do not know that it reduces the quantity of iron made, it rather increases it.

8231. Then it affects the number of men employed by increasing it?—Unfortunately there have been instances, where men's wages have been reduced, by the men endeavouring to execute more work, and then those that are out of employment stand less chance of getting in.

8232. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Then do you make out that there is a larger amount of work executed by fewer men, does not the quantity of iron made regulate the number of men employed?—I think it can be proved in the following way: I know some of the works that formerly used to work only five heats at puddling, they are now with the same quality of iron working six.

8233. Would not the wages of the men be equivalent to the number of hours that each man worked?—It ought to be.

8234. Is it not so?—Not now.

8235. We will take puddling for instance, which is the first process and regulates the rest—is not the puddling paid by a certain rate per ton on the quantity of iron made?—Yes, undoubtedly.

8236. If a man works six heats instead of five he gets in proportion?—There has been a custom in the north of England that the men should be paid according to the quality of the pig metal.

8237. Still they are paid upon the ton?—Yes.

8238. Whatever the quantity of the pig metal, they are paid upon the number of tons produced per week from a given furnace?—Yes.

8239. If there is a great competition, and they make six heats instead of five, the puddler gets more?—That is in the event of their receiving more, which they do not always receive. Frequently strong grey pig iron is given to the men to work as six heat iron. I have known many disputes arise in consequence of the inability of the men to produce more than five heats in 12 hours.

8240. The earnings of the puddler must be in proportion to the number of tons of iron made, must they not?—There are some classes of iron that were paid as much as 18*s.* per ton in the north of England, what was called roasting iron. There were, however, other classes, such as hematite iron, which were paid prior to the dispute generally about from 11*s.* to 12*s.* per ton. The price that is now paid for it is not near so high as that. It is quite true that there is a cause to be assigned, namely, the fall in the price of iron, but (the arrangement is not carried out now to the same extent as formerly) there is a larger proportion of hematite mixed with common iron, which frequently causes the puddler to run into five heats where formerly he could work six.

8241. We will take the Middlesborough district, which is the largest district contiguous to you. In the Middlesborough district, taking the ordinary run of iron, would not the puddler earn more in six heats?—If he was working common iron he would get more for working six heats than he would get for working five heats.

8242. And is not the bulk of the iron made in Middlesborough iron of that description?—There is a considerable quantity made in that district for tops and bottoms for rails, cable iron, and plates.

8243. Have you ever considered what proportion of the cost of a ton of bar iron consists of wages exclusively without reference to the other ingredients constituting the charge? We will take bar iron to be now at 6*l.* 10*s.* a ton, what proportion of that 6*l.* 10*s.* do you consider as wages entirely?—I have not devoted particular attention to that question, and had I known that that would have been a question asked of me I would have prepared a suitable answer. I would not like to give a mere guessing answer to that question.

8244. If I state to you that taking a ton of bar iron at 6*l.* 10*s.*, upwards of 5*l.* 10*s.* consists entirely and exclusively of wages, would that be far off the mark do you think?—No, I should think not.

8245. Then in the event of a fall of 20*s.* a ton in the price of bar iron, does it not become absolutely necessary for the ironmaster, if he is not to stop his works, to reduce the wages in proportion to the reduction in the price of iron?—Yes; but I have to observe that the system of continual reduction does not necessarily increase the consumption. You have money very cheap at the present time, but nobody appears to care much for it. The speculators do not appear to have taken much advantage of it.

8246. A reduction of price in one district must operate all over England, must it not?—The best answer to that would be the number of mills now standing and the immense number of men now out of employment.

8247. When the price of iron was higher there was a good demand. Now there is a bad demand and the price of iron falls, is not that so?—Most undoubtedly, which has not necessarily increased the number of workers.

8248. Take large works at Middlesborough, Mr. Barningham's for instance, I suppose that Mr. Barningham furnishes about 1,000 tons a week?—About 850 tons with the mill he is now working.

8249. If Mr. Barningham furnishes 850 tons a week and the price of iron is reduced a pound a ton, that makes a difference of 850*l.* a week to Mr. Barningham?—Yes.

8250. And inasmuch as the cost of labour would be 5*l.* 10*s.* to a ton of iron out of the 6*l.* 10*s.* for which it is sold (assuming that to be the case), would it be possible for Mr. Barningham to continue his works without immediately effecting a reduction of the wages to his men?—I do not know that it would; but there is no necessity that Mr. Barningham, for the sake of impoverishing his men, should go into the market and take the orders lower than the market price. I understand that the manufacturers have their fortnightly and monthly meetings, and they have two separate organs to represent the interests of the trade. They know exactly what orders there are in the market, and if they go and seek orders at such low prices it is only fair to infer that the men could not live at such prices, besides, the men should be consulted in all matters which so seriously effect their social interests.

8251. Would it not be a necessity on the part of Mr. Barningham to reduce the wages in some degree equivalent to the fall in the price of iron or stop his works?—One of the alternatives must follow, but the standing argument of Messrs. Barningham has been Let us reduce the price of iron to the Welsh figure.

8252. Would he not be obliged to reduce the price of iron to the Welsh figure, being a competitor with the Welsh for making rails for instance?—I do not

think that he would, because there is a difference in the quality of the manufactured article.

8253. Whatever the quality of the rails, if the price of Welsh rails were to fall, would not Mr. Barningham be compelled to reduce in the same proportion?—That would depend upon the contracts and quality.

8254. If Mr. Barningham said, "I want orders for rails, and I must get orders or I must stop my works," would he not be compelled to go down in price in proportion to that of the Welsh rails?—If he were living from hand to mouth, but if he had a large contract on hand, and in consequence of the Welsh masters accepting contracts at a lower figure reduced the wages that he (Mr. Barningham) was paying, it might be that he would just gain double the profit which he formerly received by the reduction.

8255. If he has contracts upon one occasion at a high price, he would very likely have contracts on another occasion at a low price. Therefore we will put that on one side. I ask whether a reduction of 20*s.* a ton that Mr. Barningham is obliged to make to get orders would not involve the necessity either of reducing the wages of his men in the same proportion or of compelling the stoppage of his works, seeing that it would make a difference of 850*l.* a week to him if he were to reduce a pound a ton on the bar iron?—No doubt it is so, if you put the argument in that way.

8256. Mine is not an argument, it is simply a question?—I am quite prepared to admit that such would be the case as you put it, but the argument cuts both ways.

8257. I think you stated something about a strike which occurred sometime ago in the Middlesborough district and in North Staffordshire; there was a strike I think which happened when there was an attempt to reduce wages 12 months ago?—I may simply state that if we are to go into the question of strikes, we would have to go back beyond the North Staffordshire one, and now we have got into a curious method of defining strikes as lock-outs and lock-outs as strikes.

8258. I want to ascertain whether there was not a strike at Middlesborough, and in North Staffordshire, consequent upon a reduction in the price of iron?—I am not aware of any in North Staffordshire then. In the Middlesborough district there was.

8259. Was there not a strike also in North Staffordshire?—That was at the beginning of 1865.

8260. A little more than two years ago there was a general strike in all the districts, in fact?—I cannot say that there was a general strike; there was a strike in North Staffordshire and a lock-out in the other districts.

8261. Was there not a strike in Middlesborough then?—Not that I am aware of.

8262. If you recollect, I think I heard of your name as being tolerably active in connexion with that strike, both in Middlesborough and in North Staffordshire?—If you are referring to the time when the men were out in North Staffordshire we had no strike in the North of England then.

8263. There was a strike previous to that?—Yes, in connexion with the lock-out at Leeds in 1864.

8264. The strike arose from the ironmasters giving the men a notice of a reduction of 10 per cent., did it not?—In 1866 it did.

8265. The strike resulted; the men would not submit to a reduction of 10 per cent.?—Not exactly that. The masters stated 10 per cent. on puddling, but on mill work they put out no fixed scale until they put out what was called the revised list, which amounted in many instances to 60 per cent.

8266. I will take puddling as the general standard, was there not a notice given by the masters for a 10 per cent. reduction, incident upon a fall of 1*l.* in the price of bar iron?—Not in consequence of the fall of bar iron, but in consequence of the depression of trade. These reasons were assigned afterwards, but not at the time the notice was given.

8267. Was there not a reduction of 1*l.* a ton in the price of bar iron, and did not the masters in consequence of that say they must reduce the wages 10 per cent.?—The masters did not say so, inasmuch as the masters held a meeting in south Staffordshire shortly after, and declared that the price should remain the same for the next quarter.

8268. In the Middlesborough district I am asking?—No such reason was assigned.

8269. What reason was assigned for giving notice to the men?—It is stated there (*handing a report to Mr. Mathews*).

8270. The notice given by the masters is embodied in this printed form. "In consequence of the depressed state of trade, notice is hereby given to all "the men employed at these forges and mills that "they must consider their engagement with *. . . "at an end on Saturday, July 14th, 1866, unless it be "arranged before that day to continue the works in "operation at a reduction of one shilling per ton on "puddling, and not less than 10 per cent. on forge "and mill men's wages and contract prices connected "therewith." This states that the notice was given in consequence of the depressed state of trade. I suppose "the depressed state of trade" means a fall in price?—That may or may not be, but it did not put it in the form you do.

8271. I will put it thus; was not the notice given in consequence of the depressed state of trade in the district?—We have always been in the habit of considering that the South Staffordshire prices regulated the prices elsewhere, and that the initiative for a rise or fall in wages took place there. The men, therefore, considered that the whole affair was something novel, and certainly very unpleasant, in consequence of the masters in the north taking joint action against the men.

8272. Was not this notice given in consequence of the depressed state of trade in the Middlesborough district?—The masters assigned that reason in that statement, but I know that at the time there were none of the works standing.

8273. "The depressed state of trade" would imply that there was a reduction in price, would it not?—It might, or it might mean men working short time at good prices; men do occasionally work short time at good prices.

8274. But men do not work short time at good prices. This notice was given according to this printed form, "In consequence of the depressed state "of trade in the Middlesborough district," and the "depressed state of trade" means of course a fall in the price of iron?—Yes, but the employers declared they were paying above the current rates.

8275. Would it be possible for masters with a reduction of 20*s.* a ton in the price of iron to carry on their works paying the previous rate of wages without ruining themselves speedily?—If such were the state of things it would not be possible; but the men did not believe that, in consequence of an arrangement having been come to with the employers in the north.

8276. I want to ascertain whether the masters did not allege that there was a depressed state of trade in the Middlesborough district, which meant that the price of iron was reduced, and whether the reduction in the price of iron did not involve a reduction in wages?—I may simply state that according to the notice it evidently meant the depressed state of trade. But another reason why the men did not believe it was this, that every workman in the North of England was working full time, and the returns of the Board of Trade may form a fair criterion. A depression of trade means executing less orders; instead of less there were more.

8277. So that in order to make the men consistent in their opposition to the reduction in the price, they assume that the masters are not stating the truth when they state that there is a depressed state of trade?—No doubt of it, and they are not always in the habit of believing that the masters speak the truth, and I am

Mr. J. Kane.
20 Nov. 1867.

sorry to say that there is too much reason for not always believing some of the employers.

8278. I think you took some active part in that strike?—I did.

8279. And with the fact that the cost of labour was 5*l.* 10*s.* a ton, it would be impossible for a master to continue his work without an equivalent reduction in wages, would it not?—The employers in the North of England have great advantages over Wales and Scotland, which are the two places that they have most to compete against. They are adjacent to a seaboard. It is not so in Staffordshire, and it is not so in some of the other districts, and their mines can be worked much cheaper.

8280. The Middlesborough employers you say have an advantage over Wales and Scotland—in what does that advantage consist?—In being able to get the work done much cheaper than in the other places.

8281. Are you aware what the price of puddling is in Wales?—I am, it is 5*s.* a ton for some qualities.

8282. What is it in Middlesborough?—The present price in Middlesborough for what is called common iron, I think, is 8*s.* per ton and 7*s.* 6*d.*

8283. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Is that the same class as the Welsh at 5*s.*?—No, it is superior iron to what they have in Wales.

8284. (*Mr. Mathews.*) If you pay as a medium price 8*s.* for puddling in the Middlesborough district (and the rate for puddling regulates in the rough the wages paid in other departments), what advantage does that give the Middlesborough people over the Welsh who pay only 5*s.* for puddling?—In Wales they can do with a boy, in the North of England they must have a very strong man.

8285. But that would not make the difference between 8*s.* and 5*s.*?—Where the price is so low in Wales they can bring out 34 cwt. a turn; in the North of England the make does not exceed 22 cwt. and a half per ton.

8286. The cost per ton would be the same in proportion?—Not exactly. If you can bring the same work out of the same furnace, 34 cwt. instead of 22 cwt. and a half, it must necessarily assist the employers very much in meeting any extra expense, or competing against any other party supposed to be a rival in the market.

8287. You do not know probably about the cost of pig iron and the wages paid in forming pig iron?—Not particularly.

8288. When I made use just now of Mr. Barningham's name I merely mentioned Mr. Barningham's name as an illustration of the general Middlesborough trade, Mr. Barningham being one of the large employers. The questions that would apply in the case of Mr. Barningham would apply in the case of all the other large Middlesborough masters, Messrs. Bolckow and Vaughan, Messrs. Hopkins and Company, or works of a similar character to theirs?—They would, but we have not had so much trouble with Messrs. Hokings & Co., as with Barningham, the men have been able to settle their affairs much easier with the former firm than with the latter.

8289. There is no truck in the Middlesborough district, is there?—Undoubtedly there has been, and there may be now for anything I know to the contrary. There is a very large shop near the railway station, and the men from Messrs. —— firm were in the habit of occasionally taking notes to that shop.

8290. That has not been made matter of complaint and grievance, has it?—Not recently; Mr. Roberts put it down.

8291. We may assume now that there is no grievance existing of which the men complain on the score of truck?—Not that I am aware of.

8292. Reverting to my former question, I want to ascertain whether it is possible in the case of a large ironwork, assuming a reduction in the price of iron of 20*s.* per ton, for the ironmaster to continue his work without an equivalent reduction in the rate of wages?—I should think not, but a reduction below present rates with short work, higher house rent and higher priced food will demoralize the workmen by increasing pauperism.

8293. So that if an ironmaster finds occasion to reduce his wages in consequence of a reduction in the price of iron it cannot be called tyranny, it is simply a matter of necessity?—May I ask whether you put that question to me in connexion with the late dispute?

8294. I ask it in connexion with all disputes?—My reason for asking the question of you is this, that the masters published a code of rules wherein they stated that prior to any dispute taking place a conference of masters and men should be held. Now when the late notice for reduction was given that was entirely overlooked.

8295. Was a conference held with the employers?—No.

8296. Was there any conference held in any other district with the employers during the late strike?—I am not aware of any.

8297. Was there a conference held in North Staffordshire?—I am not aware, not to my knowledge. I believe that some gentlemen in North Staffordshire took a very active part in endeavouring to get up a conference, and had an interview with some of the men, but as to a conference of employers and employed, I am not aware that such a thing took place, at any rate I was not present at any.

8298. You took an interest in promoting a meeting in North Staffordshire?—No. I have stated that the rules of the masters in the north of England made the arrangement that prior to anything in the nature of a strike or lock-out being likely to take place in consequence of a reduction in the selling price of iron a conference of the men with the employers should take place.

8299. Are you speaking now of the Middlesborough district?—Of the North of England.

8300. You think that the occasion of the strike on the part of the men in the Middlesborough district was that the masters would not hold such a conference, is that so?—I do not know if that was the only cause of it. All the reasons assigned by the employers were laid before the men.

8301. Do you mean that the masters laid before the men the reasons on which they acted?—They were expected to do so, but they did not do so.

8302. Did they not state in this notice which I have already read, that they had given notice of a reduction, because of the depressed condition of the iron trade?—Yes, but the men required proof.

8303. Was there any doubt about that?—Yes, the return of the board of trade caused a doubt, and the fact of nearly all the works working full time.

8304. Would the return of the board of trade give any intimation as to prices or as to the effect of the exportation of iron upon the manufacture?—If there was a depression of trade the manufactured tonnage would necessarily be less, I should think.

8305. Have you any doubt that this "depression of trade" meant a reduction in the price of iron?—I have no doubt that such a construction could be put upon it.

8306. Have you any doubt of the fact?—I am not aware that any general reduction in the price of iron had taken place. This impression is confirmed by the South Staffordshire ironmasters deciding to reduce the selling price of iron.

8307. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) The Board of Trade return does not show the home consumption of iron?—No, but the works being fully employed would show that.

8308. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Supposing that there is a large exportation of iron (which the Board of Trade alone takes cognizance of) may not that be consistent with a large falling off in the home consumption?—In that case the works would be working short time.

8309. And it would be in consequence of the state of the iron trade being depressed that the men would work short time?—But they did not work short time until afterwards. If the reasons had been clear, and

such as you have stated, that is to say, if the men had been suffering from depression of trade, and working short time, say three or four days per week instead of five or six, I do not believe that there would have been such great objections on the part of the men to accept the reduction.

8310. Is it not a serious loss to a master to work half time ?—No doubt of it.

8311. The master would work full time as long as he could, until the reduction in the price of iron compelled him to stop ?—I think it is not the custom of masters in the north of England to work rails on stock in such a case save where they have a contract.

8312. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) As soon as the contract was run out there would be a depression of trade ?—Yes.

8313. And the master must look forward to that time ?—Yes.

8314. There has been a depression of railway trade since that period, has there not ?—Yes.

8315. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You being the president of the ironworkers union, the men would naturally confer and advise with you as to what was to be done in the event of a reduction of wages and why there was a reduction of wages ?—The printed form that was sent out by the employers we sent to every lodge within two days after it was issued by the employers. There was three weeks notice given by the employers, and we showed very clearly I think, at least we endeavoured to show, that if the men resisted it there was nothing for them to depend upon but starvation.

8316. That is to say, there was nothing to do but stop the works ?—The works were stopped. The employers appeared determined to make a serious reduction.

8317. That would be the natural result ?—We endeavoured to show that from all appearances the masters were determined to carry out their intentions so far as they were embodied in the notice, and I stated before that one of the chief causes of resistance to the notice was the indefinite character of that part of the notice which refers to the mill men, the reduction amounting in many instances to 60 per cent.

8318. But you, being the president of the Ironworkers' Association, and advising the men (which your experience and discretion qualified you to do, I daresay) upon all points relating to resistance to a notice, would be fully acquainted with the state of the market as to the price of iron just as well as a master. That would be a part of your business, I presume, for you would not be competent to advise the men unless you had more information than the men themselves. It would seem naturally to follow that you had information about the state of the trade, and you would admit, I suppose, that you did possess that knowledge ?—Of course it has always been my duty to get all the information I could on such matters.

8319. No doubt you would get as much information on this point as any ironmaster was capable of getting. The public papers would enable you to know whether there was any change. All that information you would possess, and possessing that knowledge did you deliberately advise the men to strike against this reduction ?—I did not.

8320. In point of fact the men struck because they did not like a reduction of wages although there was an admitted necessity on the part of the ironmasters that the wages must be reduced ?—I am not prepared to have it put in that form. I have stated that the mill men and the puddlers were all in one society. I am certain that the puddlers would have settled much sooner but for the fact of standing out in defence of the mill men ; the prices that were attempted to be taken off mill men and the shinglers amounted to 50 or 60 per cent.

8321. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) There is nothing in this notice about 50 or 60 per cent ?—No.

8322. It is "not less than 10 per cent." 60 per cent. is a large jump from 10 per cent. ?—But another notice was put out; they put it out then in the form of what was called a revised list. But the men had opportunities of appointing deputations to wait upon the employers, and the information they received was such as this. To illustrate the matter, I may say that the price for shingling was formerly 2*s.* 4*d.* and 2*s.* 2*d.* per ton. The price was distinctly reduced to 1*s.* and 1*s.* 3*d.* per ton, as was stated to the deputations, and of course, the men all being members of one society, the puddlers could not go to work without the shinglers.

8323. (*Mr. Mathews.*) In ordinary cases what would the earnings of a shingler be ?—I think you will agree with me that there is no such thing as an average price. In one sense the price may be averaged, but the results will not be an average. Hence I have known some shinglers work for 7*s.* per day, and from 7*s.* to 10*s.*, and I have known others getting 1*l.* and 25*s.*

8324. At the present time, I believe, some of the works in the North of England have stopped from an unwillingness to reduce the men further, and from an absolute impossibility to continue the works at the present wages without a very great loss at the existing price of iron ; is not that the case ?—I believe that Mr. Barningham has assigned a reason of that kind, but it is also known that Mr. Barningham has made the purchase of a large quantity of old rails which he can use instead of puddled iron.

8325. Has not the same course been adopted at Messrs. Bolekow and Vaughan's ?—I believe the notice was issued last Saturday, but since then I do not know that the men are working full time.

8326. I want to ask you whether, with the existing price of iron at Middlesborough, it would be possible to continue the works without a further reduction in the wages of the men ?—I should think it would. I see no reason why the prices should be reduced to the same prices as in Wales, which is the reason assigned by some.

8327. They are not going to be so low, are they ?—It would be reduced equally as low if you take into account the advantages which the men in Wales possess. House rent is much cheaper there.

8328. Without reference to the prices paid in Wales, but taking the existing price of iron, is it not an absolute necessity either to stop the works, or to reduce wages in some degree proportionate to the fall of iron ?—If the reasons assigned are strictly correct, no doubt it would be so.

8329. In point of fact, would it not be the best policy instead of having these continual strikes and lock-outs for the men to accept the situation as well as the master, and to co-operate with the master as far as they could ?—I think that the best way of preventing these things would be the establishment of local courts of arbitration. Where suspicion is entertained on either side, I think that the best way would be to have boards of arbitration, and the evidence itself would be perfectly conclusive either one way or the other.

8330. Are you aware that an arbitration has been proposed to the men and that they have rejected it? —I am not aware that arbitration has ever been proposed to the men over whom I have exercised any influence.

8331. I ask with reference not to Middlesborough, but Staffordshire ?—I believe that there was a peculiar kind of arbitration proposed to the men in North Staffordshire which they have rejected.

8332. What was the peculiarity ?—The peculiarity was that one gentleman (the Earl of Lichfield I think) was to be the only arbitrator.

8333. Could there have been a better arbitrator ?—I think not. If it were in my case I should have accepted it. I am not aware what reasons the men assigned for rejecting it.

8334. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Do you know the present price of rails in Middlesborough ?—From 5*l.* 15*s.* to 6*l.* 10*s.*

8335. That is not a higher price than the price in Wales ?—There is a difference of 4*s.* to 5*s.* in getting the iron out of the mine.

Mr. J. Kane.

20 Nov. 1867.

8336. You said before, did you not, that the Middlesborough iron was better than that in Wales?—I wish it to be understood that I am now referring to the very lowest price; the price paid in Wales very much depends on the quality of the rails.

8337. Taking such rails as the English railways use there is not much difference in that, is there?—Yes; there are some contractors who will have a certain quality with width of pile. All Barningham's rails are drawn out under the hammer, and he generally gets a good price for them.

8338. Would he get more than 5*l.* 15*s.*?—No doubt of it. When I give the figures that I have given I am simply quoting from what I see in the papers.

8339. I understand from you that the Middlesborough prices are higher for rails than the Welsh prices?—So they generally are. I suppose that in the North of England they can either make rails or manufacture them; that is to say, they can manufacture good or bad rails.

8340. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Do you know anything of the rate of wages paid in Belgium for iron?—If I may take the statements of Mr. Williams I know something of them.

8341. You know nothing personally?—No, I have never been there.

8342. Are you aware that Belgium iron is coming in in considerable quantities?—I am aware that it has always been coming in; but in the papers it has been much larger than the tonnage in ships.

8343. There is no doubt that some comes in?—No.

8344. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Do you think that the Belgian iron will affect the foreign trade of this country?—I do not expect it will. If you reduce the iron in that county you will be compelled to reduce it here. The only cure would be to prevent the Belgian manufacturing it cheaper; but how you are to carry that out I do not know.

8345. By competing here I presume?—If you reduce the workmen much lower they will not be able to live.

8346. (*Mr. Mathews.*) I want to ascertain whether as a matter of opinion you think that it would be possible for the English iron to come into operation if it cost 30 or 40 per cent. more than the Belgian?—I think it would on condition that you let the workmen have a certain portion of land in this country to call their own, as they have in Belgium.

8347. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Could you make farmers of them?—Every man, I should say, if he had any sense might cultivate some ground.

8348. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is there anything to prevent the ironworkers here taking land of their own if they choose?—Want of cash.

8349. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Would a man puddling all day be able to attend to farming?—In the case of the Butterly Company each of the men has garden ground and a certain portion of ground to grow potatoes on.

8350. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is there anything to hinder other workmen doing the same?—In South Staffordshire they would find some difficulty in finding gardens, I should say.

8351. In ordinary circumstances are there not the means for them to have land, if their taste lies in that direction?—There are many reasons that might be assigned; perhaps they could get the land, but a puddler is probably more migratory in character than almost any other workman.

8352. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) But is it not the interest of the masters, and do they not try to a great extent to fix men on the land by comforts of that sort, inducing them to build their own houses, and so to get a hold upon the place?—It is the interest of the masters, so far as the North of England is concerned, to have a settled class of men, and if possible to have them live in their own houses.

8353. When the workmen do live in their own houses that is the desire of the masters?—I do not think that any one of them would oppose it. I do not know that they would take an active part in promoting it.

8354. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You think that one way of obviating strikes and locks-out in the iron trade as in other trades, would be to establish some tribunal where the masters could confer with the men?—I feel assured that that is the only cure, and that it is a very necessary one.

8355. At all events perhaps you would be of opinion that strikes and lock-outs are very prejudicial to the interests of the masters?—They are very prejudicial to all classes, and like war, leave the track of misery behind them.

8356. It would be a great blessing if means could be devised that would put a stop to them?—If there are any legitimate means that would secure fair play to both parties it is essential that they should be adopted.

8357. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Supposing that such a tribunal settled that the wages should be so and so, and the masters could not afford to go on with those wages?—You might reverse the case and say, supposing the men could not go on with what the tribunal appointed, I think that in their case it would be just as serious.

8358. A man could live upon less, but a master could not live upon nothing?—But you see more paupers made of the men than you see bankrupts made of the employers.

8359. You know that there are a good many ironmasters that have not prospered?—I should think so; several of them have not recently. But the reason why I think that arbitration is the most safe and sure plan to settle all disputes is this, that it comes to be a question of figures. If the employer cannot carry on the work at higher wages, and the workmen are bound by the decision of the arbitrators, they are bound to go to work. Let that be the preliminary condition, I would say.

8360. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Would not there be this question still open in the event of arbitrations being established, if the arbitration were against the master he would say "Very well, I will employ the men, "but I can not employ more than one-third of the "number I employed before, because I must limit "my operations into the smallest possible compass." On the other hand, if the arbitration were against the men, the men would say, "Very well, we cannot live at that, and we must seek employment elsewhere"?—Yes.

8361. That would qualify in a great degree the advantages of arbitration, would it not?—In the event of the men being compelled to leave the district that would be less calamitous than a general strike or lock-out as the case might be.

8362. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Can you tell us what have been the average earnings of the men you speak of over the last few years?—Wages in the iron trade fluctuate so very much that it would be a difficult thing to strike an average. You had in 1863 three advances you may say in six months, and now in nine months, or at any rate since the men have resumed work at the beginning of the present year up to the end of the year you will have had three reductions.

8363. What has been the lowest rate of earnings during the last three or four years?—The lowest rate that has been paid during the last four years has been 7*s.* 6*d.* per ton.

8364. What would that represent in the shape of wages a day or a week?—In the event of a puddler being able to get what is called his regular heats, that is six heats per day on a certain quality of iron, he would be able to bring out say 22 cwt. on the average at 7*s.* 6*d.*, or we may say 22½ cwt. to supply it. He would then have to pay probably out of that 3*s.* 4*d.* per day to an under hand, then the difficulty is to fix an average in consequence of men losing so much time. Anything occurring to the furnace, for instance, may delay the work. I should think that the average earnings during the last 12 months, even assuming that the men have had an opportunity of working six

days in a week, or rather five days, have not exceeded for puddlers 24*s.* a week.

8365. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Why do you say five days?—There are some of the works that do not work on the Monday, and when they are working at nights they can only work five nights in the week, commencing on Monday night.

8366. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) What would be the rate per week at 7*s.* 6*d.* per ton. I mean about what would it be, because you say you cannot get it exactly because there is some loss of time?—I have no hesitation in stating that, taking the majority of the puddlers in the north of England at the present time, assuming the present rate of wages for the 52 weeks, their earnings would not exceed 24*s.* a week. That is the very outside.

8367. You say that 7*s.* 6*d.* per ton is the lowest rate you are aware of for the last few years?—That is the lowest rate.

8368. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Assuming that the men are on short work?—No, not assuming that they are on short work.

8369. That is a ton a day, and they have to pay their under hand out of it?—Yes, but you are forgetting that they cannot work every day; I thought you meant by "short work" short of orders.

8370. Whether from their being short of orders or any other cause I mean?—I am referring to accidents to the furnace, and the furnace going badly, and the under hand not being there to do his work.

8371. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) What is the highest rate which you are aware of their having received per ton during the last three or four years?—That which is now paid at 7*s.* 6*d.* was formerly 9*s.*, 9*s.* 6*d.*, and as high as 10*s.* 6*d.*

8372. I do not ask you any questions with regard to what you said as to the refusal of the North Staffordshire men to accept the arbitration proposed to them, beause I think I understood you to say that you knew nothing of the circumstances?—Nothing but what appeared in the newspapers.

8373. Did the association of which you are the head give any assistance to the North Staffordshire men after they had refused that arbitration?—Individual lodges or works did by voluntary contribution; but not generally as an association.

8374. Was that done by your advice?—No, it was not.

8375. Did you give any advice upon the subject or express any opinion upon the subject at the time?—I went down to North Staffordshire and advised the men to resume work in consequence of the men that I represented having decided at the previous conference to accept the 10 per cent. reduction, namely, at Sheffield in the beginning of the year.

8376. I am referring to what took place after the arbitration was refused?—No advice was given by us after arbitration was refused either one way or the other; we were taking no part in the affair.

8377. You said that the arbitration which had been proposed to the men was such an arbitration as they could not approve of, because it left the matter entirely to one person, that person being myself. Do you think it very probable that if those had been the terms of the arbitration proposed the masters of South Staffordshire would have accepted that arbitration as they did, seeing that I knew very little about the iron trade?—Of course in a matter of this kind you can only ask for my individual opinion; I may simply state that so far as the arbitration itself was concerned the men objected, as I have been given to understand, in consequence of the arbitration being supposed to be one sided.

8378. You are aware that the masters had agreed to accept it?—I understood so.

8379. (*Mr. Booth.*) How do you propose that the board of arbitration which you suggest should be composed?—As far as I have been able to understand the question, I think that it should be composed of say six workmen and six employers, with a chairman who should not be connected with either party, whose decision should be binding.

8380. From what class would you take the chairman?—I should leave that to the men and the masters themselves. The chairman should be appointed by the consent of both parties.

8381. (*Lord Elcho.*) If they differed, what then?—Not being confined to one man they should endeavour to select another.

8382. (*Chairman.*) It constantly happens that two parties cannot agree on one man?—I think that in each district some independent gentlemen could be found who possess the confidence of both sides.

8383. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) You would make the chairman not one of either of the masters or of the men, but independent of both?—Yes; but I would have no objection to any other machinery that would be calculated to secure a fair investigation of the facts on both sides.

8384. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Do you think it would be possible to choose a higher referee, both in social position and otherwise, than a gentleman like Lord Lichfield?—I do not think it would.

8385. And the men declined to take Lord Lichfield as arbitrator?—The men declined. No doubt prejudice had something to do with it, not against Lord Lichfield as a gentleman, but because his lordship belonged to a certain class who are representatives of capital. If this representation had been made "We have selected Lord Lichfield, and you shall have the privilege of selecting another to converse with him about the matter," it might have been different. I think that it was a lamentable affair, and it would have been much better if it had been settled in that way, but the men thought differently.

8386. (*Chairman.*) If there was arbitration are you of opinion that the award could bind for any length of time, say six months or even one month?—I think so. I think it would be valueless unless an arrangement of that kind was come to.

8387. Have you ever known such an arrangement acted upon where there has been a considerable change in the price of iron?—No, I have not; but Mr. Henderson, the member for Durham, informs me that they have had no strikes in their trade for years, and they settle all their disputes by that process.

8388. (*Mr Mathews.*) Is Mr. Henderson an ironmaster?—He is in a certain sense, he is the chairman of the Consett Iron Company; but I am referring now to the carpet trade.

8389. (*Lord Elcho.*) Do you know what the constitution of the court or board is in that case?—I do not know. He simply stated that they have a joint meeting of representative men and employers, and they invariably settle the disputes without the vexatious policy or the disasters of either a lock-out or a strike.

8390. You do not know how the chairman is chosen?—No.

8391. Have you studied the working of courts of arbitration abroad?—I have read what Louis Blanc has written on the question so far as France is concerned.

8392. Have you been in Paris at this Exhibition?—I have not.

8393. You have said that you thought that one of the reasons why the Belgians can take lower wages than the workmen in England was that they had land. Do you know for a fact that they have?—I know for a fact that they have no law of primogeniture there, and that the land is in possession of the people.

8394. Do you know for a fact that these Belgian workmen who have lower wages than the English workmen, have each a piece of land?—In the general case I should think they have.

8395. When you say that in the general case they have, upon what authority do you say that?—There was a work written lately by Mr. Fisher on the "Food of the Peoples of Europe," and in that work he supplies some very valuable statistics of the number of landed proprietors in Belgium.

Mr. J. Kane. 9 Nov. 1867.

8396. But does he supply statistics from which you have gathered the fact that the Belgian puddlers have each a piece of land, and that it is in consequence of their each having a piece of land that the Belgian puddlers can work at lower wages than the English puddler?—It is from Mr. Fisher's book that I have been able to gain a considerable number of facts. No doubt the fathers of families have a piece of land—indeed he states that; but I do not suppose that young men have.

8397. You gave as a specific reason for their being able to take lower wages that these Belgians were in possession of land. I want to know whether you can state that as a fact?—Do you wish me to state that each Belgian puddler has or has not?

8398. Yes; to state from your own knowledge that the Belgians have each their farms, and that it is through their farming that they are able to take lower wages than the English puddlers?—It would be impossible for me to say that each Belgain puddler has land. Of course the land falls into the hands of the members of the family in proportion as the fathers die off. In the case of several of the young men who commence life as puddlers, of course the land that belonged to the father does not belong to them until his death.

8399. You have not been in Belgium yourself?—No.

8400. But you have drawn general inferences from a book on the "Food of the Peoples of Europe," by Mr. Fisher?—Yes, just as other people draw general inferences from the work of Mr. Williams the ironmaster.

8401. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Assuming that the Belgian puddlers have land, do they rent it or not?—The land is their own.

8402. What law is there in Belgium that invests them with the land rent free?—The law of buying it.

8403. Cannot a puddler buy land in England if he wishes?—Yes he can, but in Belgium the land is frequently divided because the law of entail is not in existence.

8404. The Belgian puddler has the opportunity of buying land and the English puddler has not, is that it?—No, an English puddler can buy anything provided he can find the means to buy it.

8405. The Belgian puddler cannot buy it without means?—Any puddler who has worked in Belgium will know very well that working the quality of iron that is worked in Belgium does not require the same amount of manual labour that working it in England does. My information as to that is gathered from men who have worked in Belgium.

8406. My information is that the work is very similar in both countries?—There is a good deal of iron in Belgium that is charcoal iron.

8407. That is a very small proportion, is it not?—There is a considerable proportion of that. Besides, if this iron is mixed with the other it will assist the working.

8408. Is there as great a proportion of charcoal iron made in Belgium as in England?—I think there is.

8409. I will assume that the conditions of the Belgian workman are very much like those of the English workman, that the Belgian workman has to apply the same skill and ingenuity in puddling iron as the English workman. You say that in Belgium the conditions of the workman are rendered more advantageous by his being able to buy land, cannot the English puddler do the same?—Yes, but he will find it cheaper in one country than in the other.

8410. Do you think that it is cheaper in Belgium than in England?—My impression is that it is.

8411. Mine is that it is dearer?—That is one of the reasons that has been assigned, and another reason is that the people of Belgium are not so heavily taxed as the people of this country.

8412. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) What is the difference of wage between this country and Belgium?—Taking the difference of wage between this country and Belgium, and also the difference in the cost of living, I should say that they would be about equal, as Mr. Bell showed in the paper which he read at Dundee. The wage of one country is lower than the wage of the other taken by itself.

8413. (*Mr. Mathews.*) The English ironmaster would work at a disadvantage compared with the Belgian, so far as wages constitute an ingredient in the cost of iron?—I suppose he would, unless he can make it up in some other way; if he can work it more economically, or if he has coal cheaper in this country, he may make it up in that way.

8414. Has he coal cheaper?—There is more economy in Belgium, as I understand, in the use of coal.

8415. (*Mr. Merivale.*) Did you ascertain anything about the hours of labour in Belgium, whether the day's work is greater than here?—About 40 or 45 puddlers came over to Leeds in 1864 from Belgium, and these puddlers informed me that the hours were much shorter in Belgium than in this country.

8416. Did they tell you how much shorter they were?—They stated that it was seldom that a puddler worked more than nine hours in that country.

8417. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Would not that stop the mill, because the work must be standing during six hours out of the 24, if they only work nine hours at a time?—A puddler cannot be expected to be always there, the mill has to be stopped at the end of the shift, and all that is required during the week is simply to throw a little water on to the coal that is put into the furnace.

8418. But during the 24 hours that the furnace is kept going, one man goes on for nine hours, and then goes off, and another comes on, that still leaves six hours?—It takes a certain length of time before you get the furnace in proper order. Supposing that a puddler has done with his work in nine hours in this country, then he has the same furnace put in order for the party that is to follow him.

8419. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Could he do his work in nine hours?—That would depend upon the kind of metal employed.

8420. If he did would it not be necessary to go on for two hours longer, in order to keep the furnace in full operation?—To go an extra heat? No; I have not found that they endeavour to do anything of the kind, and I hope they would not, because I think that the great fault of the people of this country is working too long hours.

8421. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You spoke in the earlier part of your evidence about truck having been practised formerly in a district which you are acquainted with, namely, at Middlesborough. To what extent did that go, and what form did it take?—The form of having a shop. The men received a note to take to the shop, and had such goods as they could supply there.

8422. Was that carried to a great extent?—It was carried to a great extent at one time in connexion with certain firms. They have a shop at——, but I am not prepared to say that it comes under the form of truck. It is not generally understood to be carried out in the north now; it is done away with in almost every instance. The way it was done away with in Middlesborough was this: the prosecution of one or two cases took place, and of course the parties were compelled to pay over to the men the whole of the money that had been paid to them in these tickets. I am not prepared to say that anything of the kind is carried out now; but it was formerly carried out in the North of England.

8423. Were the union or any combination of men amongst themselves instrumental in procuring the abolition of the truck system?—In one instance the union took a very active part in endeavouring to abolish truck at a work called Dundivan in Scotland. The men were out then for 14 weeks I think it was. The dispute was first about price, and after we succeeded in settling the dispute about price the men refused to go to work unless the truck shop was abolished, and it was ultimately abolished after 14 weeks strike. The name of the firm is Henderson

and Dymock. I may simply say that the men there are now carrying out truck as much as ever they did, and the men themselves, if I mistake not, asked for its restoration on the ground that they were all in poverty and that they could not succeed in getting provisions elsewhere in the absence of ready money, and Messrs. Henderson and Dymock commenced the shop again. That is at a place called Coatbridge in Scotland.

8424. Was that a case where the pays were what are called long pays?—The pays were monthly.

8425. Do you consider that if the pays had been weekly the workmen would have had no temptation to ask for a system of truck or to submit to it?—Not to the same extent; the temptation will always exist when men have been trained under the system.

8426. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Are not there always fortnightly draws where monthly pays exist?—Frequently so.

8427. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Whenever there is a monthly pay is it not in your knowledge that any man wanting money goes to the office and gets it if he wants it?—I know that they often go to the office, but not that they get it when they want it.

8428. Has any case come to your knowledge where the masters have refused to advance money at the request of the men?—Yes; many cases of that kind, especially in South Wales.

8429. It is rather the exception than the rule, is it not?—There is in some works an arrangement by which the men receive 17*s.* out of the pound, in others 15*s.*, in others 10*s.*

8430. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) In South Wales all the ironworks have fortnightly draws, have they not?—In South Wales, at one of the ironworks named Rhymney, they have a fortnightly draw, and it is in the discretion of the cashier, the men themselves have told me, to determine the amount that he shall advance in each case.

8431. He must judge of the amount that the man is likely to have done, I presume?—In that case they have a larger draw.

8432. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you know whether, in your own district the existence of the union has been instrumental in suppressing the truck system, or do you consider it now instrumental in preventing any practical recurrence to it?—Not in the North of England district, inasmuch as the truck was destroyed before the union was established by the individual action of the men.

8433. Do you consider that there is any danger of anything approaching it being recurred to?—Not in the North of England; co-operative shops are very general there.

8434. Is there any part of England in which it has come under your knowledge at all or in which you have reason to believe that there is practically a species of truck system in existence?—Yes; at a place called Neath, in South Wales. There is an ironwork two or three miles from it belonging to a certain firm. In those works they have a peculiar method of evading the law. They issue what are called notes; the notes come down to 1½*d.*, and extend up to 1*l.* These notes are given to the men, and they take them to a certain shop or public house, and they are taken to a small Neath bank and cashed there by a sort of arrangement with the bank. Such was the state of things when I was there in 1864. These notes are taken to the company's shop, and stand instead of money.

8435. (*Mr. Merivale.*) Would one of the notes be taken by another shop not a company's shop?—By the public house it would.

8436. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you know whether there is anything like a general practice of that, or is this the only case you know of?—I should say that generally speaking truck is carried on directly or indirectly in Wales. At Sir John Guest's at Dowlais they have nothing of the kind, and I am not aware that they have anything of the kind at Crawshay's works in Merthyr. They have a peculiar system at another place. The men receive a note at the office, and this note is taken to the shop. The note is in the form of a loan —"We agree to lend you so much."

8437. (*Mr. Merivale.*) You say that in the former case the public house will take the notes at Neath; do you suppose that that is by any arrangement between the public house keeper and the issuer of the notes?—I should think so. The party that I received my information from was the man who kept the public house.

8438. (*Mr. Mathews.*) If a man pays wages in a public house, either directly or indirectly, is he not liable to pay them over again?—Yes.

8439. And is an ironmaster likely to pay wages at a public house with that liability to pay them over again?—It does not come in the form of wages; it is a loan.

8440. Still it is an advance on loan?—No doubt it is; whether it is likely or not it is frequently done there.

8441. (*Chairman.*) Did the publican tell you that he gave a man less beer for a note for 1½*d.* than he did for 1½*d.* in copper?—No.

8442. The evil of the truck system is that you go to the shop of the proprietors, and they give you as 10*d.* worth of tea, for instance, what you could get for 9*d.* at a fair shop?—I have seen several cases of that kind at Moss End, in Scotland, where cheese was supplied which was more like soap than cheese.

8443. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Are pays longer in Wales, as a general rule, than they are in England?—Yes, they seldom have less than a month. In Rhymney works they have five settling days in the year.

8444. What is the average in England?—The average in England is fortnightly, in many instances weekly, but there are very few cases where it is more than fortnightly.

8445. Is there any instance of the employment of women in ironworks in England in the actual operations of the works?—I am scarcely aware of any; there may be some isolated cases where a woman is employed, but not in the common drudgery of the work.

8446. Is there anything of that kind in Wales?—A great deal; I have seen women in Wales emptying large waggons and putting down coals near the firegrate for charging the furnace with; I have seen them assisting in taking hold of the wheels of the large carriages to bring the metal away from the blast furnaces.

8447. Do you consider that the general condition of the iron workers in Wales is not fully equal to that of those in your own district, for instance?—I believe that the employment of women in Wales has a great deal to do by way of cheapening labour to such an extent as to make it a standard argument that it is a difficult thing to compete with Wales.

8448. Are the earnings of a man in Wales, who is a puddler, for instance, and of a man of precisely the same skill and industry in Staffordshire or Middlesborough different, or does he gain the same in the two cases?—No; the prices are generally lower in Wales. They have a peculiarity in some of the works, for instance, in Mr. Fotheringill's, of this nature—from the price for which the men work there is a deduction of 2*d.* per pound for making, mending, and repairing of tools.

8449. There is no regular organization of workmen's union in Wales at all is there?—No, there is not.

8450. Do you connect the greater prevalence of the truck system, of the longer pays, and of the labour of women, and the inferior social condition of the ironworkers in Wales as compared with that of Staffordshire or the north, with the want of a strong union organization?—I believe that the cause of a good deal of the social degradation of Wales is long pays, bad prices, and truck; and the men themselves feel and admit all this to be true when they come down to the north of England. Those evils would have been destroyed before now if there had been a general

Mr. J. Kane.

30 Nov. 1867.

union in Wales. That sort of thing does not exist in the north of England or Staffordshire; I believe that an attempt has been made to introduce a truck shop in one place at Staffordshire, but it is not a general rule.

8451. Do you think, supposing the workmen throughout Wales were to succeed in forming themselves into a powerful union, whether in connexion or not with the unions of England, that in the first place they would desire to do away, and that in the second place they would succeed in doing away with these evils which you have been speaking of?—I do believe so; considering the immense number of ironworkers in Wales. I should say that there are fully 10,000 ironworkers in South Wales. I do not refer to women or yet to boys, but what you may call *bonâ fide* ironworkers, that is to say, men employed at the rolling, the furnaces, and the operation of puddling.

8452. (*Mr. Merivale.*) Can you at all tell what number of others, such as labourers and the like, you should add to those 10,000 in order to make up the whole number of men employed?—I have not specially devoted much time to the consideration of that matter, but I should think that the fair proportion would be four to one.

8453. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Have you ever had any instances brought to your notice in which men who have made themselves prominent in union matters or in strikes have found a difficulty in obtaining employment, or have been, as you consider, arbitrarily dismissed?—Many instances of that kind. I found that in Scotland there was a person of the name of John Matthews who walked about the country for two or three years and could not find a situation.

8454. What do you attribute that to?—It was in consequence of the active part he took in destroying the truck system at Dundivan. In the North of England again, there was a notice issued immediately after the dispute, and when a man went to any of the employers and asked for a note of discharge, they would give him a note with the following on it: "John "so and so left our employment on such a date, "having declined to accept the reduction." Of course when such a man came to any other of the employers they said, "We know what you have been after," and declined to take him. There is a person who was an ironworker of the name of George Thomas, who is now endeavouring to get a living by selling half a pound of tea or any odd work he can get. He waited upon Mr. Hopkins; Mr. Hopkins told him that he would never find employment in the North of England.

8455. That man is living in England?—Yes, at 17, Grey Street, Vaughan's Buildings, Middlesborough.

8456. (*Chairman.*) At previous sittings of the Commission workmen have come with a black list stating that they were not to be employed, and the masters that followed came with a black list of masters. It is a perfectly well known thing to you, probably?—Yes.

8457. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you know the fact of any such black lists having been circulated among employers containing the names of men who are obnoxious?—I would not swear that there have been such lists circulated, although I have not the slightest doubt that the names of such men are sent to employers.

8458. You never saw a printed list of that kind?—No.

8459. Are there any districts in your trade in which the houses that the workmen live in are to any large extent owned by the employers with whom they work?—Yes, it is so with the Consett Company; I should say that most of the houses—90 per cent. of the whole of the houses of the Consett men—belong to the company. It is a limited liability company, of which, I believe, Mr. Henderson is the chairman, and the managing director is Mr. Priestman.

8460. Have any instances ever been mentioned to you in which the threat of eviction of the families from the houses of the workmen has been used in cases of strike or lock-out, or anything of that kind?—Yes, it is very common, the men have frequently received notice that unless they came to an agreement they would have to leave their houses on a certain day; that is to say, in the event of their not being willing to go to work on certain terms. That has been resorted to, and slight acts of violence have followed, for which parties were tried at the Durham assizes, and for the destruction of some property at Witton Park where they are living in the company's houses, but the property which was injured I do not believe belonged to the company.

8461. You mean that they had been previously turned out of their houses?—Yes, several houses are standing empty in consequence of notices for eviction. I have also known that during the Leeds dispute the masters gave all their men notice to leave their houses. A few men stayed, and those men were charged 7*s.* per week instead of 3*s.* 6*d.* That was in Lowmoor.

8462. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is not it the ordinary law of England that after notice the rent may be raised?—Yes, but it was used as a means of coercion.

8463. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You mean that this notice of eviction was not entirely for nonpayment of arrears of rent?—No.

8464. (*Mr. Mathews.*) But in case of the men not being employed again, would it not follow that the masters would require the houses for the men who would come in in their stead?—Yes. In a case which I named before, that of Henderson and Dymock in Scotland, the men were turned out of their houses and camped in the fields for a time.

8465. (*Mr. Harrison.*) In point of fact the houses were not required for other people to go into, but it was used as a threat to induce the men to come to terms?—Yes.

8466. You spoke just now of some injury to property for which men have been brought before the magistrates. Could you say, generally speaking, how many cases of outrage, distinct violation of law, have been proved before the courts as originating in an union, or ordered by the officers of an union?—I am not aware of one case that was ever ordered by the officers of an union.

8467. Are you prepared to say that you have known no such case?—I have known cases of outrage, but not where it has been ordered directly or indirectly by the officers of an union. No such case ever came before me, and I have no knowledge of any such case. I remember one case, which occurred during the time that the men were out for 28 weeks in North Wales. Some men from Shropshire were doing these men's work. I met Mr. Whalley there, the member of Parliament, and fortunately one morning when I was to hold a meeting with the men, a document was put into my hands signed by a collier (who it was written by I do not know), urging upon the men to get hold of staves and use violence in driving these Shropshire men out of the works. I told the men that if they attempted to do anything of the kind I should at once leave them and publish a letter in the papers, stating that I had ceased to hold connexion with the ironworkers. It was prevented, and I succeeded in settling the dispute on the same day.

8468. Could you give other instances in which the union or its officers have done everything in their power to suppress resort to illegal measures?—I know that the tenor of the various remarks and speeches at all the meetings which I have been at has invariably been to the effect that the men should observe the law and not violate it. There were some men prosecuted in 1864 in Leeds. Those cases resulted in the first instance from shouting "Black sheep," and so on. The men were punished; but in each case it was the individual action of the men. No prompting was ever given by any of the officers that I am aware of.

8469. Do the union men in your district, as a rule, refuse to work in the same shop with non-union men?—Not at all; and we have no rule that states that union men are not to work with non-union men.

8470. As a matter of fact do they work together?—Yes.

8471. Is there any inconvenience to which non-union men are subjected by the union men when working together?—I have known cases where the non-union men have complained; but I have known cases where the men have complained of the same thing before there was any union. For instance, they have complained occasionally, because the workmen would not assist them, but I have known many such cases, hundreds in fact, during my experience, before any union was thought of by the ironworkers. Men have always their likes and dislikes, some men they will assist whether union or non-union men, and others they will not assist. But I have not known anything like a systematic arrangement being entered into for the men to throw obstacles in the way of non-union men, or to refuse to render them that necessary amount of assistance which is expected in a large establishment. There may have been occasionally things of that kind, but not of any serious consequence.

8472. Does the union enforce rules with respect to apprentices?—No, there is no apprenticeship system in connexion with the iron trade at the present time; there was formerly, but there is not now.

8473. And the use of boys is a matter perfectly open?—Perfectly open.

8474. Are the under hands members of the union?—In some cases they are, and in others not.

8475. Have the under hands, where they are not members of the puddlers' union, a union of their own?—They have not.

8476. Does the question of objection to overtime, excessive hours of work, arise as a practical matter in your trade?—Very frequently.

8477. What is the policy which the union adopts in that matter?—In the event of men not being able to get their heats out in the stipulated time that must be done in consequence of the new set of men coming on. The arrangement of the men has been to lay this grievance before a committee, and then to appoint a deputation to wait on the employers.

8478. Have they been kept 12 hours at work?—I have known them there 13 or 14 hours.

8479. How can the others come on in that case?—They are obliged to work on each others turns.

8480. Then overtime is a practical evil?—Yes, they have to work overtime without the advantages of overtime; without getting extra pay.

8481. Does that arise from the quality of the materials or the implements?—Generally speaking, from the quality of the material, the iron being greyer than what was arranged.

8482. But do you mean that there is no case of pressure being put upon the workmen to work longer than they would of their free will work for an increased rate of wages?—I have known in certain cases men discharged if they give over for less than six heats, and at the same time they could not get the six heats unless they worked 14 or 15 hours.

8483. Has the union interfered? Is it generally speaking the policy of the union to prevent that?—It has frequently interfered, but not recently, for this reason, that it is not considered sufficiently powerful; the masters say now that their day has come, and no doubt they are now more powerful than the men, and arrangements are now in operation which, if there was plenty of work in the country, the men would not submit to for a day.

8484. But do you find, as a fact, that for instance, the length of the hours of work without increased advantages, that is to say, without increased pay, or even with an increased rate of pay, has been greater at times when the union has been weak than when it has been strong?—The advantage to the employers is invariably greater when the union is weak.

8485. I am asking simply as to the hours of labour now?—The hours of labour when the union is weak are generally longer. Unfortunately we have had disputes thrown upon our hands in consequence of the class of iron. The men were engaged to work common iron. The arrangement is in every instance where common iron is worked that the men shall get six heats. It frequently has occurred, and is occurring now, that instead of six heats they give over with five. If they give over with five, the loss is entirely to the fore hand; he has to pay the under hand the same amount of money.

8486. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is it not the custom to limit the number of heats in the 24 hours?—Yes, but it is a great advantage to the ironmaster if he can get a man to work a stronger brand instead of a weaker one for the same price.

8487. Do you think that the masters generally who make their own pig iron regulate the quantity of iron according to the demand?—Yes.

8488. Do you think that in case of a depressed state of trade the ironmaster who makes his own pig iron regulates his own pig iron so as to make bad iron instead of good?—No; I would rather think that he would regulate the quality of his metal so as to make good iron instead of bad.

8489. He makes the best iron he can in any case, and that iron is uniform when he makes his own?—Yes, to his own advantage.

8490. (*Mr. Harrison.*) I want to know if you could give us actual figures, or could hereafter furnish us with figures to show this. Taking an average first-class puddler, who is an industrious man and works as long as he has the opportunity, say in the course of this present year since last Christmas, what do you take to be his average earnings for the year? I am not supposing that he is always at work, but making an allowance for those weeks when he is out of work, what would the average be?—I understand that you want the average earnings during the last year of a man who has worked five days per week. There may be exceptional cases, but take the body of men such as you have at Messrs. Hopkins or Messrs. Hawkes, Crawshay, and Sons, or at Wilton Park Works. After paying the underhand and after paying the lighting up turn (the first turn in the week they have to work two days work for one, one for lighting the furnace up, and so on and the other is for working first turn,) I should think that the average earnings during the last 12 months, in the event of men working five days in the week, has not exceeded the figure which I gave formerly; at the very outside it would be 24*s.* a week.

8491. I understand that that was calculated for the weeks that they were at work?—Yes.

8492. But now I ask you to take the case of an average man who is on the whole fortunate in finding employment, what is his average over the year including the weeks when he has been wanting and cannot get work?—It would not exceed 1*l.* per week.

8493. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) I understood you to say that the 24*s.* was taken upon the average, making the allowances for loss of time?—Yes, under the most favourable circumstances.

8494. Under ordinary circumstances, you put it at that, did you not?—But then the man runs the risk of being out of work owing to the under hand occasionally not being there or the furnace being out of repair, without taking into consideration the scarcity of orders.

8495. (*Mr. Harrison.*) I understand you to say that, taking the broken days and broken weeks, and broken hours, when a man is regularly at work he makes on the average 24*s.* a week while he is at work, but as no man is at work every week for the whole year, if you take the whole year for an average man it is 20*s.*?—Yes.

8496. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Why is he not at work for the whole year?—There are occasionally breakages, or there is absence of the under hand. Puddlers, probably, suffer more from loss of work than almost any other class of men; they cannot work without their under hand.

8497. You are putting it at five days per week?—Yes.

8498. At 7*s.* 6*d.* per ton?—Yes.

8499. And six heats a day?—Yes.

Mr. J. Kane.

20 Nov. 1867.

8500. And how many cwt. to a heat?—Four and a quarter is the general custom, but the average charge in the North of England, I should say, is nearer $4\frac{1}{2}$, that is $4\frac{1}{4}$ long weight is supposed to be the usual charge.

8501. I meant how many heats does it require to turn out a ton?—It would very much depend upon the quality of the iron; the quality of the fettling also would have a great deal to do with it. Some kinds of fettling wash the iron out of the furnace; for instance, what is called bulldog; it may improve the quality of the iron, but it has a great deal to do with the yield. The amount that a man should turn out for five heats is $18\frac{1}{2}$ cwt.

8502. (*Mr. Mathews.*) If he charges $24\frac{1}{2}$ cwt?—The average in that case should be $22\frac{1}{2}$ cwt.

8503. (*Mr. Harrison.*) With respect to this question of wages, could you furnish us on returning home from actual books kept or from actual figures with evidence that the average of the first-class puddlers would amount to the figure which you have stated?—I think it could be done in consequence of the following fact:—There is a custom in the north of England that each puddler receives the weight of iron that he works on what is called a pay note, and in the event of any of the men having taken care of any of these pay notes there would be little difficulty in forming correct averages.

8504. With respect to the question of the diminution of wages following in precisely the same ratio as the reduction of price, there is no mathematical necessity, is there, that a reduced price, even of iron, should be followed by a proportionate reduced price of wages, though it frequently must be so?—I should think that there is, to speak honestly and fairly.

8505. Let me put to you this case: supposing that a reduction of say 10 per cent. in the price at which the goods are sold is followed, as sometimes is the case though not always, by vastly increased production, perhaps a doubled production, then it would be possible to continue that production (provided of course that the margin which the difference between wages and price leaves were not too far infringed upon) retaining the old rate of wages or reducing them at a very much less ratio, and at the same time for a greatly increased profit to be left to the manufacturer?—I have not known of any such case.

8506. Take the case of coal, for instance; labour is a very large proportion in the cost of coal is it not?—Yes.

8507. The price at which coals are sold frequently varies enormously without a similar variation in the wages paid, does it not?—The price of coals as far as the iron trade is concerned generally rises and falls with the iron in the manufacturing districts.

8508. To the same extent?—I am not prepared to say to the same extent.

8509. (*Mr. Mathews.*) In the same relative proportion?—In the same relative proportion.

8510. (*Mr. Harrison.*) For instance, again the prices at which cotton goods have sold within the last century have been reduced enormously, have they not?—Yes.

8511. Yet the wages which are paid to the men who manufacture that cotton have stood even or have rather risen, have they not?—Yes. There have been many cases where improvements have been introduced as far as the manufacture of iron is concerned; but I would fail to be able to answer your question satisfactorily, or to state that the deduction which I think I perceive to be embodied in your question would necessarily follow, showing in the event of the men that might be retained at work being able to produce double the quantity of iron without any extra labour on their part. Now it is not so. Taking the improvements, as far as puddling is concerned for instance, I am scarcely aware of any within the last 30 years. There has been recently an attempt carried out in a few places of working what is called a double furnace. The man charges 9 or 10 cwt. instead of $4\frac{1}{2}$, but there is a strong lad and a man employed by him, whereas the ordinary process is for the puddler to employ one. The process of working is just the same as it was 30 years ago, but the amount of labour puddlers say is a great deal more than it was then; and hence I do not know that the same principle that has operated in the cotton trade by the improvement of machinery, and so on, would really answer as far as the iron trade is concerned.

8512. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) You do not do puddling by machinery yet?—We do not do puddling by machinery. I should be very glad to see it. I think that there would be more sense in that than in a man's broiling his face over melting metal.

8513. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You, as president of the union, then would not set your face against machinery?—No not at all.

8514. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is your association partly a benefit society as well as a trades union?—It has not been except in respect of paying so much money in the event of the death of a member or a member's wife.

8515. There is no insurance for sickness?—There has been no sickness allowance, but an arrangement is now made to pay sick money which will commence with the next year.

8516. You do not know what the operation of that will be?—No.

8517. (*Lord Elcho.*) I see in the "Programme of business" in your report of the conference at Walsall, this: "Superannuation and sick benefit funds, funeral "donation, and Sunday fettling. As these four "questions were laid before you prior to the Glasgow "conference, and deferred for the consideration of "the forthcoming conference, we beg of you to recon-"sider them and supply your delegate with your "views and decisions thereon." What was the question, was it whether these funds should be established or not?—Yes.

8518. What is "Sunday fettling?"—The workman going into the forge on the Sunday to put his furnace right for work on the Monday morning instead of doing it on the Monday, and commencing on the Monday night.

8519. Is he not paid by the employer for that?—No. It is the old established custom that each puddler shall put his furnace in proper order for work.

8520. Why is it put down here, is it proposed that the allowance shall be given to him?—The reason is that it may be done on Monday instead of Sunday, inasmuch as many of them have scruples about doing it on the Sunday.

8521. (*Mr. Merivale.*) Doing it on the Monday, the object is that they shall have the same wages for the week, I suppose?—No, they cannot do that, they are paid by the ton.

8522. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Let me take you back to the North Staffordshire strike once more. I think you stated that within your knowledge the workmen of North Staffordshire refused the mediation of Lord Lichfield in the attempt to settle the dispute?—Yes.

8523. Was there not a recommendation on the part of the trades unions in London that the men should continue the strike and not accept arbitration?—I believe that some of the trades unions in London did recommend that course, but I had no connexion with it.

8524. It was not under any advice of your association that that was done?—No, we took no action in the matter as far as that is concerned on the offensive.

8525. Individually you did not recognize that movement at all yourselves?—We did recognize it at first, and the result was this, that at the Sheffield conference it was arranged for the men to accept the reduction of 10 per cent.—it was in December 1864, when the masters held a joint meeting.

8526. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) In December 1864 the masters proposed to reduce the wages 10 per cent.?—Yes.

8527. And the Sheffield conference was held at that time?—Yes.

8528. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you know if any of the large societies connected with the working of metals

in London were parties to recommending the men to refuse that arbitration?—I am not aware of anything of the kind. If I remember correctly, the opinion of the engineers and the moulders was in favour of arbitration. I think there was a split among the trades in London on the subject.

8529. Do you know whether there were any of the great amalgamated societies which recommended the refusal of that arbitration?—No, not to my knowledge.

8530. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Do you know the fact that the recommendation came from the trades unions in London?—I know that it came from a portion of them.

8531. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Did it come from the Trades Council?—I think not; I think that the London Trades Council reprobated it.

8532. (*Mr. Mathews.*) I will put the question with reference to that association of which Mr. Potter is the organ; did not Mr. Potter recommend that they should not accept the arbitration?—I would not swear that he did; my impression is that he did.

8533. And did not he say that if the North Staffordshire men would hold out a little longer they would succeed in getting good wages; that was the state of the case was it not?—Yes, I think that was the advice which was given. The reason why the North Staffordshire men were not supported by our men as a body was in consequence of the protest entered into by the majority of our men, a resolution being passed by the conference at Sheffield to the effect that the men should accept the reduction of 10 per cent.

8534. Have you any journal of your proceedings on the occasion of which you have spoken which you could put in for the use of the Commission?—Yes, I will endeavour to supply you with a copy.

8535. Will you put in all the printed documents that you have?—Yes.

8536. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) How was that Sheffield conference called; was it called by your association?—Yes, by circular.

8537. Can you give us any report of what took place at that conference?—We can give a condensed report.

8538. Were the North Staffordshire men represented at that conference?—Eight delegates were there from one of the North Staffordshire districts.

8539. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Do you recollect the names of the delegates representing the North Staffordshire districts?—We have them printed, and I can furnish them in print.

8540. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Was the question of the North Staffordshire men resisting a reduction of wages at that time discussed at that conference?—I think it was, but during the time of that discussion I was not in the room.

8541. Was there any resolution passed at that conference with reference to the North Staffordshire men resisting the 10 per cent. reduction?—None.

8542. (*Mr. Mathews.*) I think you stated that the association with which you are connected, as far as concerned the Middlesborough district, determined to co-operate with the North Staffordshire men?—No; I referred to a protest that was sent to us and a refusal on the part of the men, or the various committees acting for the men, to send money to North Staffordshire.

8543. I think the Middlesborough men came to a resolution to act for themselves?—The question was brought on at a meeting that was held at Darlington by the masters. There was a formal request made on the part of the masters who attended that meeting after the failure of the York meeting, and one condition was that the connexion was to be broken, it having been pointed out by Mr. Dale and others that they did not know how to deal with us in consequence of there being two separate unions, and that therefore they had better be separated or be all one; and seeing that there was no prospect of all being one the delegates who were at that conference decided to carry out the previous resolution that no further correspondence or connexion should be held with the south in consequence of failing to attend at the York meeting, and considering the necessary expense thrown upon the men of the north, and that the meeting was virtually valueless in consequence of their absence. That was the chief cause of that resolution being passed.

8544. Have you discontinued your connexion with your Middlesborough association of workmen?—Not at all.

8545. But I think you stated that you now consider the head-quarters to be at Walsall, in Staffordshire?—Yes.

8546. Then how is it that if the arrangement was made to discontinue the connexion of the other district with the Middlesborough district your head-quarters have been removed from Gateshead to Walsall?—In consequence of it being the desire of the men of the north of England, Scotland, and Wales that there should be one union instead of two.

8547. Your head-quarters are now at Walsall instead of Gateshead, are the whole of the districts now connected with you?—Not the whole of the districts, we have the mill men of the North of England with us, but the West Bromwich men and the Brierly men we have no connexion with.

8548. How is it that you have your head-quarters at Walsall instead of Gateshead, the fact being that the larger number of associated unions of Staffordshire have nothing to do with the Middlesborough union?—Simply for this reason, that it was done by vote of the conference and by vote of the members. A conference was held at Wolverhampton some time ago, namely, on the 29th of October 1866, and at that conference it was decided for the officers to remove to Derby. That was never carried out, but the question was again brought up at the recent conference at Walsall. It was then decided by the delegates that it should be removed to Walsall, but it was thought better to appeal to the members. The members were appealed to, and were by a large majority in favour of Walsall.

8549. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) How do you account for the North Staffordshire men deciding on resisting that reduction notwithstanding the decision at the conference where all the men were represented?—I account for it from the existence of two separate unions; there were only three delegates from Brierley Hill, and they represented the whole of the union connected with Brierley Hill.

8550. Was that union represented at the conference at Sheffield?—By three of its leading men, but they would consider that they were not bound by anything done at that conference, inasmuch as they had a separate council and a separate association. A delegate meeting was called on the 14th of February, if I remember correctly.

8551. Was the decision of the North Staffordshire men given at that time?—The decision of the North Staffordshire men would be given at the meeting held on the 14th of February at Brierley Hill.

8552. Do you mean by that that the North Staffordshire men belonged to the Brierley Hill union?—One-half of them; the men in the Tunstall district belonged to Brierley Hill, and the men in the Hanley district belonged to what was called the National Association.

8553. Was the decision of the Brierley Hill union upon that subject different from the decision of the union which you represent?—Yes, they decided that the North Staffordshire men should stand out.

8554. The Brierley Hill association decided that you mean?—Yes, the delegates that attended that meeting on the 14th February.

8555. It was immediately after the Sheffield meeting?—Yes, a fortnight after.

8556. I understand by that that those who represented the Brierley Hill union were dissatisfied with the decision arrived at at Sheffield?—Probably they were; I am not in a position to state.

Mr. J. Kane.

20 Nov. 1867.

8557. At any rate the result was that they had a meeting immediately afterwards, and that at that meeting they decided that the North Staffordshire men should resist the reduction?—Yes.

8558. Then at that meeting, that you refer to at Brierley Hill, did the Brierley Hill union undertake to support the North Staffordshire men in the event of their resisting the reduction?—There was no doubt that that would be done, but Mr. Hobson is here to give evidence on that.

8559. At any rate I understand that, so far as the association that you represent is concerned, you took no part in supporting the North Staffordshire men during the strike which began in 1864?—Yes we did, having a district in North Staffordshire, the Hanley district. The employers in one or two of the districts holding works in both districts, our men who were thrown out were involved in the dispute, and the men said in the communication which they sent to us, "Now we cannot continue at work in this "work while the men working for the same firm in "another work in the other district are out, and "hence the men in North Staffordshire all agreed to "come out together." We supported them until our men refused to send money for their support, and stated that they had a right to be bound by the decision of the conference.

8560. Notwithstanding that at the meeting at Sheffield you had decided against the men in North Staffordshire striking, when they did strike you supported them?—The question of the men of North Staffordshire striking was not decided one way or the other; it was decided at the conference that they should accept the 10 per cent. reduction.

8561. And North Staffordshire was represented at that conference?—Yes.

8562. And at that conference you decided to accept the 10 per cent. reduction?—Yes.

8563. Afterwards a portion of the North Staffordshire men struck and resisted the 10 per cent., and you then supported them?—No. The whole of the North Staffordshire men, the men who were represented at this conference, as well as the men who were not there, struck, and having 400 members there we supported these men, carrying on a correspondence with our various lodges, and the lodges said ultimately "Now these men have a right to be governed by the resolution of the conference," and they refused to send money. I went down to North Staffordshire myself and advised the men to resume work, and they refused to do so.

8564. Still for a time money was sent to them?—For a time.

8565. (*Mr. Mathews.*) It was sent not only from the Middlesborough union but from the London trades unions, and a strong appeal was made to the Scotch union to support them also, was there not?—The Scotch union was a part of our own.

8566. A strong appeal was made to the Glasgow puddlers to support the North Staffordshire strike, notwithstanding that the conference had decided against them?—Yes.

8567. You were president at that time?—Yes.

8568. Was it under your advice that that was done?—We were anxious to work in concert with the Brierley Hill council. I do not wish to disguise or equivocate in the slightest degree. We would have supported the men in resisting the demand for a reduction in the event of its having been acceptable to our men.

8569. Notwithstanding all the other districts having accepted the reduction, the unions generally in London and elsewhere supported the North Staffordshire union in order to keep them out on strike against their masters?—Yes.

8570. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Did the Amalgamated Engineers support them in that?—My opinion is that Mr. Allen, the representative of that trade, was opposed to it.

8571. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) They got no assistance from the Amalgamated Engineers that you know of?—Not that I am aware of.

8572. (*Lord Elcho.*) As to the assistance that was promised to them by the meeting in London which led to their not accepting Lord Lichfield's arbitration, was that assistance forthcoming?—It was not forthcoming to the same extent.

8573. So that the promise which was made to them by a certain body in London, and which induced them to hold out, was not fulfilled?—It was not.

8574. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) What is your opinion as to the policy of that strike?—My opinion, after very mature consideration, is this, that it would have been much better if the acceptance of the reduction had been general, in consequence of the division of the trade and the large amount of money that was exhausted over the dispute which ultimately proved fruitless.

8575. It was a very protracted strike?—It was.

8576. About 16 weeks long, was it not?—I think about 22 or 23 weeks.

8577. The men I believe were greatly encouraged to hold out as long as they did by the prospects of assistance that were held out to them?—There is no doubt of it.

8578. And in that they were disappointed?—Yes, and working men are always disappointed when they depend upon the prospects held out by the passing of a resolution at a public meeting. As far as trade disputes are concerned the best security for working men is a large fund of their own; if they carry their funds in their own pocket they can defend themselves.

8579. (*Lord Elcho.*) Did any person go down to Staffordshire from the Working Men's Association of London on the occasion of that strike?—I am not aware whether there was a working men's association in existence then or not. I remember Mr. Straughan of Glasgow calling at our office at Gateshead. I met him at the station at 5 o'clock in the morning by the London express, and he received a written paper from us with the name of each member of the executive attached to it, which would fully empower him to carry out the principle of arbitration and endeavour to settle the dispute, and he went to Brierley Hill from our office. What agreement was come to there I am not prepared to say. As I could not say that what I might state is positively correct I would rather say nothing. But he went to North Staffordshire. Alexander McDonald was with him at the time, and I know that he complained to us very bitterly after he came back again of the obstacles thrown in the way of a settlement in consequence of the action taken by some of the parties who were moving amongst the working men of London.

8580. But you do not know whether any person went down from the working men of London to recommend on the spot that the arbitration should not be accepted?—I should not like to say positively that the working men went down, or did not go down; we had ceased then to take an active part in the matter, and with the exception of the case I have named when Mr. Straughan and Mr. McDonald went down, we had nothing to do with it. My impression is that a deputation did go down from London—whether a self appointed deputation or one appointed by some official body I am not prepared to say. I have heard that Mr. Potter went down, but whether he did or not I would not like to state positively.

8581. (*Mr. Mathews.*) There is no doubt of the fact; I believe that Mr. Potter did go down?—My own impression is that he went down, but I should not like to be positive about the matter.

8582. Have you ever considered, or made any sort of estimate what the cost of that strike was in North Staffordshire to the men on the one hand and the employers on the other?—I saw an estimate that was made a short time ago by Mr. Evans of Manchester.

8583. Do you agree with that statement of Mr. Evans's?—I should think it is pretty nearly correct.

8584. Do you recollect what it was?—I do not recollect the exact figures. I think it was reprinted in the "Joiner's Monthly Journal." I saw it there.

8585. I suppose you would admit that taking the fact of the puddlers in other districts having gone to work at a reduction, it would be impossible for the ironmasters in North Staffordshire to continue at the higher rate of wages?—It might be so in the event of their being compelled to pay 10 per cent. higher than in other districts, but the opinion expressed at that time and generally entertained I think by the men was, that in the event of the North Staffordshire men being kept out it might force up the wages again and force up the price of iron.

8586. Do you think that forcing up the rate of wages would necessarily cause a forcing up of the price of iron?—Most undoubtedly if it were done.

8587. Would it not result in the masters being compelled to stop their works?—It might do that, but it was not so at Brierley Hill.

8588. (*Chairman.*) Did the Brierley Hill men go on at 10 per cent. higher than their competitors?—No. The men were out in that district for something like 21 weeks, and it was ultimately arranged that the masters should raise the price of iron and give the men 1*s.* per ton advance.

8589. (*Mr. Mathews.*) But is it not the fact that the state of trade improved and the demand rose, and thereupon the masters consented to give them an advance?—There is no doubt that the price of iron was raised, and then the masters advanced the wages.

8590. (*Chairman.*) I have observed that you speak as if the iron manufacturers could command a price to rise when they pleased. You have no such idea in your mind, have you?—I know that if I were going to sell apples I could sell them at 6*d.* a dozen or at 1*s.*; that is to say, I could demand the higher price for them. I do not say that I could get it.

8591. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Would not your apples be apt to go rotten if you did not succeed in getting that higher price and would not sell them at a lower?—They must. There is no doubt that the demand has a great deal to do with the regulating of the price, but the employers frequently themselves, I think, force down the prices; if people cannot eat iron, and if the iron is not wanted, I do not see that it improves or increases the demand to reduce it lower.

Mr. J. Kane
20 Nov. 1867

8592. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) What interest can the master have in lowering the price of iron?—The securing of orders.

8593. That is his necessity, not inclination?—If he succeeds in getting a large order and then gets the men to work for a less wage he is placed in just as fortunate a position as if he were getting a higher price and the men working for higher wages.

8594. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Do you think that an iron master ever lowers the price unless he is obliged to do it owing to competition with others, or from some other cause?—I think that the competition embodies it all, they undersell one another.

8595. But they do not undersell unless they are obliged to do so, unless they cannot get the same price as their neighbours?—They do undersell at any rate.

8596. (*Lord Elcho.*) With reference to Belgium and the custom which you say prevails there, do you think that it would contribute to the prosperity of the iron trade in England if the puddlers were to combine farming with puddling?—I believe that the more the people go back to the land the richer the country will become, and the more surely the working classes be relieved from misery.

8597. Supposing that a puddler were likewise to farm, do you think that under such a system the iron trade would prosper more than it does now?—I can only say this, that I remember that at one period of my life I was working for four years and a half short time, and I had a garden at that time, and but for that garden my children must have starved.

8598. Then your farming was restricted to a garden?—Of course if you have not a large joint you must take a small one.

8599. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) There would not be much iron trade in the country, would there, if all the puddlers were to turn farmers?—I believe that if a puddler were to turn farmer there would be some difficulty in persuading him to go into the iron trade again.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. Daniel Guile examined.

Mr. D. Gui

8600. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Are you a moulder?—Yes.

8601. Where do you work?—I do not work at the trade now. I am the corresponding secretary of the Ironfounders' Society.

8602. You are the secretary of the Ironfounders' Society, residing in London, are not you?—I am residing in London.

8603. You are a paid secretary?—I am.

8604. May I ask the amount of your remuneration as secretary?—2*l.* 10*s.* per week and house rent.

8605. What is the number of members in your association?—11,106 was our last number.

8606. How far does it extend?—Over England, Ireland, and Wales.

8607. Throughout the United Kingdom?—Throughout the United Kingdom, save Scotland.

8608. What does each member subscribe weekly?—1*s.* per week with extra levies at times for accidents, emigration, and benevolent purposes.

8609. Depending upon the vote of the members from time to time?—Yes, depending upon the vote of the members from time to time as to special levies.

8610. What is the amount of your annual income?—The annual income from June 1865 to 1866 was 36,297*l.* 18*s.* 9½*d.*

8611. What is the balance of your fund now?—The last balance we had was 28,000*l.*; but then we have had a very heavy depression of trade of late, and I cannot give you what it is at present.

8612. That you have invested in various securities, I suppose?—No, we have it in bank monies.

8613. It is placed in the bank at interest?—Yes.

8614. Have you any written rules or regulations which you can put in?—Yes (*handing in the same*). It is a benefit and trade society combined.

8615. Then in addition to your ordinary trade regulations which, I suppose, are embodied in these publications, you have sick and benevolent funds?—Yes.

8616. Does the subscription to the union of 1*s.* a week embrace both the trade purposes and the benefit purposes?—Yes.

8617. According to the regulations which, I suppose, are embodied in this book before me, I suppose that in cases of disagreement about wages or strikes, or anything of that sort, the members all act together?—Generally speaking.

8618. So that if the council of the association comes to a resolution that there shall be a strike upon any occasion, all the members are bound to obey it?—Yes.

8619. And in the event of their not obeying it, is their investment in your benefit society forfeited?—Yes, under certain restrictions; there are some conditions. Supposing, for instance, that a man violates the general law, there is a penalty of so much to pay, and if he refuses to pay it in due and proper time he is expelled from the society for non-payment.

8620. And if the society comes to a resolution that a strike is necessary either for resisting a reduction of the rate of wages, or for an advance, every member is bound to submit?—That is left to the locality. The branch or locality in which the dispute takes place must first be satisfied that such a thing is required, whether it be a resistance of a reduction of wages, or seeking an advance of wages. After it has gone through the process of being submitted to a general committee of the branch, then it is sent to London, and the executive committee consider on the subject; all the facts are laid before them, and they weigh over

Mr. D. Guile.

20 Nov. 1867.

the question whether there are any chances of success about them, and they being free from the passions which exist in the locality itself are able to weigh the thing up impartially. Supposing, for example, that it is an attempt to reduce wages; if they see that there is a chance to resist successfully that reduction, then they pass a resolution that the men shall stand out and not submit to the reduction. Or supposing that they seek an advance of wages, and trade is in such a state that the executive think there is a prospect of success in asking the advance, then the executive say, "Yes, you may;" but when they see that there is no chance of success, they invariably say to them, "Well, "times are not of such a character as to enable us to "succeed in what you are seeking," whether it be either resisting a reduction or seeking an advance. Then the executive advise them not to do, and do all they can to hinder them from doing that which would not be successful.

8621. But in the event of a general concurrence they expect the whole of the members of the union to co-operate with them?—Yes.

8622. And if there are any members that do not co-operate with them they are excluded from the society?—Yes.

8623. And whatever they expected in the way of benefit is forfeited?—Yes.

8624. So that a man having paid 1*s.* a week for, say, 20 years, and having got a certain vested interest in the sick fund of your union may forfeit the benefits of the union by objecting to join in a strike?—Yes, by not acting under the dictum of the majority of the union.

8625. (*Chairman.*) A majority of one will do, I suppose?—Yes, but it never comes to a case—so close a case as that; it is a thing that is not probable at all. Supposing, for instance, that a request came up from Manchester, and there are 400 members, and 201 have said, "We will seek an advance," but 199 say "No, we will not," the fact would be laid before the executive and those men would carefully consider the thing and say to themselves, "Here are 199 men "who say the time is not ripe and proper to seek an "advance, therefore we will not agree to it."

8626. (*Mr. Mathews.*) So that you would not act upon a mere majority?—No.

8627. But in the event of your deciding in favour of the majority any person belonging to the society would be included in the majority, and would not be at liberty to act contrary to their decision?—No more than a barrister who took a less fee than the usual fee would be allowed to dine with the judges.

8628. In the case of an insurance society a man may sell his interest, but he could not sell his interest in yours?—No, and he knows it before he joins.

8629. In your association is there any regulation for the assimilation of wages irrespective of the degree of skill that is exescised by each moulder?—Well, it is always supposed that a man who has served seven years to a trade is deserving of a minimum figure of wage, below which it is derogatory to go. We have no maximum, but the wages fluctuate; for instance, in London they are 36*s.* or 38*s.*, in Manchester 34*s.* or 36*s.*, in Liverpool 32*s.* or 34*s.*, in Leeds 28*s.* or 30*s.*, in Bradford 30*s.* or 32*s.*, in Newcastle and the North from 26*s.* to 30*s.*, in Belfast and Dublin from 32*s.* to 34*s.* So that we do not equalise, or attempt to equalise wages throughout the country, simply for this bare reason, that it would be neither just nor expedient, as a man in London has to put up with a great many disadvantages which he has not to put up with in other localities; therefore, we consider that the men in the locality itself are the likeliest men to know the value of labour there.

8630. Take the case of two workmen having served seven years to the business, one is a clever and adroit moulder and the other a clumsy moulder, is the same rate of wages paid to both?—No. Take the shop that I last worked in. I worked 10 years there, and our wages varied from 32*s.* to two guineas, the minimum was 32*s.*, and we consider that a man must be a dolt indeed who cannot earn the minimum.

8631. But in case a master were to find a man who was a clumsy moulder and could not get to 32*s.* but could get to 25*s.*, would your society interfere to prevent his getting 25*s.*?—They would do their best to prevent it.

8632. That is one of the objects of your society; you place a limit on the minimum?—Yes.

8633. But no limit on the maximum?—No.

8634. So that if an employer had some workers who were very adroit, very accomplished, and perfect in the capacity of moulders, and if he were inclined to give them a higher rate of wages, but would be obliged to recoup himself by paying inferior men a lower rate, he might not do that?—Not if it were below the minimum.

8635. (*Chairman.*) Take a man above 50 years of age who could not get 32*s.* but could get 25*s.*, has he to go to the union?—No, he is allowed to take 25*s.*; neither a man above 50 nor a man under 22 is prevented from taking less than the minimum.

8636. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Because in the case of the man above 50 he is too old, and in the case of the man under 22 he is learning his trade?—That is our view of it.

8637. (*Chairman.*) Supposing that a man has his arms impeded by rheumatism, what then?—He could go on the sick fund.

8638. And do nothing?—And do nothing.

8639. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Have you had any strikes lately in your department of industry?—We have had no strikes of any consequence; we have had resistance to reduction of wages consequent upon bad trade. Employers have taken upon themselves (and I suppose justly and rightly too, according to their own opinion) to say, "We cannot afford to pay such a figure;" and the men have said, "We cannot afford to work for less."

8640. What is the state of the trade now?—Very bad indeed.

8641. Do the masters contemplate any reduction in consequence of the state of trade?—In some places, not generally.

8642. No general notice has been given on the part of the masters?—They never act in concert.

8643. Each town or district acts according to the state of its own demand?—Yes.

8644. Your experience of these strikes, perhaps, is limited because they have not been numerous in your time?—Yes, in a period of 40 years they have.

8645. You have had many strikes during that time?—Yes, a good many.

8646. What has been the general result of those strikes, and have they been of long duration?—A negative good. Some of them have been of long duration, but invariably they have turned out well.

8647. You think that the general result has been to raise the average rate of wages above the other trades?—We have not sought so much the realizing of an advance as the maintaining of our position.

8648. Then the strikes on the part of the moulders have not been for an advance of wages, but to resist a reduction?—The heaviest strikes that I have known have been to resist an attempt on the part of the employers to break up our union.

8649. Has that attempt been made by reducing wages or by a refusal to employ men?—A refusal to employ men who were club men, unless they would sign a document stating that they would no longer be members of the society.

8650. Do you know the number of moulders in your district out of the union in proportion to those in the union?—Ten in the union to two out.

8651. So that the bulk of the moulders are in the union?—Yes, in that locality; but there are many localities, such as South Wales and Cornwall, in which a society is not in existence. A society man could hardly live in South Wales.

8652. Taking the whole kingdom do you think that that proportion would apply?—Hardly that.

8653. Would there be more in union or less in union?—There would be less than eight-tenths, taking the whole kingdom, and including Cornwall and those parts.

8654. (*Lord Elcho.*) Do you know how many iron moulders there are in the United Kingdom?—No.

8655. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You said that a union in Wales would not sustain itself, why?—Because the men have not been taught unity. There is a self-reliant spirit there, which has brought them to premature old age and want, and they are kept down in such a style as English unionists would not submit to.

8656. The rate of wages is lower then in Wales than in other districts?—In South Wales.

8657. (*Mr. Merivale.*) You say that trade is against you, how long has that been the case?— Twelve months, it has been going down 18 months.

8658. You have had a long experience in the trade, on the whole have the times been more in your favour than against you?—I should say more in our favour.

8659. Do you find that the action of the unions is strongest in a favourable time or in an unfavourable time, when do men hold together more?—In good times.

8660. Are strikes more numerous in good times or in bad times in your business?—Well, they are not numerous, they are mere casual things, they are not the general rule.

8661. But do these casualties happen more when trade is thriving or when it is in a bad way?—Hitherto and of late years it has been more when trade has been bad, because having a fixed wage men are inclined to think, "If we give way we shall not get it up again;" and I lament to say that that is a fact. There was a remark made here that reducing the wages does not increase the labour. But the employers have often said, "Now trade is very bad, we "shall certainly have to pull down the wages, but "when the state of trade admits of it you shall have "higher wages again." And the men have said, "Well, half a loaf is better than none," and they have been inclined for that reason to give way. But when trade has revived and the men have gone into the office and asked for the promise to be realized, they have been told, "We can get plenty of men for what you are working for, and if you do not like it you can go." That has been one cause of strikes, combined with the efforts to break up the unions.

8662. The strikes have been more against lowering wages than in favour of raising wages?—Yes. When men want an advance in wages the system adopted by the society is generally to say, "We cannot make a "strike for the sake of your getting higher wages. "Supposing that you are not satisfied with your pre-"sent wages, we will allow you the benefits of the "society, but the shop must remain open for anyone "to go in and work so long as he will work within "the minimum figure of the branch."

8663. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Did you say that the general effect of the union had been to keep the wages rather steady than constantly fluctuating up and down?—That is my opinion, and I feel confident of that, and I will tell you why. We are not a mere mushroom society, we have had 50 years' experience now, and we find that employers have invariably said to the men, "Take a fortnight's notice," and they have invariably accompanied that with, "I will wait till the decision of the executive committee," seeing that the executive committee are men sitting at a distance and who are divested of that passion which exists in the locality itself, and if the masters feel convinced that there is going to be a strike, in many instances I have known them to withdraw the attempted reduction or their resistance to an advance of wages in good times.

8664. You said, I think, that strikes were more prevalent when times were good, and the men got an advance of wages?—No; I said when times were bad, and I tried to show the difference. If any strike takes place for a rise of wages, and the society do not countenance the strike, then they say, "We cannot close the shop," but the reverse is the case when trade is depressed and a reduction is proposed; the society says, "We will resist this, and no man shall go into the work if we can keep him from doing so."

8665. What weekly allowance do you make?—10*s.* for a single man, 2*s.* for a wife, and 1*s.* for each child under 12 years of age.

8666. As long as the strike lasts?—No, we consider that the neck of a strike is broken in six weeks, and that if we cannot win it in six weeks we must give in.

8667. What is the longest duration of a strike that you have known?—I can hardly answer that definitively. A strike say has taken place; the employers and men go on very warmly for six or eight weeks, but both feeling that they are losing; by that time they both cool down, and by the time three months are gone over the master begins to lose his strictness about a society man coming to work under him, and very often he is willingly blind to the thing, and allows society men to go on entering his works, and very often before the master is aware of the fact all the men are society men.

8668. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is there any indisposition on the part of your society for the men in the union to work with men not in the union?—They would rather not do it than do it.

8669. Is there any coercion put upon non-society men who are in the same shop with union men?—It depends upon the character of the men. If a man has become a non-society man by fraud or anything low, or by trickery, another workman looks down upon him with the same contempt that one gentleman looks upon another who has swindled anyone.

8670. In the event of three-fourths of the men in a shop being union men, and the other fourth being non-union men, is there any attempt on the part of the union men to make the situation of the non-union workmen so unpleasant that they must leave the shop?—No, I do not know that there is; there are all means of persuasion used to induce them to come in, and if they do not come in, it is not so comfortable for them as if they do.

8671. If a master engaged a non-union man in a shop where they were all union men, would the union men say to the master, "The union men will not work for you unless you discharge that man?"—It would depend upon the circumstances. Supposing that 19 society men were working in a shop and a non-society man was brought who would do all he could to uproot the society, the 19 would walk in to the master and say, "Now, sir, we cannot stay with this man; if he stays we go."

8672. And if he did not choose to discharge him they would strike?—They would walk out.

8673. They would say to the master, "If you "persist in employing a man not palatable to us we "will not work with him?"—Yes; but in many cases if they did it would not close the shop. There is a good deal of difference between a man giving notice to leave his employer, and then taking the usual benefits of the society, and a strike. Where a man is at liberty to leave his employ he leaves it free for any other man to take his place who sees fit to do so, but where it is a strike we close the shop.

8674. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) You say, "We close the shop;" but supposing that the master does not close the shop?—I mean that we close the shop as far as we are concerned.

8675. In one case your men come out and do not work. I do not see what you do in the case of a strike?—Word is sent to the executive sometimes that there are certain grievances in a branch. The executive weigh up the case and say perhaps, "It is not such a grievance as we can afford to have a strike over;" they say, "You are perfectly entitled to leave the "shop, and to have the benefits which members "are entitled to, and then any other clubman can go "into it if he likes." But if it is a grievance that the society think they can fairly combat, they simply say, "You may leave." It is not the executive who say "You must leave," but it is generally at the

Mr. D. Guile.
20 Nov. 1867.

request of the men employed; we never dictate to them.

8676. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You put it to them to exercise their own opinion? — We are generally arbitrators, if one may use the term.

8677. In striking a shop, do you picket that shop? —No we do not picket it at all; our men may possibly of their own will and accord do so, but we have no system of the kind. I would myself, if I saw a moulder on the road, ask him, "Are you going to seek a job up there?" and if he said "Yes," I would say, "You are a great fool if you go, because all the men are out and you will be doing an injury to yourself."

8678. You do not countenance picketing in your association?—No.

8679. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) How does it do the man himself an injury to go to work at the place?—In this light; present evils not only relate to the present but also to the future. I for instance may leave a shop because the master has been wanting to pull down my wages to such a figure that a man with a family of eight or nine children cannot possibly live at it, but here is a young man who comes down to the place and he can live comfortably perhaps on that amount at the present time, but there is a day coming, perhaps, when he will be the father of eight or nine children, and then it would not be a comfortable provision for him; he is only wetting the blanket to lie on himself; that is how he would be doing himself an evil.

8680. (*Lord Elcho.*) But supposing that he is not a member of your union and is in want of employment and bread?—I would persuade him to become a member, and give him a piece of bread if he wanted it.

8681. (*Mr. Mathews.*) In the event of a strike you use no active measures to prevent men disposed to work in a shop from working in it, but you use all the means you can to keep them out?—We use all moral means.

8682. You use all the social influence within the law that is in your power?—Yes. Here is a fact in point which will give some idea of what our disputes have been during the last eight years. The cash paid for strikes has been, during the period of the last eight years, a total of 1,877*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.*, or less than 8½*d.* per member per year, while at the same time there has been paid for benevolent purposes on the average by each member 2*l.* 13*s.* 2¼*d.*; that amount has been spent per member per year for the support of our benevolent fund—not for strikes, but for sickness, old age allowance, and so on; that is very nearly 75 per cent. of the whole.

8683. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) You said, as I understood you, that the question which determined you in your demand was what you could get; do you mean that you would put it as a question of what you can get rather than as a question of what is right and good for the masters as well as the men?—We put it as a question of expediency.

8684. You seemed to put it as a question of your being able to get it, that if you could get it you would try for it, irrespective of the employer's interest in the matter?—Well, long experience has taught us that it is folly to go into a strike where there is no chance of success, and long experience has taught us that it is to our advantage to gain anything out of capital that we can when there is a chance.

8685. You might succeed but succeed unjustly, might you not?—I do not think that we can succeed unjustly.

8686. Why not?—For this reason, that I see employers who during my day were journeymen, they were journeymen 21 years ago, and they have been living on their losses and riding in their carriages up to the present time, while the best geniuses and the most intelligent amongst the men have to be well contented if they are able to get a new coat once a year.

8687. Is it your opinion that it is desirable to let a journeyman have the means of getting into a position in which he may keep his own carriage, by giving him wages according to his merits; that is to say, by piece work?—I would say that the man of merit should go into the carriage certainly.

8688. Is it your opinion that the trade ought to encourage a principle which would enable a man of great merit and industry to succeed in life, and that he should have the opportunity of benefiting himself and his family by that success; or do you hold, as we have heard it stated here, that such a man is a selfish man who should not be allowed to rise, because by his rising he does an injury to his fellow man?—I would say that if he is doing an injury to his fellow man his raising himself is a curse rather than a blessing. But if by merit, by industry, by talent, and by energy, he can raise himself without injuring his fellow man, I would wish him God speed.

8689. Do you believe that a man in raising himself would injure his fellows?—I believe that he has done so in some instances. The man is given piece work, he is made a kind of middle man—a sort of whipper-in, and he has to drive, it may be, a better man than ever stood in his shoes, and he gets cent. per cent. out of him.

8690. Have you much piece work?—We have in some instances; we have hardly done with it yet; some men have earned 14*l.* or 15*l.* a week, it may be, and some others who are made to sweat drops of blood hardly earn 32*s.* a week.

8691. Have you any byelaws similar to those of the Amalgamated Engineers, by which a man working on piece work, and who is the leader of the work and has another man working with him, is bound to share with the man who helps him the profits of the earnings of the piece work above ordinary day work?—No.

8692. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Take the case of a man who is sober, industrious, sagacious, intellectually above his fellow men, ingenious above his fellow men, and who is competent as he thinks to take certain departments and pay men under him, is there anything in your association to prevent a man putting himself in that position and taking work from the employer by the ton?—No direct rule.

8693. But you discourage it?—Yes.

8694. You discourage a man having capacities for raising himself from putting himself in a position to do it?—If it is done at the expense of his fellows, because whenever such a man is put in it is harder to work for such a man than it is to work for a *bonâ fide* employer. I would prefer to work for a gentleman who is to realize a certain profit out of me than for a man who is to step in between me and the gentleman. West Indian slavery cannot be worse than in some cases that is, and hence we discourage it.

8695. Are you prepared to admit that the bulk of the men who raise themselves above their fellow men raise themselves by virtue of the good qualities which I have mentioned?—Yes, perhaps so.

8696. Take the case of railway chairs; a man sees his way to manipulate railway chairs in a better way than hitherto, and he says to his master, "I can see "my way to that being done at a lower rate than "hitherto," you would discourage that?—No, I would not; but if he made an under man under him work harder than a slave to achieve his purpose, then I would discourage it.

8697. Supposing that the under man refuses to work harder than a slave, and says, "I will only work "for you on the same terms as for my original "master," would you discourage it then?—Where we can we discourage.

8698. (*Lord Elcho.*) What power would this middle man you are alluding to have of making a man working under him work harder than before?—The only power of hindering him from getting bread.

8699. His master could do the same?—But his master would not do it—the master is contented with the profit that the man brings him, but here this middle man steps in between them to get an extra profit.

8700. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You are speaking now of a system of working by middle men; but taking piece

work in the ordinary acceptation of the term, that is, a man being employed to do work not at a certain rate of wages per day but at a price per ton, for instance, what is the practice of your union with reference to that?—We have such a practice, but we find it an evil one. As a case in point I recollect when 40 chairs were a day's work, and they kept encroaching and encroaching by piece work until it got to 120 a day.

8701. You mean that if there is an habitual practice of piece work the wages of the men are not on the average raised by it?—They are not, because they have to put into it more physical labour, more skill, more dodging, more scheming, and to work more hours for it.

8702. Can you say positively yes or no to this question? As a matter of fact, has the union by its rules as to piece work, or by any other rule or practice which is adopted in it, prevented men of industry and ability from rising in their trade, and making the most of their skill?—No, it has not.

8703. Do you know personally cases where men have actually succeeded in doing so?—Yes.

8704. How do you explain it then to be possible for a man to make the most of his skill if such a system of piece work is prohibited?—Simply from what we hear of employers telling us almost daily that they will give any amount of money to men of merit and men of intelligence and sobriety. All I say is, do so, but do not do it out of me.

8705. Then there is nothing really to prevent a man of very superior skill or strength or industry from earning more than his fellows?—No. You need not go out of London to find that. Taking Maudesley's and Penn's, for instance, you will find that the wages are ranging there from 38*s.* up to 2*l.* 10*s.*

8706. Does the union by direct or indirect means prevent that variation of scale according to merit and ability?—No.

8707. Does it encourage it?—Yes.

8708. The experience of your society, I believe, and possibly your own personal experience, goes back to the time when your union was in existence under the old system before the repeal of the combination laws, before 1825?—Not my own experience, I entered in 1834.

8709. But the records of your society go back further?—The records of the society go back to February 1809.

8710. Can you describe what you have gathered from the records of the society, or from what you have learnt as a member of the society, of the condition of things under that old system?—No, I could not give you anything definite.

8711. The society was secret, I presume?—So secret that we had to dig holes in the floor and hide our books there, and meet out on the open moor.

8712. Was the society, notwithstanding that, enabled to carry on its operations?—Yes.

8713. Did it receive contributions, and conduct strikes and the rest just as if it were legalized?—Yes.

8714. Were those of a less lawful character than those which you have been describing as happening in your own time?—I daresay there would be a little more physical force exercised, but I attribute that to a great extent to the education of the people. If a man in those days had done anything unpleasant to his companions, and was crossing a bridge over a river, they would very likely give him a lift over and a cold bath; but that was under the law of smuggling and piracy.

8715. You mean that the general organization of unions has been much superior of late times to what it used to be in early times?—Yes, very much.

8716. Very much more conforming to law, and with fewer cases of outrage?—Yes; all the outrages I have ever heard of in connexion with our trade have been cases of men who have met in a public house and had some dispute there.

8717. Have any cases been brought before your central executive where a local officer of the society or any member of the union in any part of the country has been charged with or suspected of outrage?—There was a case at Hull; I think, however, it was a mere nothing; it proved itself a myth.

8718. How long ago was that?—Some three or four months ago. There had been a bit of disturbance in the shop, and somebody had got in on the Sunday and had thrown rammers and spades into the water that runs alongside the shop and had spoiled some moulds.

8719. Is the practice of rattening, then, or destruction of the property of workmen altogether unknown in your trade?—I never knew it.

8720. You never had a case of it?—We never had a case, and I should be very sorry to have one.

8721. Will you positively state that no member of your union has been convicted of such a thing?—Never to my knowledge.

8722. I mean destroying the property or the tools of fellow-workmen who are not members of the union, and things of that kind?—Never to my knowledge. I do not recollect anything bordering on such a case.

8723. Have the executive ever felt it necessary to take measures or to give instructions for the purpose of discontinuing things of that kind?—No.

8724. But you have no doubt that it would do so if necessary?—Most undoubtedly it would do so. I may tell you that our monthly report goes to show the men that labour has its duties to perform as well as its rights to expect. If there was anything like rattening, or anything of the sort, it would have to appear in this book (*pointing to a book*). In this is given every halfpenny paid by the society by every member, and every member's name who has paid it; and every halfpenny that has been paid out, and every man who has received it; and the miscellaneous items, I may safely say, do not amount to 2½*d.* in any branch in England. So that if there was anything like a rattening system countenanced by the societies, it would come out in this book.

8725. You are prepared to state that during the time that you have been a member of the society you have never been present at any meeting of the union at which a scheme for rattening has been countenanced or directed?—Never.

8726. Or anything approaching it?—Nothing in the shape of it. The society generally, even the roughest of us, would look upon any man who dared to get up at a public meeting and propose rattening as the greatest enemy we had, a greater enemy than the masters who come into conflict with us in a strike.

8727. With regard to the employment of apprentices, or the apprentice system, does the union adopt any general policy, or is it left to the separate branches of the society to deal with it, or is it perfectly open?—There is no definite law on that subject, it is merely a practice of the locality more than anything else; but it is considered, if there is any law at all, that one boy is sufficient to three men. We are never stringent and men are seldom fined, but we do all we can to keep it to that.

8728. Have you had any strike of late years arising on that question?—No, none of consequence.

8729. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Supposing that the proportion of apprentices should be one to every three men, and any one of the men should choose to take more, the society would discourage it?—Yes.

8730. If he were to persevere in it would they expel him?—No. In certain localities each man has a boy. For instance, at Worcester, and at any places where there is a good deal of stove work and pot work, they generally have a boy with them.

8731. You do not limit it to one to three?—We do our best to keep it that.

8732. So that if an employer wished to increase the number of apprentices it would be discouraged on the part of the men?—Yes.

8733. If they were to persevere would there be a strike?—I cannot say.

Mr. D. Guile.
20 Nov. 1867.

8734. It would be a matter for discussion with the executive?—Yes.

8735. About this question of middle men, you place no limit to the maximum rate of wages, but only to the minimum rate of wages?—Yes.

8736. In the case of a man such as I have alluded to, being a man of comprehensive views, and more sagacity than his fellows, who can turn out work better and cheaper as a middle man than he could by doing work directly for the principal, you would discourage such a man?—No, I do not say that. The worst of it is, that these men who get that name are generally bad men.

8737. You assume that they are bad men?—Yes, because they have not merit more than other men, they have not talent more than other men, nor have they ingenuity more than other men; but they have more effrontery in them. Hence they push themselves into the positions; and under such circumstances, supposing we saw that the man was of such a character, we would do our best to show the employer that it was wrong; and supposing that it came to the dernier resort of a strike, we might win or not, but by and by the thing would drop into its usual groove and we would find the man going on until he would whip and goad his men to such an extent that a strike would be the ultimate result.

8738. Are we to infer that the majority of the men who have obtained that position are men of the character you have described?—I am rather in dangerous company to assert that. I do not mean to say that all are so. There are exceptions, and I thank God there are.

8739. Is it not the case that elevation above your fellow men and advance in your social condition is generally attributable to superior sense and superior talent?—Yes.

8740. In such a case would your society set its face against that?—No, but where the devilry would set in and where the tyranny would set in, there the society would set its face against it.

8741. But would it not be as easy to prevent such a man from doing injustice as to prevent a master?—It is hard to beat such a man; he knows where all the scum of the country is, and he can fetch them to his aid.

8742. You discourage piece work on the assumption that it leads to that evil?—Yes, where men aggrandize themselves, and allow no one to enjoy the benefit. I could quote instances, places in this country where piece work has existed and where men have realized as much from the head of a firm as should have kept at least four or five men and their families in comfort; and I may say that the results of that have been that the very self-same men when the firm has failed have been obliged to go to the gaol for not paying their debts.

8743. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Would not that evil be cured by the rule that the Amalgamated Engineers have of some division of the profits of the piece work?—It might. I do not know whether the Amalgamated Engineers have cured the evil or not; if they have, they will tell me so, for we are very good friends.

8744. That would get rid of your difficulty?—We do not find great difficulty in it; it does not often happen.

8745. (*Mr. Harrison.*) But speaking generally, how would you sum up the advantages which you think the existence of the union in its present form gives to the trade?—In the first place, if rightly and properly carried out, it enables all masters to go into the market upon the same terms. For instance, here is a master, who is a young beginner. He has, perhaps, a pretty large capital at his command, but as a young beginner he has no connexion. He is resolved that he is going to make his works pay at whatever hazard. Now the question was asked this morning, What are men to do when prices fall so low? I will only urge that if the employers of this country exercised the same amount of skill and ingenuity, namely, to keep the price of manufactured goods up as they do to keep down the price of labour, the prices in the market would not fall so low. One good effect of a union is that every employer shall pay the same price for his labour. There is a young beginner who wants to form a connexion, and he sees that there is no way to form a connexion except by undercutting the others; and the issue of that is that he has to undercut his men because he will not allow the certain margin left for profit to be touched, so that if a reduction takes place in the manufactured article it does not come off his profit, but off those who are employed. Now if all men were society men, and asked a fair day's wage for a fair day's work, and all masters were willing to abide by that rule, then all the masters could go into the market on the same footing; not only that, but the union encourages a man to become a proficient in his trade. He knows that if he would be a respected member of society he must be at least above the common rank, and it gives him a stimulus; and another thing is, that it enables the working man, who is looking on with some degree of anxiety 40 or 50 years, to see that there will be something at the end of that time to rely on; superannuation money, sick money, accident money, and all those things are in his favour, and make him a provident man. And most of the men that I know who are non-society men in a locality where a society exists are drunkards, idlers, and very often improvident men, that do not care for their wives, or children, or themselves, and I lament to say that very often they are defrauders.

8746. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Does not that apply equally to society men and non-society men?—No, I do not think so. I gather my information from masters with whom I have been brought into contact, and it has invariably been their evidence, "I would rather "employ club men because they are more intelligent "men."

8747. Do you confine yourself to your own society or do you include other societies in that answer?—I can speak better to my own society.

8748. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) I understand you to say that where there is a society the best men will join it?—Yes.

8749. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Have you many members in South Staffordshire?—Yes, we have members in Bilston, Dudley, Hanley, Stourbridge, and Walsall; those are our principal places in Staffordshire.

8750. Can you give the number collectively in that particular locality?—No.

8751. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Do any brass moulders in Birmingham form any part of your society?—No.

8752. Do the brass moulders generally belong to your society?—No.

8753. (*Mr. Mathews.*) They have a union of their own?—Yes, there is just one observation more which I would like to make, and I expected that Mr. Kane would have said it. It is in reference to a question which you asked, to this effect, whether if iron costs 5*l.* 10*s.* a ton for the labour, and there is a drop of 1*l.* in the price, the ironworks must close unless the wages are reduced. Now that brings us to a very serious point of consideration. If the ironworkers, ourselves included, are now as low as we can possibly get (and 24*s.*, if that evidence be true, is low enough), is it desirable that we, the British manufacturers and artizans, should come down to the level of the continental nations? I believe that nothing but England's well-paid artizans maintained our position as a nation during the great struggle and crisis of revolutions on the continent. And you will recollect further that at the time when the great Chartist agitation was going on in this country their cry was, "Only pull down the "artizan class of this country to the level of the "labourer, and the Charter would have to be "granted." My opinion is that if we are to be brought down to the level of the continental workmen, who can live on a drop of sour wine and half a handful of raisins, our position will be the same as theirs, and we shall be as near revolution as they have been.

Mr. D. Guile.
20 Nov. 1867.

8754 (*Lord Elcho.*) What would your remedy be?—I hardly like to state my remedy, but I believe that the law of primogeniture will have to be knocked on the head for one remedy. I believe that God gave the land to the people, and did not intend that one man should have a hundred miles of it.

8755. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is there any law of primogeniture?—They tell me so; I am not a lawyer. These, however, are very serious things.

8756. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) I suppose you admit that prices are influenced by buyers as well as sellers?—Yes; I do not think that a reduction of wages will always augment the demand. As I have said before, employers generally have sprung from us, and they have gone up at such a rapid rate that in 24 or 25 years they actually do not know you when they meet you, though you may be as intelligent as Lord John Russell. They are always talking about their losing so much, and yet they thrive by their losses; and if the employers would be content with a less margin of profit on their capital you may depend upon it that they could afford to give better wages to the workmen.

8756. Is it not one of the greatest advantages of this country, as contrasted with foreign nations, that the highest positions of society are open to every one who has merit?—I daresay it is; I would rather be an Englishman than a Frenchman. I am somewhat like the man who said, "England, with all thy faults, I love thee still."

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to to-morrow at 11 o'clock.

1, Park Prospect, Westminster, Thursday, 21st November 1867.

PRESENT:

The Right Hon. Sir WILLIAM ERLE.	JAMES BOOTH, Esq., C.B.
The Right Hon. the EARL of LICHFIELD.	JOHN ARTHUR ROEBUCK, Esq., M.P.
Lord ELCHO, M.P.	THOMAS HUGHES, Esq., M.P.
Sir DANIEL GOOCH, Bart., M.P.	FREDERIC HARRISON, Esq.
HERMAN MERIVALE, Esq., C.B.	WILLIAM MATHEWS, Esq.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR WILLIAM ERLE IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. WILLIAM HOBSON examined.

Mr. W. Hobson.
21 Nov. 1867.

8757. (*Chairman.*) You are the secretary, I believe, of the Associated Ironworkers of Great Britain?—Yes.

8758. Having its head-quarters at Brierley Hill?—Yes.

8759. That is one association I believe; Mr. Kane representing another association, of which the chief office is now at Walsall?—Yes.

8760. I think we examined Mr. Kane a good deal with respect to a strike of the Staffordshire ironworkers; were you acquainted with the circumstances of that strike?—Some of them.

8761. And the approximation to a settlement by arbitration?—No, we were not connected with anything in the way of arbitration; our association were not consulted upon that question.

8762. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) First of all will you have the kindness to tell me what are the relations between your association and Mr. Kane's association; in what way are they connected, because if I understood Mr. Kane correctly yesterday, he said that you took part in the conference that was held at Sheffield?—Yes, we did. There was a confederation of the two unions that took place during the Leeds affair; we were to assist each other both morally and pecuniarily during the continuation of the strike, or rather of the lock-out. Prior to the Sheffield conference they severed their connexion by a resolution which was passed.

8763. That was before the lock-out, I understand you?—Yes, we were confederated during the lock-out.

8764. Were you present at that conference at Sheffield?—Yes.

8765. And what was the resolution arrived at there with regard to the state of things in Staffordshire?—There was no resolution in regard to Staffordshire. There was a resolution passed in regard to the North union and Scotland, to the effect that they were to endeavour to get the employers to meet them half way, if not, to accept the whole reduction.

8766. Is this magazine that has just been put into my hands, the "Ironworkers' Magazine," in connexion with your association?—Yes, it is the first that was issued after its organization.

8767. Do you refer, in this magazine, to the meeting at Sheffield?—Those conditions stated therein are the confederation conditions that took place during the Leeds lock-out, between Gateshead and Brierley Hill.

8768. Then, in point of fact, at the time of the Sheffield conference you were acting in concert with the association represented by Mr. Kane?—We merely went down to the conference to understand what resolutions they came to, in order that we might return and lay them before our members.

8769. Then after that conference at Sheffield you had a meeting of your own association at Brierley Hill?—Yes.

8770. Have you got any report of that meeting that you could furnish us with?—Yes, I have the minute book here, with the resolutions inserted.

8771. What was the result of that?—The meeting was called together in order to consider whether it would be politic to accept the whole reduction or not, and 15 of the districts came to the decision that it would be policy to endeavour to meet the employers if possible, or rather to get them to meet the men half way. Another meeting was convened a week after (at the termination of the notice for the reduction), and at that meeting it was decided for the North Staffordshire men, at their request, to endeavour to get the employers to meet them half way, if not, to resist the reduction; and the reason that they came to that decision was in consequence of the statements given in by the North Staffordshire delegate. He stated that the men at the different works in North Staffordshire had waited upon their employers, and that most of the employers stated that they were willing to meet them half way providing the others were, and the delegates were under the impression that if the matter was tested, the employers would probably give way, or concede to their request.

8772. Then the North Staffordshire men at that meeting expressed their intention of refusing the reduction that had been offered by the masters?—Yes; in fact the delegate went so far at to state that he dare not return unless the decision was in favour of resisting.

Mr. W. Hobson.

21 Nov. 1867.

8773. What was the feeling of the South Staffordshire men at that meeting?—They were in favour of accepting the reduction, the whole of them. There is a report of the North Staffordshire affair inserted in the next annual report, 1865, which is the representatives own explanation of the affair.

8774. I think that part of the men in North Staffordshire belonged to your association, and part of them belonged to the association represented by Mr. Kane?—Yes.

8775. How was it that the men belonging to your association and the men belonging to the association represented by Mr. Kane both struck, when Mr. Kane's association decided against a strike?—It was a compact entered into between themselves in the North Staffordshire district.

8776. But they would not have come to the decision, I suppose, to strike unless they had been promised some support; was that support promised by you or by Mr. Kane's association?—There was not any support at all promised then. At the termination of the notice for the lock-out there was a resolution passed that they were to accept the reduction, and they were respectfully requested to return to their work. There was support rendered them for seven weeks from our association prior to the lock-out.

8777. You undertook to support them for seven weeks?—Yes.

8778. But did you undertake to support all the men, or only those belonging to your own association?—We only undertook to support those belonging to our association till the men in North Staffordshire made an appeal to our council to ask that in the event of the North union refusing support their members might receive a share of the support which they were receiving.

8779. Then you supported your own men, and the men belonging to the Gateshead association had nothing to depend upon while on strike. They had no promise of support from anyone according to that?—They received support from the North union.

8780. From the Gateshead association?—Yes; but after the North refused to support them our members in North Staffordshire shared the amount of aliment they were receiving with them. I think it came to about 3*s.* 4*d.* per week; 10*s.* was allowed to the men under the Brierley Hill superintendence, and they allowed the men under the superintendence of the North an equal share.

8781. How long did your association continue to support the men in North Staffordshire?—Seven weeks.

8782. How long did the strike last?—17 weeks on the whole; that was the whole time they were out.

8783. And the men only received support from your association for seven weeks?—Only seven weeks. There were some of them victimized, and a delegate meeting met on May the 6th, and decided for them to receive victims aliment. I mean those that the employers would not employ again.

8784. What allowance was made to them by your association?—After they were victimized they received 1*l.* a week for three months.

8785. During the seven weeks I mean?—3*l.* 10*s.* for the whole seven weeks; 10*s.* per week per member.

8786. How many members had you in North Staffordshire at this time belonging to your association?—350 bonâ fide members.

8787. How many men were you supporting at that time?—350.

8788. (*Mr. Harrison.*) On what you call the victim fund?—No, during the seven weeks.

8789. But how many on that victim fund?—I cannot exactly say.

8790. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Will you explain upon what grounds your association decided upon supporting the resistance of the North Staffordshire men to the reduction when they accepted it themselves in the South?—They were under the impression that the employers would give way in consequence of Mr. Bates and a few others stating that they were willing to concede the one half to the men, while there were some of the other employers who stated that another shilling ought to be taken off, that in fact they were receiving a shilling more than they really ought to do, and the members were under the impression that the employers in North Staffordshire would allow the men to commence working at only 6*d.* per ton reduction, and the resolution went to say that it was to test the masters in North Staffordshire whether they would give way or not.

8791. How could you suppose that the masters in North Staffordshire would be able to give 10 per cent. more wages than the masters in South Staffordshire?—The men in North Staffordshire assigned the reason of their being put to several inconveniences, such as leaving South Staffordshire and having to pay more rent. That was the reason that they assigned at the meeting, and they considered that the reduction was uncalled for.

8792. They assigned at that meeting special reasons for thinking that their wages should be higher than the wages in South Staffordshire?—Yes.

8793. And it was upon that that you decided to support the strike in North Staffordshire?—Yes, it was upon that that the delegates decided to support the men in North Staffordshire. You will please to bear in mind that there were 21 districts who took part in this decision, and some of those districts comprised 20 works, and a representative from each district was at the meeting. It was not the executive council at Brierley Hill that decided, but a special meeting from the whole association.

8794. What districts were represented in your association?—At that time there were Brierley Hill, Wednesbury, West Bromwich, Tividale, Tipton, Manchester, Smethwick, Moxley, New Birchills, Liverpool, Derby, Warrington, Pelsal, and other places.

8795. What other counties besides Staffordshire were represented in your association?—We have a work at Gateshead, and we have works at Manchester, in North Staffordshire, Wednesbury, West Bromwich, Pelsal, and so on.

8796. Do I rightly understand you that you only supported the strike in North Staffordshire for seven weeks out of the funds of your association?—Seven weeks prior to the lock-out. There was a delegate meeting called after the lock-out in order to take them upon the funds again in consequence of Mr. Bates refusing to employ the mill-men again; that was when they came on to the fund again. He wanted to compel the mill-men to leave the puddlers' association.

8797. Do you know how they were supported after the end of the seven weeks?—They were supported by public subscriptions after the end of the seven weeks.

8798. Then after the end of the seven weeks they were not supported by your association until after they were made victims, as you say?—They issued a printed appeal to the public, and they were supported, so far as they did receive support, by the public alone. They received no support at all from our association until the dispute was being brought to a close, and the employers wanted to persuade the mill-men to give up membership; or rather, they stated that a deputation waited upon Mr. Bates at Tunstall, and he stated that if the mill-men did not give up their membership to the puddlers' union they would not be employed any more. Our association had given a pledge to the honorary secretary of the Iron Masters Association not to support directly or indirectly the North Staffordshire men prior to the lock-out.

8799. Do you know where the public support came from?—No, I do not; they appealed to the whole trades of the country.

8800. And they received assistance from London, did they not?—I believe they did. They had a delegate in London soliciting subscriptions.

8801. I think you said that you know nothing of the circumstances of the arbitration that was proposed to them in North Staffordshire later on?—No, they did not consult us upon that question at all. I saw it in the paper after it had taken place.

8801*a*. Did you continue to give them any support from your association after that arbitration was refused?—Not till Mr. Bates, the employer, Tunstall Works, refused to employ the mill-men.

8801*b*. (*Mr. Booth.*) How long did that support of the men whom you have described as victims continue to be given?—Till they obtained situations. There are some of them who have only obtained situations about two months ago.

8801*c*. You went on to give them support until they had found situations?—Yes.

8801*d*. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You reside at Brierley Hill, I think?—Yes.

8801*e*. And you are the secretary of the Brierley Hill Association?—Yes.

8801*f*. Are you a paid secretary?—Yes.

8801*g*. What is your rate of pay?—3*l*. a week.

8801*h*. Are you at work now, except as secretary?—No.

8801*i*. What was your previous occupation?—Puddler.

8801*k*. In what work were you engaged when a puddler?—At Round Oak, the Earl of Dudley's work.

8802. How long is it since you discontinued being a puddler?—Four years and nine months.

8803. You voluntarily resigned your duties as puddler, I suppose, to become secretary of the association?—The men of the work formed a deputation and waited upon Mr. Richards, the manager, to state that they had a desire for me to be the secretary. The association started during the strike of 1863, and I acted as secretary for them during that strike.

8804. Were you then in the employ of Lord Dudley?—Yes.

8805. Then when the strike took place you discontinued being a puddler, and you became secretary to the union?—Yes.

8806. In giving notice on the part of the masters to the workmen for a reduction of wages, is it customary to give notice except upon a reduction in the price of iron?—In some instances the notice has been given when the men have perceived that an advance in the price of iron has taken place.

8807. What I want you to answer is this, whenever the masters give notice to the men for a reduction of wages, it is incidental upon a reduction in the price of iron, is it not, and they never give notice for a reduction of wages unless compelled by a reduction in the price of iron?—I cannot say that. That statement is given generally to the men by masters.

8808. That is the general impression?—Yes.

8809. That impression has never been contradicted I believe, but it is a fact of common notoriety?—Yes.

8810. Are you aware what proportion in the cost of a ton of bar iron consists of wages, and what proportion consists of other charges that do not fluctuate? Have you ever given that any consideration?—No, I have not made a calculation on that head.

8811. Suppose it should happen that 80 per cent. on the cost of a ton of bar iron consists of wages alone, in the event of a reduction of 1*l*. a ton, would it not be absolutely necessary that the wages should fall in proportion, in some degree, to the fall in the price of iron?—Yes, I suppose it would; but I do not think that there would be 80 per cent. off wages in the cost of manufacturing a ton of bar iron.

8812. Suppose I were to say that that is about the established rate, assuming that to be the case, would not that involve an absolute necessity on the part of an employer to reduce the rate of wages in some degree proportionate to the price of iron?—Providing that in minerals and other materials used in the manufacture of iron a change had taken place, of course it would be necessary.

8813. As you are aware, a reduction extends, generally speaking, to all departments in Staffordshire, not to puddling alone?—Just so.

8814. In point of fact, the rate of puddling chiefly regulates the rate of wages in other departments?—It has hitherto done so.

8815. In the event of such a state of things taking place as that of which you have just given us a description in North Staffordshire, where there is one district which stands out and refuses to accept a reduction of wages in consequence of a reduction in the price of iron, and the men from several other districts as well as from London continue to support those men in a strike, does not a lock-out become absolutely necessary on the part of the masters as a measure of self-defence?—I should not think that they would be justified in locking men out; I think that more amicable terms might be come to.

8816. But in the absence of amicable terms, when every effort has been made by negotiation with the men, by an offer of reference to arbitration, or by any other suggestion, and all these have failed, would it not be a matter of self-defence on the part of the masters to lock-out till by some means a settlement was brought about?—Lock-outs are objectionable to both men and employers, I have no doubt, but it is a means which has been resorted to by employers.

8817. But what I want to ask you with reference to those means having been resorted to by employers, is this,—in the absence of any other means of adjusting a disputed question, does it not become absolutely necessary on the part of the masters to adopt those means rather than suffer themselves to have one district stand out which is supplied with money by the other districts, in order to bring those districts that are at work into a position to compel an advance of wages?—I do not think that there was any necessity for a reduction, myself, at that period, else why should the employers hesitate about reducing the iron at their meeting in June 1864.

8818. Was not the price of iron, in fact, reduced?—Yes; Mr. Foster reduced it 1*l*. a ton.

8819. If Mr. Foster, being one of the chief makers and best makers, and one of the most influential ironmasters in Great Britain, finds it necessary to reduce the price of iron 1*l*. a ton, would it not be impossible for other ironmasters to maintain the price after that?—Yes.

8820. Then the reduction of wages became an absolute necessity?—Yes; unless they were willing to sink their profits.

8821. And to incur a very considerable loss?—I do not know about the loss, I think that the profits are enormous.

8822. Have you any means of ascertaining the profits?—Nothing more than the public statements of accounts in the papers.

8823. Are the public statements in the papers better than the ironmasters own statements?—I refer to certain joint stock reports.

8824. What reports?—Those of the Patent Shaft Company, Wednesbury, for instance.

8825. They are a company to make a peculiar sort of wheels and tires and axles; they are not ironmasters in the usual sense of the term, but their trade consists chiefly in the finished article, does it not?—Also puddling and manufacturing all kinds of iron, excepting pig iron.

8826. That is to say, they puddle their iron for their own use, not for sale?—I do not know, I never made that inquiry. Another case is the report of the Regent Works at Bilston. It showed that Mr. Beard, before he failed, had been making 3,000*l*. or 4,000*l*. a year profit.

8827. How came he to fail, then?—Because he entered into foreign speculations. He was a workman, I believe, about 10 years ago, a boiler plate roller, and worked in the North of England.

8828. And Mr. Beard being a boiler plate roller, and having a considerable amount of ingenuity, raised himself to the position of an ironmaster, and according to your account he continued to make large profits as an ironmaster, until he failed, owing to a foreign speculation?—Yes.

8829. If I were to tell you that I was a creditor of Mr. Beard, and knew his circumstances well, and

Mr. W. Hobson.

21 Nov. 1867.

that the statement of his failure being owing to foreign speculation was an entire mistake, should you believe me?—Yes.

8830. You state that you had reason to believe that owing to certain negotiations the North Staffordshire ironmasters were willing to set the men on at half the reduction?—Yes.

8831. Were there any other ironmasters, except Mr. Bates, that had that sort of negotiation with their men?—I have the statement of each of the delegates. This was the statement (I am reading from the minute book) that the deputation gave in at Tunstall, "that "Mr. Bates stated that the deputation had taken the "right steps in order to bring about a reconciliation if "possible, he was quite willing to meet the men half "way if the rest of the masters would. Biddulph "Valley Works. Mr. Heath stated that they would "force the whole reduction." "Newcastle. There "was a meeting of the North Staffordshire masters at "Stoke on the 12th instant, and if they were willing "to accept the concession of the men, 6*d.* per ton "instead of 1*s.*, of course he would have no objection."

8832. Was there any concession on the part of the ironmasters at that meeting to accept the compromise; did they so accept it?—No.

8833. Then there was nobody but Mr. Bates that you are aware of who negotiated with the men for accepting the five per cent. reduction instead of the 10?—And the master of the Newcastle Works in North Staffordshire stated that if the masters at the meeting at Stoke, that would be held on the 12th of that month, were agreeable to meet the men half way he would be agreeable.

8834. But they were not agreeable?—No.

8835. There was a good deal of negotiation, I think you stated, between Mr. Bates and his men. That was not only with respect to the compromise of the reduction, but with respect to other circumstances, I mean about his men wanting to discharge a manager, or something of that sort; are you aware of that?—There were so many disputes between Mr. Bates and his men that it is impossible for me to bear them in mind.

8836. And Mr. Bates was a good deal harassed in consequence of those disputes?—Yes.

8837. What number of men did Mr. Bates employ, are you aware?—No; I think that many disputes were brought on through injudicious management, such as employing double the number of hands required, and allowing men to absent themselves just when they thought proper.

8838. Has not the result of these troubles and negotiations between Mr. Bates and his men been an entire stoppage on the part of Mr. Bates and giving up the iron trade altogether?—I believe it has.

8839. Did not Mr. Bates on abandoning his business and closing his works state that he was obliged to do it in consequence of being so much harassed by his men?—That was the statement inserted in the papers.

8840. There was no doubt of the fact that Mr. Bates's works were stopped and all his men discharged?—Yes. He had had losses at times owing to the mismanagement of managers.

8841. With respect to South Staffordshire, has there ever been any difficulty on the part of the ironmasters in cases of notices for a reduction of wages on the one hand, or notices for an advance on the other, in having friendly conferences with their men?—In some instances; but speaking generally, when the masters have met the men the differences have been brought to an amicable settlement.

8842. By friendly communication?—Yes.

8843. That is to say, when the men employed in a particular work applied to the masters of that particular work there has seldom been any difficulty in adjusting the dispute?—In the Brierley Hill district, ever since the strike of 1863, they have been able to settle every difference excepting one, and that was at the Blockmoor tinworks, the men came out at the request of their fellowmen in the Tivedale district.

8844. Take the large works in South Staffordshire, Mr. Foster's, Knight and Company's, the New British Iron Company's, and Lord Dudley's, has there ever been any difficulty on the part of the employers there in conferring with the men?—No, they have met their men on friendly terms.

8845. There has never been any disinclination as a rule on the part of the South Staffordshire ironmasters to meet the men?—No, they meet the men and the officers of the association.

8846. When the officers of the association are not employed in the particular ironworks, is there not an indisposition on the part of the masters to discuss matters with those officers?—In a few instances.

8847. They like discussing matters with men in their employ, but not with men not in their employ?—They prefer discussing any difference with their men alone, but if the men wait upon them and desire an interview for the officers of the society they have invariably granted it to the officers and the men together. I have waited upon Messrs. Brown and Freer several times in order to settle matters.

8848. And do you mean that they have not expressed any disinclination to discuss those matters with you as an officer?—No, they have not; indeed the manager has sent up to our office to ask me to get men when men have been required.

8849. Do you think that the operation of the unions have succeeded in bettering the condition of the men in South Staffordshire?—I do.

8850. How did they better the condition of the men if it is the case that there is no disinclination on the part of the masters to meet the men themselves without the intervention of the union?—Prior to the union commencing the men were subject to many evils. If there was too much sulphur in the puddled ball, for instance, they had to pay 1*d.* fine; the shingler would have half of the fine, and the other half went to a club. They were also subject to breaking what is called calcined cinder, and other labour; there were many evils attached to the trade which the union has dispensed with entirely.

8851. All those would resolve themselves into a question of wages, would they not?—Of course they would. The employers have to employ a man to do this work now, whereas the puddlers used to do it.

8852. Take the question of sulphur in the puddle ball, the sulphur in the puddle ball is owing to carelessness in the puddler, to imperfect puddling, is it not?—Sometimes.

8853. Generally speaking, is it not?—That rule would be established in order to make them more careful, of course.

8854. Formerly they were fined for that?—Yes.

8855. What do they do now; do they not reject the puddle ball altogether if it has sulphur in it, without fining the man?—Not always. There is not so much sulphur in the iron now as there was three or four years ago; there is more cinder in it, and of course that destroys the sulphur.

8856. That is to say, the puddling is more carefully done now than it was formerly?—There is more labour attached to it than there was formerly. I am under the impression it is the influence of the union that dispensed with that system.

8857. Did the influence of the union operate in the way of making the puddlers attend to their duty better?—In some instances. The employers in South Staffordshire state that the men have been more comfortable and more sociable together since the union commenced, and that they have had less difficulty in managing them in consequence of the union not encouraging men ceasing work when there is any extra grey iron taken to be worked or any other alterations are taking place, without first waiting upon the employer to get redress; whereas before the union commenced the men used to cease working instantaneously, and strikes used to be of frequent occurrence.

8858. Generally speaking, if the masters are willing to meet the men, and the men willing to meet the masters, there is no difficulty at all on the part of the

masters in endeavouring to settle all questions of dispute without the intervention of the unions, is there?—I think that there are many of the managers who would not be so generous, so willing to meet a deputation of the workmen, if they had not the union behind them.

8859. I am speaking of the employers themselves, not the managers. Take Mr. Foster, take the British Iron Company, or take the chief agents of Lord Dudley—there is no difficulty made on the part of those gentlemen to meet their workmen and discuss these things in a friendly and conciliatory spirit, is there?—They will meet their men after they have endeavoured to settle the affair with the manager, and when they cannot settle it with him.

8860. But it is not left to the manager to settle a question under a strike, is it?—No; but if any dispute should arise in the work, and the men made application to the employer first, he would say that he left all matters to the manager.

8861. In a question of wages the principal would feel bound to come forward himself, while all minor matters would be left to the manager, I presume?—Wages and all other matters have first to be laid before the manager.

8862. As to sick clubs, are there any sick clubs in the district except those that are associated with the unions?—A great number.

8863. And they work well and for the benefit of the men?—Yes, in some instances; but there are failures of some of them. Some of them are attached to large ironworks.

8864. Where they are attached to large ironworks, and the principals take charge of them, generally speaking they are advantageous things, are they not?—Yes, they are a benefit to the workman, but cases have been known in which, if the workmen should disregard anything that the manager requires him to do, they have refused him benefit in sickness.

8865. Is not that the case in the unions also—if the men do not obey the dictates of the union they expel them from the union, and allow them nothing from any benefit there?—Yes, if they violate the law of the union.

8866. You have no complaint in South Staffordshire on the score of payment of wages in truck, have you?—No.

8867. They are all regularly paid everly fortnight in money?—Yes; I believe that they used to pay them at ——— works in cheques. The men used to be expected to have 4*s.* out of the 1*l.* wages from the truck shops, and they are expected even now to have something there, although they are paid in cash. It is optional to them, but if they neglect to attend at the store, of course they are not favourites in the works.

8868. That is the only work in South Staffordshire that has resorted to that proceeding, is it not?—Yes, I believe so.

8869. Has not that been a matter of complaint and grievance before the petty sessions recently?—Yes.

8870. So that with that exception, generally speaking, the wages have been paid in cash properly?—Yes. Two or three men have been victimized in consequence of taking a prominent part in getting that truck system abolished; two men, named Vaughan and Williams, sent a letter to the "Daily Post" this week in consequence of it.

8871. What is the nature of the agreement between the workmen and the employers as to discharge?—It is generally understood that they should take and give 14 days notice.

8872. And that is generally adhered to?—Yes.

8873. A master never discharges a workman without giving him 14 days notice, except for a grave reason?—They generally find a reason when they want to get rid of a man. There are always plenty of grievances connected with the puddling department in the manufacturing of iron, and they are not at a loss to find some fault if they disapprove of the conduct of the man.

8874. And then they discharge him without notice?—Yes.

8875. Is not such a case brought before the magistrates, and is not the sufficiency of the reason tested before the magistrates in case of his discharge?—There have been instances where it has been tested, and invariably the men have failed to establish their case.

8876. Then the right has been with the masters, I presume?—The magistrates have been generally ironmasters, and they are sure to decide rather unfavourably towards workmen.

8877. On the contrary, is not it the fact that those ironmasters who are magistrates very rarely interfere in disputes between masters and men. Is there not a stipendiary magistrate who takes all those cases at Brierley Hill, at West Bromwich, at Wolverhampton, at Bilston, and so on; and is it not the custom of the trade to refer by courtesy all cases of that nature to the stipendiary magistrate?—I have not noticed that particularly, but I know that in some instances it has taken place.

8878. Do you not know that at Brierley Hill there is a new police station, where the stipendiary magistrate alone sits, unless he happens to be away from home?—Yes.

8879. So that any imputation on the magistrates of the districts of acting partially and against the men would have no ground where a stipendiary magistrate is established?—There are very few breaches of contract occurring in our locality.

8880. So that upon the whole, as far as South Staffordshire is concerned (which you of course know as well as I do), the relations of the masters and the men are fairly and amicably conducted. No material cause of dispute arises except in cases of notice for a reduction of wages on the part of the masters, or notice for a rise of wages on the part of the men?—No, few disputes or differences have arisen, but I am of opinion that they would have done if it had not been for the influence and instrumentality of the union. There are two cases that have come under the notice of the union. The puddlers at Messrs. Brown's works and at the Round Oak works were receiving 6*d.* per ton extra for hoop iron, and in consequence of a resolution passed at the ironmasters quarterly meeting showing up that it was an innovation, they requested the two firms to discontinue paying the men; they gave them 14 days notice. If the union had not stepped in and advised the men to accept it, there would have been a strike. And likewise in the case of the last notice that was given for a reduction of 6*d.*, if it had not been for the association advising the men there would have been a strike; but since the officers of the society advised the men to accept that reduction, something like 300 or 400 members fell away from the union because the officers would not allow them to strike.

8881. Have you had much experience as to the relations of the masters with the men previous to the establishment of these unions?—There were constantly grievances occurring. In 1852 a strike occurred and they obtained 1*s.* a ton; there was no union then. In 1845 a union commenced, and it existed till 1847. The employers then issued orders that they would not employ any man that belonged to the society, and, consequently, that annihilated the union, and it did not spring up again 'till the grievance came on in 1863.

8882. Since the establishment of the unions there have been more causes of contention between the masters and the men than there were previously, is not that the case?—No.

8883. Have not strikes been more numerous since the establishment of unions in Staffordshire?—They have been of more magnitude, but the men have been invariably acting on the defensive.

8884. The fight has been fiercer, and has involved a greater loss on both sides than previously to the establishment of the unions, is not that the case?—

Mr. W. Hobson.

21 Nov. 1867.

Mr. W. Hobson.
21 Nov. 1867.

Yes, there have been larger contests, but that is in consequence of the number of men that have been employed, and having a better system to carry the contests out. Before the union commenced the iron-workers had to submit to anything that an employer or manager dictated.

8885. But did the custom differ previously to the establishment of unions from the custom now; that is to say, was it not the case that no notice was given to the men for a reduction of wages save from a reduction in iron, and that when the price of iron rose the men generally gave notice for an advance, and it was conceded?—In the October meeting prior to 1863 iron advanced 7*s.* 6*d.* per ton, and the men waited upon their employers for three months in order to get their employers to advance their wages, and the employers refused to do so.

8886. Was not the reason alleged for the masters not immediately advancing iron that they were all covered with contracts at low prices, and that they could not avail themselves for two or three months of the advance in the prices?—The employers did not state that to the men; they said that they could not afford to advance the puddlers rates.

8887. Was it not stated publicly in the papers that they were covered with contracts, and that it would take two or three months to work those contracts off, but that when those contracts were worked off they would be perfectly willing to meet the demand of the men?—When the iron advanced in October the men in Biddulph Valley struck, and they were out five weeks.

8888. I will not take you back again to North Staffordshire, but I will ask you generally whether the usual rule on the part of the South Staffordshire ironmasters is to advance the men when the price of iron advances, and to give notice of reduction when the price of iron falls?—I think that if the employers had adopted that system there would not have been any association now; if there had been that system, they would not have needed the association so much.

8889. Is not that the understood relation in which the masters and men stand with each other?—If it was an understanding, I suppose it must be a verbal one, that when the bar iron advanced 1*l.* a ton the puddlers would receive 1*s.* more per ton, but of course the puddlers discountenance that sliding scale in consequence of their earnings being so low.

8890. They discountenanced that scale simply because they contended that they should have a higher price for puddling in relation to the price of iron than they got formerly?—They discontinued it because they thought that the list price was not honest, that their masters could state any price in the list, and at the same time be selling it for 2*l.* or 3*l.* per ton more. There is a complaint now in some of the works that the men are working hoop iron for 8*s.* 6*d.* per ton, and that the employers are selling the iron for 9*l.*

8891. Are you quite certain that hoop iron is fetching 9*l.*?—It is, at this work which I am alluding to.

8892. I suppose that that is an exceptional work, which makes iron of a good quality?—It is; in quality it is something like steel iron.

8893. Is it not the fact that the list price of iron is confined to all but a few works in Staffordshire who make iron which cannot be made in any other district, and which command in consequence of that extra quality a better price?—I do not think that the Earl of Dudley goes by the list price. I am under the impression that he receives 1*l.* a ton or more for his iron than the list price.

8894. That is owing to the particular excellence of Lord Dudley's minerals I suppose, and the excellence of his manufacture, and other things, that enables him to get iron of a better quality?—Most of the works in South Staffordshire get almost as good iron as Lord Dudley.

8895. Why does Lord Dudley get a better price? It is not because he is a lord, is it?—I do not think that he sells at a higher rate than his neighbours any more than that they make another inferior quality.

8896. The large bulk of South Staffordshire iron does not present, does it, the excellence of quality of Lord Dudley's, or Mr. Foster's, or two or three other firms who have established that reputation for excellence of quality?—Of course those firms are considered the first firms as regards quality.

8897. You stated, I think, that Lord Dudley gets a higher price than his neighbours?—He gets a better quality of iron, but no better than some of the other firms; the other firms go lower in the quality; they buy a commoner material; they work two or three sorts of common iron, and the Earl of Dudley's; what they call common iron is generally of a regular and good quality.

8898. (*Mr. Merivale.*) I understand your opinion then to be, if I am right, that the ease with which masters and managers admit discussion of questions with their men now is partly owing to the fact that the men have a union behind them to back them?—Yes.

8899. Can you speak from recollection how it was before that union was in force, whether there was less accessibility on the part of the masters then than there is now?—The men invariably had to cease working before the managers or the employers would meet them.

8900. That is your impression?—Yes; there were exceptions, but it was the general rule among men to cease working whenever they had any grievance.

8901. (*Mr. Mathews.*) But previous to the establishment of unions, do you mean to say that there was ever any greater difficulty on the part of the men to get access to their masters than there is now?—There was a greater difficulty in their getting the employers to concede an alteration.

8902. Pardon me, was there a greater difficulty in getting access to the masters, and having discussions with them?—They would not meet the men except in extreme cases, I mean extreme grievances.

8903. Do you mean to say that there was less inclination on the part of the masters to meet the men than there is now?—Yes, they left it more to the managers.

8904. (*Chairman.*) Can you tell us what proportion of the puddlers are in the union?—At the present time there would be in South Staffordshire something like 900 to 1,000 puddlers in the union.

8905. And how many are at work?—I suppose that it would comprise something like 3,000 or 4,000 if all the puddling furnaces were in operation, but I cannot say how many are in operation now.

8906. Were you at work before the union was established?—Yes.

8907. Did you ever make an attempt to make a complaint to the employer, and were you refused a hearing?—I worked under two principal firms. I was under the Williams's Company, and under the Earl of Dudley, and I invariably got an interview with the employers when I wanted any grievance to be settled under those two firms.

8908. You stated that before the unions were established the workmen found difficulty in getting heard, and that their way of getting heard was to stop work. My question was, whether you have ever had any experience of that yourself, or were speaking from what other people have told you?—I was speaking from the knowledge I had of other men under other firms. There are a great number of firms, in fact there are 20 works in the Brierley Hill district,—that is east of Dudley.

8909. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you mean that there was readiness to meet individual men before the formation of the union, but a great difficulty in obtaining interviews for a body of the men?—Just so.

8910. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is it not the custom in seeking an interview with a master, not for one man to go but half a score or a dozen of the most intelligent of the men, who are generally speaking con-

sidered the organs of their fellow workmen. The masters do not restrict the number coming to them, unless they are inconveniently large, do they ?—That is the custom now, but prior to the union the employers would say, "I will meet so and so," and they would object to meet a body of men.

8911. Do you mean to say that prior to the establishment of unions there was ever any disinclination on the part of the South Staffordshire ironmasters to meet any number of their own men who sought an interview with them ?—On two occasions Mr. Smith has pointed out myself and two men to state the case of the whole men, for he would not meet the body. At some other works the employers would not meet the men at all, and the manager invariably had to settle the difference between them.

8912. Was that the case in any dispute about wages ?—I cannot say ; it is the greyness of the iron and the alterations in the materials which puddlers work with that used to be the greatest grievances.

8913. Those are matters of detail, but in any question about wages, or any grave question affecting the welfare of the men, previous to the establishment of the unions, was there any disinclination on the part of the masters to meet any fair number of men that wished to discuss those points with them ?—I can only speak on that point of what happened at the Earl of Dudley's.

8914. Do you think it probable that if you had said to Mr. Smith, "I would rather bring three or four others of the intelligent men," he would have said, "I will have nothing to do with you"?—I do not know that he would.

8915. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) You stated that an arrangement existed between the masters and those employed in South Staffordshire, under which the rate of wages was guided by the price of iron, and I think you have mentioned one or two cases in which when the price of iron was raised wages were not raised by the masters, have you not ?—Yes.

8916. Do you know of any cases in which when the price of iron was reduced the wages were not reduced ?—Wages were not reduced in 1864 for six months after the reduction in the price of iron of 1*l.* per ton, when a lock-out took place.

8917. The reduction, then, was 1*l.* a ton, you say ?—Yes ; 1*s.* a ton in wages prior to and after the lock-out.

8918. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Could you answer, now, the question which arose in the course of Lord Lichfield's examination with respect to what you call the victim fund, or those members who were supported on the ground that they were refused employment. Were the leaders or the managers of the strike officers of the society, and about what number did they amount to ; what was the history of that matter ?—I could not exactly give you the number of men now, but there were a great number of them that were refused employment. Some of them had to be sent to Scotland, others to the North of England, and others came into Staffordshire.

8919. Was the strike on that occasion prolonged on the ground that those who had been the prominent leaders of it were refused employment, and because the men for some time declined to go to work until that was removed ?—Just so ; they met the employers on several occasions, and stated their determination not to commence unless the whole of the men were allowed to commence : ultimately they had to commence without them.

8920. Ultimately they did go in, leaving the prominent leaders in the movement excluded from the works ?—Yes.

8921. Those were the men supported on what you call the victim fund ?—Yes.

8922. Could you give us anything like their number, or any information as to who they were ; were they men who had been secretaries ?—They had been the most prominent men during the strike.

8923. Not necessarily men who have held office ?—Some of them had held office as officers of the committee during the strike.

8924. Yourself for instance, do you contemplate or did you ever find any difficulty in obtaining employment since this occurrence ?—I have not had occasion to seek other employment since.

8925. But you would have no difficulty in obtaining employment, would you ?—I question that.

8926. There was a question which arose out of an answer which I did not fully follow. I think you said, just now, that on a certain occasion at two works the price of wages had been raised 6*d.* a ton, and that then the Ironmasters Association interfered and exerted some sort of pressure upon those two firms to withdraw that increase, is that so ?—Yes.

8927. What was the mode in which that proceeding was carried out ?—This quality of iron was hoop iron, and was worked at most of the works in Staffordshire, and the men waited upon their employers, Messrs. Brown and Freer, and obtained the 6*d.* per ton advance, in consequence of the Earl of Dudley paying 6*d.* per ton more than any other master in the locality, and as soon as Messrs. Brown and Freer conceded it the question was laid before the ironmasters meeting (it was then near to their quarterly meeting), and the resolution was issued from that meeting that they recommended Messrs. Brown and Freer and the Earl of Dudley to discontinue paying that rate to the men, as they considered it an innovation in the trade.

8928. Then the men you say were upon that prepared to strike ?—They would have done so if they had not been advised by the union.

8929. You advised them to accept it ?—Yes, to accept the reduced rate ; to allow the 6*d.* to be taken off the rate paid for hoop iron.

8930. Have the principal strikes which you have been engaged in, or which you have known in the last few years, been strikes for the purpose of obtaining an increase of wages beyond what was at that moment being paid, or by way of resisting a reduction ?—They have been generally with a view of resisting some grievance or a reduction in wages. For instance, the Liverpool Mersey work dispute arose out of the masters giving notice to the labourers for a reduction, and they (the employers) took advantage of the notice that was given, and stated that they should not be able to carry their works on, and that before any of their workmen commenced working there again they would all have had to re-engage, and thus the men designated it as a lock-out.

8931. I will take these more prominent strikes mentioned in Mr. Jones's paper. For instance, the Staffordshire strike of 1863, was that for an increase of wages ?—Yes, for an advance of 1*s.* per ton.

8932. Was that over and above the increase of the selling price of iron per ton, or was it to follow an increase ?—The men based their rate of wages then upon the selling price of sheet iron. They said that they should discontinue the plan of the rate of wages being regulated by the selling price of bar iron, so that it would be in accordance with the pounds per ton that sheet iron was sold at that period.

8933. Coming to the second, the Leeds lock-out in 1864, was that connected with a demand for increased wages ?—I think not, of course that affair was under the northern district.

8934. That related to the declaration for the purpose of breaking up the union ?—Yes.

8935. The third strike is the North Staffordshire strike of 1865, was that for the purpose of an advance of wages ?—It was to resist a reduction.

8936. The Mersey Iron and Steel Company's strike of 1866, what was the purpose of that ?—It was to prevent the employers from annihilating the union. They objected to employ men unless they would give a pledge not to belong to the union.

8937. Then as to the north country strikes in 1866, have they been in consequence of demands on the part of the men ?—In some instances, I believe ; Mr. Millington will be able to answer those questions more thoroughly.

Mr. W. Hobson.

21 Nov. 1867.

8938. In the cases of those strikes with which you have been personally concerned, what cases of outrage or violation of law have been proved against the society or its officers?—None to my knowledge.

8939. (*Chairman.*) Have you had a strike since you have been secretary?—There have been strikes in Staffordshire.

8940. I understood you to say not as far as your society were concerned?—There have been several strikes.

8941. In which your society were concerned?—Yes.

8942. (*Mr. Harrison.*) In the Staffordshire strike, what cases were brought into court against members of the union as members of the union for trade outrage?—There was a case at Derby for intimidation, but there was no committal. The matter was stopped by the men accused promising not to interfere with the men again during the strike.

8943. Do you feel confident that that was the only case that was brought into court?—At Liverpool I believe there was a case, but of course the men defended it themselves. The society had nothing to do with it except that it just came under their notice.

8944. Do you know anything about the circumstances of the Low Moor strike of 1864?—You mean the strike connected with the Leeds lock-out. No, that dispute belonged to the Gateshead association.

8945. You personally know nothing about the state of things in Wales perhaps?—No.

8946. Have you ever had any strike or other difficulty, in your experience, arising out of the forfeit of work as being short of measure or weight?—No; there are places where the puddlers are tied to yield, and if they come under that weight the employers inquire into it.

8947. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is it not a custom in case of any prolonged strike in the South Staffordshire or other districts to put on some of the under hands to puddle?—Yes.

8948. It is the custom, that is, to educate the under hands into puddlers during any prolonged strikes?—Yes.

8949. So that when the men resume work again it is impossible to put on all the men again, but some of these educated under hands assume the position of puddlers?—Some of them, but they are not all kept on working.

8950. And those men that are excluded because of that fact are said to be victimized?—Yes.

8951. Do you know that one of the large works in Staffordshire kept one of the forges going all the while a strike was going on with a body of under hands?—I believe that at Tunstall many under hands were employed.

8952. Do you happen to know that one of the forges was kept on with 50 hands for four months, and that one of the difficulties in adjusting the matter with the men when they resumed work was, that the men demanded to have all these under hands discharged, and that the proprietors refused to discharge them?—That did not come under our knowledge.

8953. The men did not claim under your society remuneration on the score of being victimized?—Not under those circumstances.

8954. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do the men, as a rule, in your society decline to work in the same shop with non-union men?—No.

8955. Do they put any pressure on the non-union men?—No, nothing more than that they refuse to assist them.

8956. Into work you mean?—Yes, into work; they refuse to get situations for them. There is a rule to that effect.

8957. Do you mean that, as a rule, that they work together amicably in a shop when they are there?—Yes, side by side.

8958. You have no rule on the subject?—No.

8959. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is it not the fact that if the majority of the men in a forge are union men and the minority non-union men, the position of the non-union men is made rather uncomfortable?—They do not associate with them, it is nothing further than that.

8960. They cold shoulder them, in fact?—Yes.

8961. (*Chairman.*) There can be no rule, I presume, against piecework in your trade, it cannot apply?—It is all piecework by the ton.

8962. There is no rule against over hours; the work must begin and end at so many heats, must it not?—Yes.

8963. Is there any limitation in regard to apprenticeship?—No.

8964. (*Lord Elcho.*) You know nothing of wages being forfeited or sacrificed in consequence of deficient work or defective work?—No.

8965. I refer to cases of plates or rails not being rolled to the proper length, in consequence of which the labour and the pay of that labour were forfeited?—That is the rule, I believe, in the trade. There is one case which has come before the notice of the association which occurred through the inefficiency of the manager, there were a great number of plates failed, something like 14 to 22 tons in a fortnight. It was brought before the notice of the association, and a deputation waited before Mr. Smith.

8966. Was that at Lord Dudley's works?—Yes, and the proprietor, in compensation, awarded them 15*l.* for the bad plates.

8967. These plates had been forfeited on the decision of the manager?—Yes.

8968. Then there was an appeal to the employer, and the employer allowed a certain sum to the men in consideration of this forfeiture not being right?—But not till the men had been on strike one week; they gave 14 days' notice to obtain it.

8969. Is that the custom in the iron trade?—I believe it is not.

8970. Of your own knowledge you cannot speak to any other instance than that one?—No.

8971. How did that case come before you; did it come before the executive?—Yes.

8972. Were these men during the week they were on strike supported by the association?—Yes, they had one week's support.

8973. That is the way in which you became acquainted with this case?—Yes.

8974. You have said that as a rule strikes have not taken place for a rise in wages, but that they generally take place to resist reduction?—They are more frequently to resist reduction than they are to obtain a rise.

8975. Have you ever known a reduction of wages in the iron trade that did not follow on a reduction of the price of iron? I mean, have the ironmasters ever reduced the wage and at the same time maintained the price of iron?—I do not know that they have.

8976. So that where strikes have taken place to resist reduction, it has been to resist a reduction which the masters wished to make in consequence of a fall in the price of iron?—It has been alleged by the employers that the iron has been reduced, and that they were necessitated to reduce the men's wages.

8977. Have you any reason to doubt the fact as alleged by the masters?—No, I have not.

8978. In this appeal to the public in general which you have referred to, in one paragraph it is stated that "Steps are taken by our employers to reduce our "wages; it is very unfair, the state of trade does not "require it." Now on what authority is such a statement as that issued by the district secretary, as to the state of trade not requiring it. What means of knowledge had that secretary, Mr. Baker, when he issued that statement, that the state of trade did not require the reduction of wages?—I cannot say further than what he gathered from the newspapers himself. That printed appeal was issued after the association adh refused to support the North Staffordshire men.

8979. I suppose that the secretaries and leaders of these unions and associations take counsel with and advise the men in these questions of strike?—The men generally lay the complaint before the secretary,

and he calls the whole body of men together, and lays the complaint before the whole body, so that it is invariably decided by the majority of members.

8980. Supposing that a complaint is brought before these officers with reference to a reduction of wages which the masters intend to enforce as far as they can, is any inquiry made by the officers as to the state of trade, and how far the masters are or are not justified in that reduction before that advice is given to the men who consult them?—Yes, they generally make inquiries into the state of trade, or should do, and advise the men for the best; but it is not all times that the men will take that advice.

8981. You say that they either inquire, or "should do." I ask whether they do?—They have in every instance that has come to my knowledge.

8982. In what way do they inquire?—They generally consult the different newspapers.

8983. Do they communicate with the employers and learn from them the reasons on which they are acting, as would be done in the case of arbitration?—The employers, of course, would meet their own workmen, but they would not meet anyone else to talk the matter of prices over.

8984. I thought you told us that there was no objection on the part of the employers to meet the officers of the union?—That is after the men have met them themselves, and when they cannot settle the affair in any other way. The officers of the association are then called in in order to see whether they can settle the matter amicably with the employers, and if the employers meet them the dispute is generally amicably settled. There are several instances where the association would not protect the men when they objected to the settlement agreed upon.

8985. Have you any knowledge in your association or in your trade of a system of arbitration having so many employers and so many men forming a sort of committee to consider these questions?—I think that it would act beneficially.

8986. But you know practically of none at present?—No.

8987. Are you favourable, and do you hear that the men themselves are favourable to such a system?—That question has not been under the consideration of the men, but I have no doubt that they would be favourable to it, for I think they would adopt any consistent system in order to put an end to strikes and lock-outs.

8988. Have you ever known a meeting between masters and men, in which you have found the masters unreasonable and unwilling to listen to complaints?—An employer at the Derby Work objected to meet the men, but I think it was in consequence of his leaving the affair to the manager. The manager and the men had a dispute, and he left the affair entirely to him to settle.

8989. But upon the whole, such cases are exceptional?—Yes.

8990. Then, on the part of the masters, do you believe that there would be any objection to the system of arbitration?—I cannot say.

8991. From your knowledge of the men do you think that they would be in favour of it?—Most of the men in Staffordshire who have come under my immediate knowledge are able to settle their differences with their masters themselves, with the aid of the officers of the society, and I think they would not object to a sysetm of arbitration, neither would the masters I think.

8992. You think that if masters and men were left to themselves or to arbitration they would settle these disputes. But that North Staffordshire case was not settled in consequence of the interference of persons connected with other trades, and who had no knowledge of the iron trade. That was so, was it not?—It was in consequence of the men being firm in wanting to resist a reduction. I do not know whether other trades stepped in.

8993. Their firmness came from London, did it not?—I believe most aid did.

8994. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) With regard to that 15*l.* which you say is paid, and with regard to deductions made from the men in consequence of the bad work, that means that if bad work is turned out from the mill the master does not pay the man for it; he is only paid for good work?—Yes.

8995. That is just and proper, is it not, to pay only for good work?—Yes, usually so.

8996. In this case the allowance was made to the men in consequence of the master being satisfied that there were such circumstances in the case that the men could not have turned out the work better?—Yes.

8997. As a rule the masters do not pay for what will not sell?—They will not.

8998. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Are such cases as those common in South Staffordshire; did you ever hear of another case besides that which you have mentioned?—No.

8999. They cannot be common then?—No.

9000. (*Chairman.*) If it be an admitted fact among the men and the employers, that wages and the price of iron stand in a given relation to one another, then it would come to this, that if there was a dispute about the rise and fall of wages, there was a dispute about the market price of iron?—Yes.

9001. (*Mr. Harrison.*) With respect to the forfeit of worked iron, it is the case, is it not, that the wages are stopped altogether for work which is not destroyed, but which is marketable and sold, although it is not the exact measure which is required; is not that so?—I believe it is. I believe that if there is an order taken into the mill, and the plates should not run their length or their width, they are placed on one side, and the workmen are not paid for them; but if an order should come that would make up for the rebate to them, then they are used.

9002. Have you ever known cases in which it has been rather an instance of deficiency of work, in which the work has been wholly forfeited, and not paid for, but the goods have been marketable, and have been sold?—No, I have not.

9003. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Have you ever heard any calculation made of the loss that was entailed upon the district by the strike in North Staffordshire?—No.

9004. Looking to all the circumstances and the results, do you not think that that strike was originated and carried out upon very insufficient grounds?—Yes, I do.

9005. That is your opinion?—Yes, and it was the opinion of the whole association after they saw that the employers would not concede the terms offered.

9006. There appears to have been considerable difference of opinion about it, for it seems to have been condemned by the Ironworkers Association at Gateshead. Your opinion at Brierley Hill was that the profits of the masters were too great, and the reason assigned by the North Staffordshire men was that the circumstances of the trade where they were working were exceptional, and notwithstanding the opinion of the association, a strike was supported which entailed most serious loss upon all concerned in it; that is so, is it not?—Yes.

9007. Do not you think then that those who assisted in supporting that strike up to the last moment must be parties very much to blame?—Of course the whole association blamed them, when they would not act up to the resolution and prevent a lock-out.

9008. You yourself not being able to give us any direct information with regard to the circumstances of the strike in North Staffordshire, can you refer to anybody who would give us some further information upon the subject? I see that there is a paper here signed by Mr. Baker, would he be able to give us information on the subject?—I should say he would.

9009. Especially with regard to the refusal on the part of the men to accept the proposal made by me for arbitration?—Yes, the whole of those men who refused were composed of men in North Staffordshire.

9010. Do you know where Mr. Baker lives?—At

Mr. W. Hobson.

21 Nov. 1867.

Plex Street, Tunstall. He has no connexion with the association now.

9011. (*Lord Elcho.*) You have said that this firmness which led to the continuance of the strike in North Staffordshire came from London; in what form did it come? Did it come in the form of a letter recommending them to strike, or in the form of a deputation, or was there any individual that went down to Staffordshire?—It came in the form of support. I think there was an individual that went down, but whether it was Mr. Troup or Mr. Potter I cannot say. Mr. Potter was at a meeting at Manchester, and condemned the policy of the Brierley Hill executive, and the Brierley Hill executive instructed me to write a letter condemnatory of Mr. Potter's conduct in advancing the statements which he did at the meeting in Manchester.

9012. Then it was either Mr. Potter or some other gentleman from London who went down?—I believe it was.

9013. Was either of those gentlemen who went down an ironworker conversant with the iron trade?—No, I believe not.

9014. So that two persons from London, knowing nothing about the trade, went down from London to Staffordshire to advise in a matter of trade dispute between employers and employed?—Yes.

9015. And they prevented a settlement which would otherwise have been come to?—I do not know whether they prevented a settlement or not. I never made that inquiry. Of course it may have strengthened the men in remaining out.

9016. At least the men would have gone into their works had it not been for that interference?—They would have been compelled without aid to do so.

9017. And a promise of support which was not fulfilled when the time came?—Very meagrely.

9018. You say that you were, in consequence of this interference and those results, instructed as secretary to write a letter condemning the course which had been taken?—Yes.

9019. Are you aware that a printed circular coming from what is called the National Association of Ironworkers, signed J. Kane, towards its close speaks very strongly upon this question of the interference of persons coming down from London?—I am not in possession of that circular.

9020. That shows, does it not, that the feeling in the district was very strong against the interference in their affairs by persons in London?—I am not in possession of any of those circulars. Of course our association did not encourage it.

9021. Was any testimonial presented on that occasion to anybody from London?—There was a testimonial presented to Mr. Potter, but it was in consequence of the services that he rendered in assisting to establish our society, and not for the North Staffordshire affair. The trades of the country appealed to our society, and of course we rendered similar assistance to that testimonial fund which other trades rendered.

9022. Was that testimonial presented after the dispute or before it?—It would be after the dispute. The question had to be laid before the conference which was held at Derby; and then it had to be laid before the delegates of the whole association, it was they who voted a sum of money from the funds.

9023. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) What is the scale which you have referred to regulating the wages?—There has not been any scale acknowledged since the association of the men. Prior to the association the ironmasters used to advance and raise wages at their quarterly meetings as they deemed proper.

9024. But latterly upon what scale have the wages been fixed? You have referred to a scale which you have said had been departed from in one or two instances?—It was the selling price of sheet iron, the rate at which the puddlers are now paid is 1*s.* per ton, the employers assert, above the price at which they fix the rate of wages. They say that bar iron is the rate that they fixed as the standard, and that puddlers are receiving 1*s.* a ton more than the actual selling price. The selling price of bar iron is 7*l.* 10*s.*, and the puddlers are receiving 8*s.* 6*d.* per ton.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. W. Garner.

Mr. William Garner examined.

9025. (*Chairman.*) I believe you are the secretary of the Millmen's Association at West Bromwich?—Yes.

9026. How long has that society been established?—Four years.

9027. Have you all the rules of the society and the accounts of the society with you?—I sent the rules up to the secretary, but the accounts I have not brought with me. I can send our reports up to you.

9028. Have you monthly and annual reports?—Every six months we publish a report.

9029. You can send them and they will show your receipts and your expenditure, and probably the number of your members?—They do not contain the number of members. I will send that.

9030. It is established, I suppose, partly for the purposes of a benefit society, that is, for a sick fund and superannuation, and other provisions of that sort, and partly for the purposes of a trade society, that is, providing for the time when you are out of work, and loss of tools, and other accidents that are peculiar to artizans in that trade?—There is no sick benefit connected with it. We tried to establish one after it had been in existence two years, but we found that most of our members were connected with one or two other sick benefit societies at the time, and of course the idea was quashed.

9031. And does that apply to superannuation also?—Yes.

9032. You have no sick benefits or superannuation fund?—No; we simply allow 5*l.* at the death of a member, at least we have done so for the last two years.

9033. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Your union is simply a trade union?—Simply a trade union.

9034. What is your subscription?—It is according to the class of member. There are two classes of members, one pays 6*d.* per week, and the other pays 3*d.*, and they have a corresponding amount allowed them. The association is for the millmen alone. We have nothing to do with puddlers, which Mr. Kane and Mr. Hobson represent, but ours is for the finishing department only of the iron.

9035. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You reside at West Bromwich I think?—Yes.

9036. You are now secretary to the West Bromwich association?—Yes.

9037. You are a paid secretary?—Yes.

9038. What is the rate of remuneration?—I have 2*l.* 10*s.* per week, but out of that I have to pay my own travelling expenses for a certain distance round the office of the executive.

9039. How long have you been paid secretary of that association?—Close on $3\frac{1}{2}$ years now.

9040. Since you have been paid secretary to the West Bromwich Association you have not been actually engaged in work yourself, have you?—No.

9041. What was your previous occupation?—A mill furnace man.

9042. In whose works?—The last nine years I worked was at the new works that Messrs. Johnson put up at All End, West Bromwich, Staffordshire.

9043. When you left that employment you became secretary of this union?—Yes.

9044. Had you reason to be discontented with your occupation as a mill furnaceman?—There are very often a good many reasons why we should be discontented.

9045. It is a well paid occupation is it not?—Not so well paid.

9046. What is the ordinary payment per week of a good mill furnaceman?—I can find you places where they do not earn 1*l.* a week, and others at which they earn from that to 3*l.*

9047. And even more in some instances?—In very rare instances, but those are not the cases that you can take as a rule.

9048. As a rule it is one of the best paid departments in the trade?—Not the best.

9049. The pay of a head roller perhaps is better?—A head roller's is better, and my opinion is that it ought to be, brains ought to be paid better for than muscle. I see that in all the world around me.

9050. At all events the occupation of a mill furnaceman is one of the best paid departments in the trade except the head rollers?—I consider that two or three others are better paid. Stock-takers and roll-turners are far better paid. As a rule I think that mill furnace work is as hard for the wages as that of any skilled man working in the trade.

9051. As a rule they get good wages?—At some places, and at other places they get worse than labourers.

9052. Were you in the room when Mr. Hobson was examined?—Yes.

9053. I suppose you heard his answers to the various questions put to him?—Yes I did, and there are one or two cases in which I might add to his evidence.

9054. Generally speaking do you concur in Mr. Hobson's evidence with the exception of those cases?—I think that Mr. Hobson can give you as good a definition of how puddlers are treated as any man in the country, but as regards millmen I do not think that he is as good a man as myself to give you information, because he has not had the experience that I have.

9055. Irrespective of experience as a millman, his general expression of opinion was such, I suppose, as you yourself would concur in, as to the rate of wages being regulated by the price of iron for instance?—No, I object to that. In some instances I grant that they have done so in reference to puddlers, but there are plenty of instances which we can point out of employers stopping millmen's money for work done, and otherwise reducing their wages when there was no reduction on the iron; and I think I can supply plenty of evidence to show that masters do both the one and the other.

9056. Supposing a reduction in the price of iron, and a consequent reduction in the price of puddlers' wages, it follows that millmen's wages are reduced in a greater or less proportion?—It does. When an advance of 1*l.* takes place in the price of iron, puddlers' wages should rise 1*s.* a ton and millmen's 10 per cent., that is the rule, but it has not been carried out in practice.

9057. And in case of a reduction the same law follows?—Yes.

9058. But there are cases, you say, in which the same law is not observed, in the case of millmen?—Yes.

9059. Will you state what those cases are?—I will refer to one at Kidsgrove in the large plate mill which was as follows: the master had been accustomed to allow two labourers as helpers for all ordinary sized iron, I cannot say for certain the price paid, but think it was 5*s.* per day each, perhaps you will correct me if I am wrong. The master said I shall not pay these men again, but will put 6*d.* per ton on your tonnage, this would be a reduction equal to 3*s.* per day on ordinary iron, and if we calculate on the extra sized iron when more labour is required it will be equal to a reduction of more than 5*s.* a day of the roller. That has happened within this last six weeks at the very identical work you were at a short time since.

9060. Would not that arise from an impression on the part of the manager that the department was overpaid beyond the ordinary rules that attach to that department?—I place but very little confidence in the opinions of a large number of the managers whom the ironmasters have in South Staffordshire and North Staffordshire. It is not the men who are the most competent for the positions, but it is generally those men who can screw the most out of the workmen, that they put in the position of managers.

9061. At all events, these cases you now refer to occurred in North Staffordshire?—At the work at Kidsgrove.

9062. You have no connexion with North Staffordshire, I think, have you?—Yes, we have.

9063. Were some of the North Staffordshire men in your union?—Yes; all the millmen, or nearly all, with the exception, I think, of a few at Ravensdale, in the plate mill, when the strike took place in January 1865. Those were the millmen that Mr. Hobson said the master would not allow to begin again unless they left the puddlers union after the strike terminated. The men in the other five mills in the old works were connected with us, and in the large mill at the new works.

9064. Although the rule of 1*s.* a ton reduction in puddlers' wages is incidental to the reduction of 1*l.* a ton in the price of iron, I understand you to say that it is not carried out strictly in the same proportion in millmen's wages?—No, I myself have felt it to be otherwise. When the last reduction of 10 per cent. took place, before I left the works my master came to me and others in the mill and made us believe he was sorry he had to reduce us, and added "leave it to me, you shall not be hurt." I did not look after it as sharply then as I should now, and instead of having 10 per cent. I had 12½ taken off, and that was not the exception, that was the rule before we had a union.

9065. In the event of your having a greater reduction than you thought requisite, you had the option of leaving your employment I suppose?—Yes. It was employers failing to carry out the established custom of the trade in September 1863, which was that we should receive 10 per cent. advance to every rise on the puddler of 1*s.* a ton, that induced us to combine to enforce payment, and after a many stoppages we succeeded in carrying our point throughout the trade.

9066. Are you aware that the demand for plate iron has very materially fallen off in South Staffordshire as well as in North Staffordshire?—I know it has, because it was so much in demand a few years ago. I take it for granted that it is a tolerably good trade when many get into it. A good many got into the trade, and the trade certainly has outgrown itself.

9067. One half of the plate manufacturers in South Staffordshire, as well as in North Staffordshire, have nothing to do?—Yes.

9068. So that an ironmaster finds it necessary to reduce the cost of rolling plates to the lowest possible minimum?—I can hardly go with that idea of reducing it. I have been in a little business myself for some years before we had an association, and if I was to go to a man I employed in my business and say, "That a certain article which you made me has sold "for 5*s.* less than I expected, and you must have "less wages," he would look at me with eyes wide "open, and justly so too.

9069. Is it not a fact that one-half of the plate mills in South Staffordshire and North Staffordshire are standing for want of demand for plates?—Yes.

9070. That the price is entirely unremunerative, and that it is incumbent upon the ironmasters to reduce the cost of rolling plates to the lowest possible cost he can. If what you have just said is true then the wisest thing for masters to do would be to reduce their make to the lowest possible point?—There is a good deal in the reduction open to remark. I stated to Mr. Walter Williams a few months ago, that the masters go to their quarterly meetings and engage to sell at a certain price, and many of them before they get to the end of New Street from the Exchange violate the very contract they have engaged to keep,

Mr. W. Garner.
21 Nov. 1867.

and as long as they do that I undertake to say underselling will go on.

9071. There is no union then on the part of the masters?—There is a union, because I know this, that in reference to the hoop iron referred to by Mr. Hobson, the last time but one that Mr. Williams sent for me, he said something in reference to unions, and he was talking about different prices that were paid, and I said, "Well, if I had my money out of my business I "should invest it in the iron trade very soon, and "I would pay a better price by 6*d.* per ton for "puddling than any ironmaster for the same quality "of iron, because I would have the pick of the men, "and I would get far more out of the men in that "way."

9072. If you were to pay your picked men 6*d.* a ton more, would not the unpicked men soon require the same amount?—Well, he said, "We dare not do that because our association would not allow us;" so that I infer from that that there is an association or union among the masters also; "If I look back for "a few months I can recollect the subject of the hoop "iron coming up at Lord Ward's and Brown and "Freer's, and the masters at their quarterly meeting "ordering them at once to discontinue paying the "6*d.* per ton."

9073. So that the grievance you have to complain of chiefly is this: You admit that there is a great deficiency of demand for plate iron, that one-half of of the plate mills in South Staffordshire and in North Staffordshire are standing, that thereupon the masters require to reduce the cost of rolling plate to the lowest amount they possibly can, and that you consider a grievance to the plate rollers?—If the masters alter prices when no reduction in iron takes place, this I call a great grievance, and one which will always be looked at very gravely, and masters must not complain if men demand an advance when there is no advance on iron.

9074. Would not the master hold on the old wages of the plate rollers in the hope that prices might improve, and not disturb the existing relations?—There are some gentlemen in the trade who, I believe, would, but there are a great many to whom I would not give credit for so much consideration.

9075. That is to say, you would not give credit to some men in the trade for so large liberality as you would to others?—I would not say for liberality, but for doing right.

9076. The ironmaster might not adopt your notions of right. The fact still remains that there is a deficient demand for plate iron, that there is a suspension of the mills in South and North Staffordshire, and that it is incumbent upon the ironmaster to reduce the expense of plate rolling to the lowest possible amount?—I do not consider that it was incumbent upon the company there to take that money off that man or any other unless there is a general reduction.

9077. Are there any other prominent grievances connected with the department of the millmen?—Only on Monday morning last I met with a case at Bilston. The class of iron for which there is now a great cry is principally for galvanizing sheets, and a large number of mills are employed upon it. When the iron is not of a quality sufficiently good, there are little black specks in the sheets, and the pickle used in the galvanizing would eat holes through it. Now that is no fault of the man, the man does his duty to the iron, just as much as if it were the best iron that was ever sent out, and yet these masters do not want to pay the men for them, and they let them lie down there, as a man was telling me, one month after another (some of them have been lying there for nine months now) and sometimes they take a truck load off and the man gets nothing for it.

9078. I want to ask you what is generally applicable to the iron trade, this is a particular work, making a particular article and not generally speaking with the iron trade?—I should think that the great proportion of the work done round Bilston, Wolverhampton, West Bromwich, and Birmingham has been for galvanizing iron during this last three or four years, so that so far as these localities are concerned, I say this is the general trade.

9079. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Do not the men when they engage to make these plates engage to do it for a certain sum?—They do.

9080. There is a contract between them and their employers, and they have performed that contract?—Yes.

9081. Would not the law compel their employers to pay them?—The plates are thrown down, and when they get the order for them they say, "You shall have the money," but every now and then a truck load is taken away and they get no money for that.

9082. Did you ever try to enforce the payment of that amount?—What would be the result? Supposing this man were to pull the master up for non-payment, that would appear in the public papers, and I would not like to stand in the shoes of that man when seeking for work in another situation.

9083. When Saturday night comes round and you have made the plates which you engage to make, could you not enforce the payment of that contract?—I have never seen it tried, and they do not weigh them, so that you could not tell the amount for which you would have to sue.

9084. Then I would advise you to try it?—If a man were to do so he would be a victim.

9085. You assume that?—I need not assume it, because there are plenty of men in the country that are out of a situation, and simply because they are union men masters will not employ them, and in fact at the very same works to which I referred in North Staffordshire they are carrying it out as rigidly as it is possible for masters to carry it out at the present time.

9086. You cannot say that the law would not enforce that contract?—I do not say that the law would not, but then the man would be the sufferer afterwards if he enforced it.

9087. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Would not your union do anything in that case for the man who was victimized?—I will suppose that one of our men was down there, for instance, and wrote to ask what he was to do. The association would be quite willing to have him on the funds if he chose to accept union pay; but rather than accept this, men often prefer to suffer the wrong at works where we have not sufficient power to enforce fulfilment of contract. When a man applies for a situation he is asked if he is a union man; if he is, he is told they cannot employ him, and all who are employed at some works in North Staffordshire are compelled to pay secretly, under penalty of being discharged if it should be known.

9088. Did your association take any part in the North Staffordshire strike?—It did.

9089. What part?—The part which we took in the North Staffordshire affair was this: Looking at the aspect of the trade in the country we decided to accept the terms a day or two after the expiration of the notice for the reduction, and every man in our association was bound by that. In North Staffordshire as well as in other places where they had iron to work they had to carry out the resolution which we had come to. We were waited upon by men representing the other associations who wished us to reconsider our decision, but we would not; we carried it out rigidly. But to all those men who were at play through not having iron to work we allowed three-fourths of the amount which they would have had if they had been on strike. We did not consider our men on strike. I daresay Mr. Mathews saw the address that we sent to the employers when the lock-out ceased. We stated that we had supported them, and that so long as they were suffering as they were we intended to render them all the assistance we could during the time that they were out. We had nothing to do with the strike at all.

9090. In short, the millmen had nothing to do with the strike, but they were thrown out of employment in consequence of the puddlers striking?—Yes;

although they were willing to take the reduction, the masters treated them as though they too were men on strike, and unfortunately the masters at certain works which I could name, treated them more harshly than they did the men who were on strike.

9091. I suppose that if the puddlers did not choose to work there was nothing for the millmen to do?—In some places they got iron. They worked at what iron they got in North Staffordshire, and if they had worked one week and had not worked the other, then we supported them during the time that they were at play; and if the masters could get iron to go on a day or two in the week of course they would, and until such time as the thing was ended we allowed them the support.

9092. At any rate the strike there was not approved of by your association?—No.

9093. (*Mr. Mathews.*) When the puddlers consented to go to work, was it not the fact that the millmen stood out?—It was the fact that all the ironmasters during that strike and lock-out tried to bring all the men who were a little higher than Earl Granville's and Kidsgrove down to their level, and I think I wrote to every office about it twice, stating that we should not submit to it.

9094. Was it not the fact that the prices throughout all the works in North Staffordshire were thoroughly uniform?—No, they were not.

9095. You and I may have a different opinion on that point?—To show the Commission in general that it was not so, I may say that they tried twice ineffectually to reduce the very men who had accepted the reduction, during the strike and at the termination of the lock-out, to the minimum. I have seen printed lists of it sent to me by the employers, and when the masters wanted them to begin after the strike ended, the millmen employed at Earl Granville's and at the Silverdale Company's works said to their masters, "We were quite satisfied with our prices, and did not trouble about what other masters in the district were paying their men, until you tried unsuccessfully to bring all above us down to our level, now we think it only right and just that we should be put on a level with them." Mr. Naylor, cashier at the Silverdale Company's works, at once said he would make his men equal to those above them, and did it. Mr. Roden, managing partner at Earl Granville's, gave his men a verbal guarantee to the same effect, but failed to fulfil it when the first pay day came, and the men only had a draw. As soon as pay day was passed Mr. Roden goes out for a month, the men would have stopped at once until he had made good his promise, but the union requested them to keep the works going until his return. They did, and on his return they saw him about fulfilling his engagement, he said, "Can't you take my word. I tell you nobody in the "district shall have more than you." But instead of making good his promise, when pay day came he had been round the district, and got all the other masters to give their men notice to come down to his prices. The men refused to begin again until he made good his promise. The union sanctioned this step, then he got his men together, and gave them only part of what he had promised.

9096. Are you aware that the North Staffordshire ironmasters met and came to a decision for a uniformity of price?—I suppose they did, or else they would not have drawn up those prices.

9097. There was a perfectly uniform rate of prices established at the North Staffordshire ironworks; they were all alike?—No, they wanted to establish a uniform rate, but to take the lowest as the uniform rate, and as I said above, we would not allow them.

9098. Are you aware that they did what I have stated?—No, because Mr. Naylor brought his men up to the Ravensdale price. Captain Roden promised to do it, and after the first fortnight he let the men draw. The men were persuaded to go on and not stop the works, while he was away from home, and when he came home they waited upon him. He said, "Cannot you take my word." The men were dissatisfied, and when they left off work one Saturday they would not work again until he fulfilled his promise.

9099. What can a good plate roller get?—It is according to the mill and the orders.

9100. Take an ordinary mill?—I know that in some places they get a good deal, and in some places they get less. If I take what Mr. Jones and somebody else published from the northern district some time ago, they get an enormous sum, and I have said more than once since in reference to what it was said that the men got both in North Staffordshire, and in the North of England, that I only wish the employers were compelled to pay men what they said they paid them there.

9101. It is a skilled department of labour?—It is.

9102. It is not an uncommon thing for a head roller to get 10*l.* a week, is it?—A good one may get that, and he would be a cheaper man to the employer at that rate than one that is an inferior man who works for 4*l.* a week.

9103. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Are there any deductions out of that?—That man may get 10*l.* a week one week, but from bad orders and accidents over which the man has no control perhaps the next week he will not get a third of 10*l.* But it appears to me that if sometimes there are extraordinary orders and things go on very straight, yet from the casualties that there are in the iron trade no man who does not understand it is able to go into it. No; the next week that man through bad orders, or things over which he has no control in reference to the machinery, or the iron being of an inferior quality, perhaps, will not get a quarter of 10*l.*

9104. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You say that the man who receives 10*l.* a week is better worth his money than the man who receives 4*l.*?—Yes, if he is a practical man.

9105. Do not you think that it is a bad rule to equalize those rates of wages?—We have not done so.

9106. Do not you think that the attempt to do so would be an injustice?—I should say that it would be an injustice to the man in some instances, and to the master in other instances.

9107. Therefore if there is any mode by which wages can be equalized it is really an injustice to the men themselves?—In some instances it would be an injustice to the men, in other instances it would be an injustice to the employer.

9108. Now I come to put another question to you. If there are any trades unions which so regulate their transactions that they equalize, or endeavour to equalize, wages for the bad workman and good workman, that is an injustice to the good workman?—It would be an injustice in one instance to the man, and in another instance to the master.

9109. You do not see what I have put to you. If there be trades unions whose transactions are regulated so to assimilate the wages of the inferior men to the wages of the superior men, those trades unions do an injustice to their trade?—My opinion is that they do.

9110. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you know if there are any trades unions which ever attempted to do such a thing?—No, I do not.

9111. Did you ever know a trades union which fixed a maximum wage?—I do not know of anyone.

9112. Is not the Ironmasters' Association, in fixing a maximum price, doing precisely that which the question which was just put to you involves? I allude to an answer which you just now gave to the effect that certain works advanced wages, and the Ironmasters' Association put pressure upon those firms, and induced them not to do so; and I ask whether in so doing they were not pursuing precisely the same line of conduct which you have just now in your answer told us you consider unjust?—Exactly so. I said in my answer that there may be trades where a regular rate of wages would be possible, but that it was impossible in the iron trade.

9113. (*Chairman.*) I do not understand particularly what action your association takes in supporting the

Mr. W. Garner.
21 Nov. 1867.

men, except having a reserved fund which the men may fall back upon if they think that they have grievance enough to stop work. You have no benefit society ?—No, we failed to establish one as I stated.

9114. If the men are out of work your funds are available to support them, I suppose ?—No, not if they are out of work, simply for want of employment. If they are being oppressed then we support them.

9115. It is only in case the men are ill-used, and are in your judgment out of employment by the fault of the employers ?—Yes.

9116. And I do not understand that your association has any other action than that. It is a fund upon which the workman may fall back for support if he thinks that he has been ill-used ?—Not if he thinks that he has been ill-used. There is never any case of dispute that comes before our executive unless we have both sides of the question, the master's and the man's, before we decide upon it, and then if we find that the man is being oppressed we support him. And I may say this in reference to our committee thata more impartial body of men I have never known.

9117. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) As your millmen are paid by the ton, I suppose that the difference between the good workman and the bad workman means this, that the good man can turn out a greater weight of iron than the bad man ?—Yes, he will not make as much waste. In plate mills and sheet mills there are great casualties, and careless men might lose 50 or 60 or 100 pounds a week, and of course a man who is skilled will get more out in the time with less risk.

9118. And therefore is deserving of a much higher pay ?—Yes.

9119. Is not it the case that it is not only beneficial to the men but a great advantage to the master to be able to turn 300 tons out of his mill instead of turning out 200 tons in a given time ?—Yes.

9120. Therefore it is an advantage to the master to have the best class of workmen that he can get ?—Yes.

9121. And do not you think that it is a very important thing that the man should be able by his greater skill to earn a much higher rate of pay than an inferior man, and provide for himself and family better ?—Good men have that opportunity, we do not hinder them.

9122. You would not wish to see the working classes put in a position whereby that man who you say would earn only 4*l.* a week because he is not skilled put on a level with a man who can earn 10*l.* because he is skilled, or would you wish to see such a system as that established among the working classes ?—I would not; but in our trade, since I have been in it, masters have come to us (and I know that that has been the practice in many places in the country) and said, "Now get so much a fortnight out "and we will give you a feast, or we will give you so "much money. I like to see you have a good handful "of money on the Saturday night, for the more you "get the more we get." We have done it and have worked harder than any men ought to do, and in a month or two after that the masters have used the very same argument as a reason why they should reduce us, and have reduced us when there was no reduction on iron.

9123. The iron trade is a trade of piecework from beginning to end pretty nearly ?—It is.

9124. Do you see any objection to the principle of piecework ?—No, I see no objection to it if they will do right with us.

9125. (*Mr. Merivale.*) What is the reason why piecework only has prevailed in your business, and you have never got to wages in the ordinary way ?—I do not know that ever such a thing has been offered.

9126. It was always the custom of the trade ?—Yes, the idea of the iron trade is now "That is the man for me who gets the most out."

9127. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) But the addition of wages earned in that way refers to quantity more than quality, whereas it appears to me that quality has more to do with it in the case of rolling these plates which you have referred to. Now what I want to know is this, do I rightly understand you to say that the masters, under regulations made by them, fix a maximum rate of wages for that description of work ?—I suppose that there are scarcely two mills in the country (at least I do not know two works) where the prices are exactly the same for mill work. In fact, if I go to Mr. Foster's works the prices for one thing at his works at Stourbridge would be different from the prices at his works at Brierley Hill, and the British Iron Company's prices are different in works only three miles distant from each other.

9128. There is not a maximum rate of wages fixed by the masters or men for that particular work ?—There is not.

9129. (*Mr. Merivale.*) I understood you to say that the masters' association fixed prices ?—I spoke then in reference to puddling the hoop iron.

9130. I see that your rules specify clearly the benefits in one case, which you have described as a "case of oppression." In that case the first class are to receive 1*l.*, the second 15*s.*, the third 10*s.* Are those classes merely according to the rate of their subscription ?—Yes. The amount paid out is now altered to 15*s.* and 7*s.* 6*d.*

9131. There are only two classes, you mean ?—Only two.

9132. But those classes are paid according to the amount of their subscription, the first and second class means that ?—Yes.

9133. You do not reserve to your officers and committee to decide how much you will give a man ?—No; what he subscribes for he has.

9134. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) There is no first and second class oppression ?—No. A skilled man in the trade gets good wages, but another in the trade may only get 3*s.* a day, and he cannot afford to subscribe as much as the other. That is the reason of those two classes.

9135. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) I see this in one of your rules, "If any dispute arise between puddlers "and their employers respecting their wages, the "executive committee of this association shall meet "the executive of the Puddlers Association if con-"sidered necessary, and if after their united delibe-"rations it be deemed advisable and will best serve "the interests of the trade for millmen to cease work "with the puddlers, it shall be so." I suppose that at the time of the North Staffordshire strike you had an interview with the puddlers ?—No, we had not.

9136. Not under that rule ?—No.

9137. How is that ?—In fact we have never had that rule carried out since we have had an association,

9138. Then you did not act upon that rule in the case of the North Staffordshire strike ?—We could not from the course we took. We decided to accept the reduction, and all our men had to carry out the decision, and we had no interview at all. I told you before that after the strike had been going on in North Staffordshire some weeks, Mr. Kane and another came and waited on us, and wanted us to reconsider the decision which we had arrived at in reference to accepting the reduction, but our committee said, No.

9139. According to your rules it is provided that in the case of a dispute between puddlers and their employers you shall go into the merits of the question with them, and decide upon that whether you will join with them. That you did not do on that occasion ?—If the puddlers had come to us and requested it we should have done so, but they did not.

9140. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You say that Mr. Kane came down to ask you to reconsider your decision ?—Yes.

9141. You did not follow Mr. Kane's advice ?—No.

9142. With reference to piecework, a good boiler plate roller employs several men under him ?—He does.

9143. And he employs just the sort of people that will work with most advantage in conjunction with himself. There is no limit placed on the amount of wages that a boiler plate roller can get under such

circumstances, but he gets as much as he can get out of the men?—If the under men are members of our association their interests would be looked after as closely from the head man, although a member of our own association, as his would be looked after from his employer.

9144. A bad boiler plate roller can get nothing like a good boiler plate roller. There is no limit placed upon the extent of the man's get; but the bad workmen and the good workmen are left to find their own level with respect to their capacity?—Quite so, we leave that entirely in the master's hands, if he likes to employ bad workmen.

9145. (*Lord Elcho.*) You have said that the managers are appointed, not as being the most competent men, but as being able to screw the greatest amount out of the labourer?—As a rule.

9146. You deliberately say that as a rule that is the reason for their appointment, not their fitness to manage the concern, but the fact that they are the best screwers of labour?—I will mention a case in the locality of West Bromwich. The manager of certain works there said to me, "I always like to keep my "puddlers at variance with each other, if I can do "that I can make them do anything." That is a statement from a manager who is living within 10 minutes walk of my house.

9147. (*Chairman.*) Have you lived long enough to know that the men who profess very fairly are for the most part the worst to deal with, and that a man who can speak out like that is the best to deal with?—I do not take it only from what the man said, but I take it from the actions of the man.

9148. If he did do it, that is another thing of course?—And I know that they do it. It would not be the mere statements that a man made that would influence me, I shall make no statement here that I am not prepared to prove if required.

9149. (*Mr. Harrison.*) With regard to that question of the forfeits about which you spoke early in your examination, I should like you to make it a little clearer, for I do not know that I quite follow you. Do you mean that there is anything like a practice or that you know frequent instances in which work which has been contracted for and done with, which is defective from the badness of the material, and not through the fault of the millman who has worked it, has not been paid for at all, but has been wholly forfeited?—Yes, in some instances. I went twice to see some work, at the Atlas Works, West Bromwich, a few weeks ago. This iron had been examined and passed as perfect (and paid for) before leaving the works; but being of inferior quality—holes dropped in while going through the galvanizing process—it was sent back, when the master stopped all the money for what came back. In the last instance the union insisted on payment, and he complied after a few days play.

9150. That is a case where the goods when manufactured are not marketable at all, but are worthless for that purpose. But now take this case, the iron which was being manufactured is not fit for, or does not measure to the exact required purpose, but is itself sound and is marketable for another purpose, or at a lower price for instance. Have you known such cases in which total forfeiture of the wages of the man who made that has followed?—Yes, plenty of iron that is not marketable for that, but goes off for bad or waste sheets.

9151. And is actually sold in the market?—Is actually sold at a lower rate.

9152. Do you mean that the labour by which that was made would not be paid for at all?—Not paid for in the mill department.

9153. You mean in point of fact this, that the system of forfeit of which you have been complaining is not a proportional forfeit in accordance with the amount of damage, or the amount of the inferior work, but is a total forfeit?—It is a total forfeit for the quantity which do not cut the length and breadth.

9154. It is a total forfeit for that work although the article itself goes into the market, and sells for something?—Yes. In some of the works they pay half price for what they call waste sheets for washer iron and other purposes.

9155. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) When they discover that a man has been so wrongly treated, has the union stepped in and protected that man?—Quite so. We at once go and see the employer about it. In some instances we succeed in getting the employer to allow what others allow, in others we do not succeed. If the man fails to agree with the employer, he leaves his situation, and we support him till he finds another.

9156. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Has not the man his remedy to recover his wages before a magistrate?—What man on earth who has a family depending on him will run the risk of having to walk about through the country to look for a situation if he pulls an employer up, and you know as well as any man that such would be the case if he did.

9157. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Have you known instances where this has been one of the grounds of dispute in case of strike?—I do not know that it has. In most cases we succeed with the employer. We show to him the reasonableness of giving what the majority of employers give, but in some instances the men will not leave their situations on that account if we do not succeed.

9158. Was not this particular grievance a good deal discussed and spoken of in the case of the Low Moor strike in 1864?—I cannot say anything about the Low Moor strike any further than this, that when that document was sent to us we sent them something.

9159. Will you state what the document is of which you are speaking?—I cannot, it is such a lengthy one; it is half as large as the door.

9160. Will you state the object of it?—It was a document in reference to not being connected with an association. We were in no way connected with the thing further than this, that we sent them 50*l.* a week, unsolicited, for 17 weeks.

9161. Will you tell us the object of signing the document?—For the men to have nothing further to do with a trades association, and that is what they are obliged to promise to do at the work I refer to in North Staffordshire at the present time.

9162. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) By whom was the document issued?—By the masters, and it was put up at the works.

9163. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Is that it (*handing a document to the witness*)?—Yes.

9164. You cannot tell us anything about the Low Moor strike in 1864?—No, not any further than what I have just stated.

9165. (*Chairman.*) Is there any other matter which you think it would be important for us to know?—I would just say this in reference to a thing you were questioning Mr. Hobson about, namely, the truck system at ————, where they tried to evade the law. I have some of those notes in my possession at home. They have different prices for iron according to certain classes that they do, and that is put down there as so much iron, but no money is put to it; so much iron of one class, and so much of another class, but no money is put on the note. The note is put into the man's hand, he does not know what he has to receive, and he cannot tell whether his money is paid right or not.

9166. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) What are those notes for, are they notes to take to the shop?—No, the man gets his money for them. There have been several actions against the proprietor of that work lately. I think that some gentleman on the Commission referred to that, and in order to evade the law laying hold of them they put on the notes just so much iron. Suppose I work so much iron at 5*s.* a ton, so much at 3*s.* 6*d.*, or whatever the rate may be, there are 20 tons say on the note, and no price put to it, 10 tons and no price put to it, 50 tons and no price put to it, nor is there so much as the sum total on the bottom of the note, so that I cannot see what money I have to pick up at the office.

Mr. W. Garner.
21 Nov. 1867.

9167. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Could you not work out the sum yourself?—Yes, I could, but where there is one working man that can do that there are 50 that cannot, and I cannot tell whether they will take my statement on oath, when I say that I have been paid 1*l.* short; I have been paid even 1*l.* too much.

9168. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) What is the object of this? I do not see how it is connected with a truck shop?—The men complain about it, and they have the notes, but not monied.

9169. How do you connect that note, which is a pay-table note, with the truck system? If the man took that note to the truck shop and they gave him groceries upon that note I could understand it then?—They have had a deal of trouble lately about it. I cannot put that note in to say what I have received at a certain time. They have the truck shop there, there is no doubt of it. Supposing that an employer gave me a note with no money stated on it, and I walk off home with it before I put any money down on the note, would my statement as to what was owing to me be received as evidence? I have recommended the men to do this, to put down at once what the amount is, and I would never stir from the pay window till I had put down the amount.

9170. What does the master get by that?—Until lately they always had the notes monied, as follows, 20 tons at 3*s.* 6*d.* or 20 tons at 5*s.* 6*d.*, and so on. They ought to be stated here with the price, and what it comes to altogether, but they do not put the money on in any form whatever.

9171. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) In plain words, I suppose you mean that the intention of the masters is to defraud the men of part of their wages?—I do not mean that to be inferred.

9172. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Supposing that upon that pay-note you have 20 tons at 5*s.* 6*d.*, that will be a note which you could present to anybody, and he, if he knew how to make the calculation, would know what was owing to you?—Yes.

9173. And as of course any person who is educated would know what was owing to you, would not that be evidence in a court of justice of what was really owing to you?—Yes; but who is to prove that what I say I received is correct? Would they take that as evidence? I go and swear that I received 10*l.* or 20*l.*, as the case may be, but there is no money down there.

9174. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Are there any deductions made for groceries at the office from the amount due to the ironworker?—Not that I am aware of.

9175. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do they receive money for the notes at the pay office?—They receive money.

9176. What can be the object of the notes?—I cannot see, unless it is to evade the Truck Act, because up to the time they had these trials in reference to the Truck Act they monied their notes.

9177. (*Lord Elcho.*) You are not aware of men receiving that money with any deductions for things received at the truck shop?—No, but certainly the men are very dissatisfied with it.

9178. (*Mr. Booth.*) Can you suggest how making out the note in that way enables them to evade the law?—I cannot, but I cannot see any other reason, because they always monied the notes previously.

9179. How do you connect it with the truck system?—I say that I cannot see what other object they have in view, because they always had them monied up to the last few months.

9180. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) What grounds have the men for being dissatisfied with that mode of making out the accounts; do they find that in any instance they have received less money than they ought to have done?—I have not heard that they have, but among the lot of men who cannot calculate it is rather a difficult thing for them to make it out.*

9181. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You told us that you have known men receiving 10*l.* a week, do you mean that on the average it comes out 500*l.* a year?—If a man gets 10*l.* a week for one week, as I said before, the next week he may not get a quarter of 10*l.*

9182. Supposing you take your own recollection of a good year, how much do you suppose it would come out at the end of a fair year?—My opinion in reference to the iron trade is that 10 days a fortnight we consider good work when we go on regularly. If you take a third out of that for stock-taking, breakages, and other things over which the man has no control, I think you have pretty nearly an average of what ironworkers do in good times.

9183. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Did you ever know a man at this work make 500*l.* a year?—No.

9184. Did ou every know a man make 400*l.* a year?—No, I do not know a man that ever kept an account.

9185. You say you do not know anybody who ever made 500*l.* a year in that class of work, do you also say that you never knew a man who made 400*l.* a year?—I may know the man, but I do not know that he has made it

9186. You will not say that a man in that class of work does not make sometimes 400*l.* a year in some good years?—They may in some extraordinary cases, but I question whether there is any man in the country who does.

9187. Did you ever know a man who made 300*l.* a year?—I cannot speak positively, there may be some.

9188. Do you think it very possible that they sometimes make 300*l.* a year?—If there is a case it is a man that has got a large contract, and a large number of men under him that work for him.

9189. And a good workman?—Yes, he must be.

9190. But you think it quite possible that a good workman may make 300*l.* a year?—It is possible that he may in an instance like that, but they must find him constant work and good material, and be certain to warrant him going on at work without any stoppage.

9191. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Do you mean that a plate mill in ordinary times does not work more than two-thirds of its time?—Very seldom.

9192. If I were to tell you that I know, from my experience, plate makers who have got 600*l.* a year, should you believe it?—I should not disbelieve it, or anything that you or any other gentleman may say, unless I had facts to bear me out.

9193. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you know anything about the prices that are paid for a similar class of things in foreign work; have any of your men been abroad and come back with information of that kind?—There is one that is working for Mr. Thornicroft, of Wolverhampton, now. I had some talk with him when these matters were being raised, and he said, "One Englishman does as much in a day as two foreigners. There is no doubt about that." I have never been abroad myself.

9194. Your society has never adopted any organized means to promote emigration among its members?—It has not.

* The witness subsequently forwarded the following statement:—"Two convictions were obtained last year against —— under the Truck Act. . . . . Before the above-mentioned convictions they got their orders for truck in the following manner. The manager, contractor, or chartermaster gave the men employed by them a note with the amount on it they required (if they had earned it): this was taken to the pay office, where it was changed for a kind of greenback; they took this to the shop (which is only a few feet from the pay office), and the goods were supplied. When pay day came, each man was furnished with a pay ticket, containing the amount of iron done, with the rate of the various sizes, and the amount earned opposite each size, and the total, out of which in plain figures the draw or stoppages were made. Since these convictions they have adopted the following mode. Twice a week an under clerk goes round with a book to each man in which he enters his name, and asks him what he must put down to his name. This book is taken to the pay office the following day they go to the office, when the sums opposite their names are paid (in cash), which they have to spend in the shop; when pay day comes they are supplied with a note with nothing on but the man's name, date, and the tons of iron done. There is no rate, nor any money at all, nor any stoppage, although they are all made, hence the man has nothing to show that any stoppage has been made, and this is how the law is evaded by them."

The witness withdrew.

Mr. JOHN MILLINGTON examined.

Mr. J. Millington.

21 Nov. 1867

9195. (*Chairman.*) I think you are the secretary of the National Association of Malleable Iron Workers?—Yes.

9196. Is that the same association as Mr. Kane belongs to?—Yes.

9197. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Where do you reside, is it at Gateshead?—At Walsall now; it was recently at Gateshead.

9198. Are you an assistant of Mr. Kane's?—I am secretary, and Mr. Kane is president.

9199. Is yours a paid office?—Yes.

9200. What do they pay you as secretary?—120*l.* a year.

9201. Were you present while Mr. Kane was being examined?—Yes.

9202. Then I think it is not quite necessary on my part to go through an examination again of the same nature as that which Mr. Kane underwent. Do you generally concur in the answers which Mr. Kane gave to my questions?—Yes.

9203. You generally concur in the evidence that Mr. Kane gave?—Yes.

9204. (*Chairman.*) Do you wish to add anything that Mr. Kane did not tell us, and which you think would be material for us to know?—I wish to add a little. I may say something with regard to the custom of the employers in the North of England stopping millmen's wages for short rails or plates which do not cut exactly to the pattern or the order, although the fault of that shortness in the rail or width in the plate may be due to the manager who orders the cutting of the pile. For instance, if the plate is too small when rolled, the roller gets nothing for it and the furnaceman gets nothing for it. Should there be a flaw in the rails, too, when the rail is finished, it is put on one side, and the men get nothing for it, and I have known instances of 50 or 60 tons of rails being manufactured that the men have not been paid for. Instance the Weardale Iron Company.

9205. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Did they decline to pay upon the ground that it was the fault of the workmen that the rails were deficient?—It was no fault of the workmen.

9206. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Do they ever allege that it is the fault of the workmen?—They cannot.

9207. Do they ever allege it?—Not that I know of.

9208. (*Mr. Merivale.*) You all working by piece-work, is it not part of the piece-work system, and understood to be so, that bad work goes for nothing, and that the workman takes his chance of losing it?—So the employers say, but that is not generally agreed upon with the workmen that they should be responsible for the bad work when it is not their fault.

9209. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Do the Weardale Iron Company pursue a different practice in reference to that from the rest of the Middlesborough district?—No.

9210. It is the fault of the man who makes the piles, I suppose?—Notwithstanding that, the rollers get nothing for it.

9211. Notwithstanding the fact that the man who makes the piles makes a pile too light, and thereupon the rail is too short, is the price of the rolling deducted from the rollers?—Yes, and the furnaceman's price too.

9212. But if the roller were to sue the employer for the amount of his wages, and were to show the magistrate that it was no fault of his that it was too short, would he not be able to recover it?—I should think he would, but the consequence would be that the man would be victimised by the employers.

9213. You have a suspicion of that sort?—I have proof of which I can furnish examples.

9214. It has come within your experience, you mean?—Yes.

9215. (*Mr. Booth.*) Have you found that the existence of the unions has had the effect of correcting that grievance?—In some instances, or to some extent; they have not yet been able to remove it wholly.

9216. But you think that they have been instrumental in diminishing what you call the hardships of the men in that respect?—I do.

9217. How have they done that?—By deputations appointed to wait upon the masters, and conferring with them upon the question.

9218. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) The weight of the piles for the rails could not be the fault of the pile maker, I presume, because piles are made from bars of a certain length pretty nearly prepared beforehand, and he cannot make the bars of a different length?—Upon an order coming into the mill, of course the weight of the pile is calculated, and there are times when managers or foremen make a mistake in ordering the weight of the piles. I have known the piles too light, and the rails therefore too short, and the men have got nothing for them; in fact several of the employers in the North of England have a system of stopping certain amounts of wages from the men per week or fortnight for what they are pleased to term bad work, while the defects in the rejected plates or rails are directly traceable to the bad quality of the material from which such rails or plates are manufactured.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. JOHN KANE further examined.

Mr. J. Kane.

9219. (*Chairman.*) I believe you wish to make some statement to the Commission?—I should like to make a statement of some facts which have come under my own observation, and which I have had something to do with by way of arranging matters. There was one case in which 400 tons of rails were stopped from the men employed by Mr. ——
These rails, which had passed the inspectors, were, I understand, sent from the works. The rails were ultimately returned again, and the men were charged to pay back the money which they had received for these rails at the rate of 5 per cent. Now if the rails were defective, it was owing to the quality of the iron from which the rails were manufactured. Large quantities of old rails are used by the firm with puddled iron in the manufacture of new rails.

9220. (*Mr Roebuck.*) That is a broad assumption of the case?—I know it from being a practical workman, and interested in the case myself, and having gone there by a request of Mr. —— and the workmen. We succeeded at last in arranging it in this way, that 250 tons should be stopped of the men, that in future all rails that should pass the saws were to be paid for as good, and that $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. was to be deducted from the entire wages of the men in the rail mill to meet any unforeseen casualty of that kind which might necessarily follow, as far as arranging with the contractors and inspectors was concerned. Now that system worked very well as long as it was in operation, until the men commenced work again, and now I understand it is swept away. Though the men have been working according to the arrangement with the employer, they are made responsible for the quality of the iron as well as the rails. There is another case which I can mention, but I will simply state that as far as Lowmoor is concerned, the stoppages were very serious indeed. I am quite prepared to take the responsibility of producing witnesses if necessary to substantiate my statements. I have several other facts before me which I am prepared to lay before this Commission, of parties being charged from 1*s.* to 1*l.* in the week in stoppages from wages due.

9221. (*Mr. Booth.*) Is it your experience that these occasions, complained of on the part of the men arising from an allegation of imperfect work, are more or less frequent now than they were before the institution of trades unions?—They have been more

Mr. J. Kane.
21 Nov. 1867.

frequent during this last 12 months than I have known them, that is to say, since the termination of the last dispute.

9222. They were less frequent before the establishment of the unions?—I will not say that they were less frequent before the establishment of the unions for the conduct of the firm of Messrs. ——— was the chief cause of the formation of the union at Darlington. But since the termination of the last dispute at the commencement of the last year, the fining process and the other things which I have named have been more extensive under that firm than they were before.

9223. Do you think that the establishment of the unions has been instrumental in diminishing that cause of complaint on the part of the working men?—Yes, and I am quite prepared to prove that it has enabled the men to remove many grievances.

9224. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Do you mean that in these shops to which you are alluding, there are no regulations put forth on the part of the masters, stating that there will be fines?—No, I do not say that, because on the opposite side of the pay-notes it is to be found, but I have yet to learn that those employers' rules override an Act of Parliament.

9225. Is it the case that the men have the remedy in their own hands?—They may have the knowledge, but they frequently want the means of acting upon it.

9226. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) For any large establishment there must be some code of rules, must there not?—Yes.

9227. Both in the interest of the master, and in the interest of the men, there are certain fines for certain offences, and of course if a man who has come under one of those demands has money, he ceases to be a member of the establishment?—The modern system is this, that a man has to accept what is given to him, asking no questions and holding his tongue; to question the right of some employers, is to ask for your dismissal.

9228. (*Chairman.*) In these cases of fines, if I understand you right, the fine levied is put on the pay-notes, according to the avowed practice of the firm?—All fines are placed on the pay-note, each pay-note stating, "fines so much." Hence it is deducted off the pay. There is one case which I know, and it is now in the hands of a lawyer, where a man was fined 1*l.*, and all he was to receive was 18*s.* 3*d.* for work performed, one-third of the amount belonged to the helper. This man had to borrow money to pay the amount due to the under hand, and want himself.

(*Mr Jones.*) Perhaps I may be allowed to offer one word of explanation on this point. I understand that this dispute to which Mr. Kane has referred, arose before the long strike which took place in the North of England last year, and I understand Mr. Kane to refer to the fact that Mr. ——— altered the terms of payment, and that they are altered at the present time. Now the terms of notice which were put up by the employers in the North of England were, in effect, that after a certain date, all the men employed in their respective works were to consider their engagement at an end, if they did not accept certain deductions. Consequently all the men in the North in England were discharged, since they did not accept those deductions on the 14th of July, and when they began work again, they entered on quite a different arrrangement. I have no doubt that that would be the explanation given by the particular firm, though I do not know the particular case, but I just allude to the fact as showing that all the firms in the North of England had discharged all their men in the meantime.

(*Witness.*) Would you allow me to say that there is nothing in the new contract which abrogates the arrangement so far as rails passing the saws is concerned. What Mr. Jones refers to entirely depends upon the fact what price shall the men work for per ton.

9229. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) I do not understand you to say that this is the only case which you ever heard of?—No; I can supply many others. I am not prepared to say that it is the general practice. I have not the slightest desire to make it appear that the workmen are all saints, and the masters all devils; that is not my object. There are certain illegal practices that are carried out, and this fining process is certainly one of the worst. I have known men literally starving in consequence of the fining process. If it is agreeable to the Commission, I think that I shall be able to furnish the Commission on another occasion with some facts of which I have notes in my possession on which the fines are marked with pencil.

9230. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Do I rightly understand you to say that these fines are constantly inflicted for faults in the material over which the men fined could have had no control?—Yes, but I do not say that the practice is invariable.

9231. (*Mr. Mathews.*) But in the case of examination into these fines, if the men can show to the masters that it is really no fault of theirs, but that they have done their duty, do you mean that the masters then persist in inflicting the fines?—I mean that the masters are frequently imposed upon by the managers, and that the manager is the party that fixes the fine, and the employers profit by it.

9232. It is referred, I presume, to the master in the last resort? After hearing all those circumstances, would he persevere in inflicting the fine?—In some instances, where the master is a sensible man, he would not. Such a man as the late George Hawkes, or such a man as Mr. George Crawshay, of Gateshead, would be ashamed of such a thing; but some men are not intelligent men, or feeling men, and would not, I believe, think they were doing anything wrong in inflicting the fines.

9233. But the workman would be able to say in such a case, "You cannot fine me by law?"—But you are well aware that at a time when there is a depression of trade the men are compelled to put up with what under other circumstances they would not submit to.

9234. That is to say, they are compelled to adhere to the rules which the employer lays down for the man. The men know what those rules are. The employer says, "If you work for me you must work for me under these rules," and amongst the rules is this: "You shall be fined under such circumstances?"—I wish you to draw the distinction between the system of fining and stoppages; they are two different things altogether. The stoppage, so far as wages are concerned, applies to the work; the fining is for the mere violation of some of the rules at the arbitrary interpretation of the manager.

9235. One, in point of fact, is a breach of rules, the other is a breach of contract?—Yes, but such rules and contracts are often one-sided.

9236. (*Chairman.*) Have you any further statement to make?—I have no objection to stating the practice in the Leeds district, extending from Leeds down to Lowmoor. I need not say that some of the gentlemen were legislators. The practice adopted in that district is the following. The men work a specific quality of iron, it is called best iron, they work a certain number of heats per day, and each heat is broken. If they find in the breaking process that the heat breaks what is called black, they are paid a certain price for it, if it is broken white they are paid a much higher price for it, a difference of something like 3*s.* a ton. That is of course an understood arrangement between those workmen and the employer, and I attach no importance to that. But mark what follows. In the event of a man having above 28 cwt. of black iron when broken, he is not paid for it. Such was the state of things in the Leeds district up to the termination of the dispute in 1864.

9237. (*Mr. Hughes.*) I understand you to say that if a man turns out more than 28 tons of iron, and one of his heats breaks black, then he is only paid for the 28 cwt., and forfeits all above?—Yes, that is so. The chief objection is this, from the system of shingling that is carried out there, and the heating what are called the bloomes, if any of the plates should turn out

in the slightest degree defective, these plates are cast on one side, and the money of the puddlers, the furnace men, the rollers, the shearers, the shinglers for such work was stopped.

9238. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) The men go to work knowing that this is the rule?—They go to work knowing that that is the custom, not that it is the rule, for no employer would publish such a rule.

9239. Knowing that it is the custom under which they are to work?—Yes.

9240. (*Mr. Hughes.*) The whole of their wages for that work is stopped?—For that kind of work above 1 ton 8 cwt.

9241. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Does not the character of the Lowmoor iron stand higher than that of any other iron in England?—It does.

9242. Do they not take extreme care in every process of the iron manufacture?—It is all part of the custom in the district.

9243. And do not the workmen understand all that, and co-operate with the employers in any arrangements made to secure the quality of the iron?—They co-operate in all things save and except the fining process, and the men do not like that.

9244. It is known that if men have the privilege of working there, they work under that understanding?—They have the privilege of starving if they do not work.

9245. Why should they starve, are not there other places in Yorkshire besides Lowmoor?—This state of things applies to Leeds as well.

9246. This is the custom of the district in fact?—It is a custom immemorial in that district.

9247. And by adherence to that custom immemorial they have been enabled to furnish a quality of iron which has enriched the proprietors and has gained them a reputation for the iron?—That may be.

9248. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Has it enriched the workmen?—Not that I know of, men don't get rich by being fined.

9249. Are the men better off there than elsewhere?—In one respect, namely, that their prices do not rise and fall.

9250. (*Mr. Mathews.*) They are better satisfied perhaps to work there, notwithstanding the stoppages, than any other place in England. Is it not a privilege to the men to get into those works?—And it is often a privilege to get out again.

9251. (*Mr. Hughes.*) It seems to me from what you state that the employment in these particular works is very much desired by the men?—Occupation is always desired by industrious men.

9252. But occupation in these particular works. It seems to me from what you have said that employment in these works is considered a great boon?—I am not aware that I have said anything of the kind. Employment is a great boon in all works.

9253. Did you not admit or say that the wages were higher there than in other places?—They are regular and decidedly higher.

9254. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Is it not the fact, with regard to this plan which they adopt of rejecting all iron made of inferior quality, allowing a certain margin, that by that means the character of these works has been kept up, so that the employers know that they will have constant orders and more regular work than they have in the other ironworks in the world, and that the men are deriving the benefit of that arising from that very process?—It does not arise entirely from that process. Lowmoor iron is subject to a different process of working on the one hand, I admit, but it arises as much from the fact of the superior quality of the ore. The Lowmoor ore and the ore of that district is much superior to any other ore in England.

9255. You know that Lowmoor iron is sought for special purposes, not only from the nature of the ore, and that engineers will willingly pay 2*l.* or 3*l.* a ton more for the Lowmoor iron because they can rely upon its quality?—Yes.

9256. And that quality is obtained by that regulation which you denounce?—I am denouncing no regulation,

9257. It is obtained by the custom which you denounce?—You may put it in that way if you please. Supposing that a man has made a ton of iron which is manufactured into so many plates, and a certain portion of them are injured, some portions of those plates may be made marketable, but the whole of those plates is sacrificed by the men.

9258. But they dare not sell it?—They dare use them.

9259. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Are they ever manufactured for the purpose of sale?—I have no doubt that they are sometimes sold, or used by themselves.

9260. (*Sir. D. Gooch.*) The Lowmoor ironworks will not send out bad iron, and they share the loss of any bad iron with the workmen in the way that you describe?—Yes, but they get a high price and they can afford it.

9261. And the workmen are constantly employed?—No; they are subject to commercial pressure the same as other people.

9262. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You state that the excellent quality of the Lowmoor iron is owing to the ore and coal, as I understand you?—I said that that was one cause.

9263. Is not the same ore and coal open to the other South Yorkshire works?—Yes, and they compete with the Lowmoor works.

9264. But they do not get the same name as the Lowmoor works, which have established a reputation and can maintain higher prices?—I think they do, they are not all engaged in the same department.

9265. The price of Lowmoor iron is higher than any other Yorkshire iron, and that is by reputation for quality and the great care in the manufacture?—But the remark does not apply to Lowmoor exclusively. The same principle is in operation in all the works in the Leeds district, extending from Leeds down to Lowmoor, and the same system of blackballing or black lists is carried out. You may ask why the men do not leave the district. The answer is, because they cannot work anywhere else. It is a very different process from the puddling of other districts, it is a different system altogether—hence the men cannot execute the kind of work that they do in South Staffordshire or the north of England.

9266. If the other works attempt to follow out the same process as the Lowmoor works carry out, it is to endeavour to establish the same reputation, I suppose?—If they do, but I am not aware that they do, except in the works in Leeds, Farnley, and Bowling.

9267. But if they do not, that accounts for the supremacy of the Lowmoor iron, does it not?—If they all had the same ore I suppose the result would be the same.

9268. But they all have?—To a considerable extent. The Lowmoor has not the whole of the royalty. I may say that I can perceive as much rattening amongst employers as amongst workmen. I can mention a case of an employer who discharged a man who is a steady industrious sober workman, simply because he is one of the men who refused to work at the reduction. Many cases of that kind occur, and in that way men are thrown out of work and prevented from earning their bread.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to to-morrow at 11 o'clock.

1, Park Prospect, Westminster, Friday, 22nd November 1867.

PRESENT:

The Right Hon. Sir WILLIAM ERLE.
The Right Hon. the EARL of LICHFIELD.
Lord ELCHO, M.P.
Sir DANIEL GOOCH, Bart., M.P.
HERMAN MERIVALE, Esq., C.B.
JAMES BOOTH, Esq., C.B.
JOHN ARTHUR ROEBUCK, Esq., M.P.
THOMAS HUGHES, Esq., M.P.
FREDERIC HARRISON, Esq.
WILLIAM MATHEWS, Esq.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR WILLIAM ERLE IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. A. S. Hewitt. 22 Nov. 1867.

Mr. ABRAM S. HEWITT further examined.

9269. (*Chairman.*) You have some information, I believe, with respect to the rate of wages at the works in Creusot in France?—Yes. It is the largest ironworks in France. From the official statement published by Messrs. Schneider and Co., the proprietors of Creusot, it appears that the average rates of wages paid in 1866 at those works were as follows: ore miners, 3·33 francs, coal miners, 3·25 francs; the average of the men employed around the blast furnaces, 2·95 francs; the average of the men around the rolling mill, 3·83 francs; the average of the men in the machine shops, including skilled machinists, (the larger portion of these men were skilled machinists) 3·40 francs. I may say here that that is the most marvellous thing that I have seen in Europe that machinists are to be got at any such rate; and I was so struck with it that I inquired of Mr. Schneider whether there was not some mistake about it, and he assured me that that was the real fact.

9270. (*Mr. Harrison.*) There is no union in France?—No, there is no union in France. I have stated that 3·40 francs is the average of all the men employed in the machine shops. Of course anyone who is the proprietor of a machine shop here will be able to tell you the ratio of a skilled machinist to other workmen.

9271. Does that average include the boys?—It is the average including everybody in the machine shops.

9272. (*Mr. Hughes.*) I saw Mr. Schneider's great place at the Exhibition, and he seemed to me to do as high class machine work as is done over here?—There is no better machine work done in the world than is done by Messrs. Schneider and Co. in these machine shops; there is no establishment in the world on a grander or more perfect scale, than theirs.

9273. I saw in his place at the Exhibition the models of a great number of institutions about the works which appeared to be more or less common to his workpeople. Would not that account, perhaps, for the lower rate of wages?—I think I had better finish my statement before I answer that question. The average for the miscellaneous labour is 3·03 francs. The average paid for the whole of the 9,950 workmen employed in this establishment is 3·45 francs per day. Now their tables do not show the specific prices paid for specific branches of labour, but at Sireuil, another French works, I have procured that information. For common labourers there the average is 2·50 francs per day, which was also the price paid at Creusot for common labourers. I asked that question and so I know that it is the same: puddlers 8 francs per day, which is also the rate at Creusot; puddlers' helpers 2·50 francs a day; they are paid the same as common labourers. Puddle bar rollers 5 francs a day; shinglers 5 francs a day; heaters 7 francs a day; heaters' helpers 2½ francs a day. Finishing rollers 6 to 7 francs a day. Machinists 3 to 3·50 francs a day. Those are regular machinists, and that confirms the other statement made as to the workers in machine shops at Creusot.

9274. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Does that exclude boys?—At Sireuil the average wage of a full-grown machinist is 3 to 3·50 francs per day, a man that does the regular work of the establishment.

9275. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Is that a high class of labour?—At Sireuil it is an ironwork, and the kind of machinist that they have about an ironwork must be a very good man, but not as nice a workman as they would have at Creusot, where they make locomotives and tools. At Sireuil he is a rougher class of machinist than at Creusot. Masons average 5 francs per day. Now I will state the prices of commodities: wheat bread, 25 centimes per lb., that is to say, the half of a kilogramme.

9276. (*Lord Elcho.*) Is that the regular market price regulated by the Maire?—This is the rate just determined in Paris by the decree of the Préfêt of Police. I do not think it applies to Creusot. At Creusot it is rather dearer, as the quality at Creusot is poorer than the quality at Paris, and at Paris the baker cannot make it pay for 25 centimes the lb., but he goes to the préfêt every week and gets his allowance for selling it at that rate. Wheat bread, as I said, is 25 centimes, rye bread 20 centimes, beef 65 centimes, mutton 75 centimes, veal 75 centimes, pork 75 centimes, chicken from 1 franc to 2½ francs (that, of course, according to the size of the chicken), a goose is 3 francs (there does not seem to be any variation in size among geese), a duck is from 1½ to 2 francs, butter is 1 franc per lb., a dozen eggs from 50 centimes to 1 franc (that, I suppose, is according to the season), potatoes 50 centimes per décalitre, vin ordinaire 40 centimes a litre, beer 25 centimes a litre, and house rent is 3*l.* 5*s.*, or we may say 3 guineas, as gold, as near as may be, per annum, with a small garden.

9277. Do you know the size of that garden?—Those gardens I should think were generally 50 feet by 100; that would cover the size of the garden.

9278. For one family?—Yes, for one family. Now it was stated by a labourer at Sireuil that with 2½ francs, a day's wages, he was able only to have meat once a week, and that was on Sunday. I was also told by the proprietors that they were making no money in the manufacture of iron in France (and I am sure of that from my general comparison), and it was therefore impossible for them to give any higher rate of wages than they were now giving. I therefore come to the conclusion that the iron business in France rests upon the essential condition of giving meat to the labourer only one day in the week. That is the conclusion to which I have been driven from the facts which have come under my notice.

9279. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) According to the present state of things that is to say?—I do not undertake to say what is possible or conjectural. I deal with the facts as I find them.

9280. (*Chairman.*) Have you any ratio of the quantity of the product of labour at 2½ francs compared with the product of labour that cost 7*s.* or 8*s.*? There is sometimes a direct ratio between the feed of oats and the number of miles the horse can go.—I cannot give any such ratio as that, but I can say this in a general way, that there was a deplorable look of hopelessness on the part of the labouring classes that I had never seen anywhere before, a downright lack of spirit, and what you say about oats and the horse I think is eminently true of man and his work. And more than that I think that independence of character

and of opinion is to a very great extent dependent upon the feed which a man gets.

9281. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Are you speaking now as to the appearance of the workmen at Schneider's works at Creusot, because we have heard very different stories of them ?—I speak now of my observation of common labourers as I saw them everywhere, at Schneider's at Sireuil, and at every other place where I saw them.

9282. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) If you do not know the amount of work in proportion, perhaps you can tell us what quantity of work is done by the puddlers who gets 8 francs a day ?—I am prepared to testify as to what the puddlers accomplish. As to the puddlers and rollers I can say that they do quite as much for the money I have stated as is done in England for your money or in the United States for our money.

9283. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you think that the work is as hard—I mean that the iron is as difficult to work ?—I think it is. I do not see any difference in that respect. I will give you some testimony about the quantity of work done at Creusot. In the puddling furnaces, the work of the puddler is as hard in the one case as in the other ; it is in the balling up that the hard work comes in any case, when white iron is puddled.

9284. We have had it now repeatedly in evidence that the particular condition and quality of the iron, the greyness for instance of it, makes all the difference as to whether the puddler can do precisely the same amount of work in nine hours or in 12. I meant whether you were convinced that taking a perfectly equal quality of iron, and equal difficulty of work, the Creusot puddler produces for that money precisely the same result as the English puddler ?—That he gives as much muscle to it for his day's work, and for the money that he gets, as you do in England for your day's work for the money that the puddler gets here ? I think he does ; that he spends as much muscle on it. At Cresuot, for puddling rails white iron is used, they make 11 heats per day, or 2½ tons in the furnace with one puddler and two helpers. There is nothing peculiar in the furnace. The puddler gets 8 francs a day, the first helper gets 5½ francs a day, and the second helper gets 3½ francs a day.

9285. (*Mr. Mathews.*) 11 heats would mean two turns ?—No, that is from one turn, it is nearly double what we do anywhere here.

9286. It is a mistake ?—No I cannot be mistaken, I said to Mr. Schneider, "What peculiarity have you "in your furnace that enables this extraordinary "work to be done ?" He said, "None, the iron works "very fast," then I looked at the iron and found that it was white iron, but the work is very hard upon the puddler.

9287. (*To Mr. Jones.*) Is it possible to turn out 11 heats in a puddling furnace with any amount of labour which you could apply in England ?—I think not.

(*Witness.*) I testify that Mr. Schneider told me this.

(*Mr. Jones.*) I had it from a gentleman who visited Mr. Schneider, tbat they were producing an immense quantity of iron from some of the furnaces.

(*Witness.*) This is not from any subordinate, but from the young Mr. Schneider's own lips, and therefore I take it that it is correct, but you observe that he gives him, the puddler, an extra helper.

9288. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is it customary to use white iron at Creusot ?—For rails, not for other work.

9289. Is the character of the pig iron similar to that of the pig iron made in England in the long run ?—I think that at Creusot the character of the pig iron in some respects is better than the pig iron which I see here, and in some respects it is worse.

9290. When you speak of better or worse, do you apply that to the degree of greyness or otherwise ?—I apply it to the ore from which the pig iron is made, and the grey nature of the iron employed.

9291. Are you aware how much they can turn out of grey iron or of white iron ?—I made no memorandum of that, but I believe that when they work this very grey iron, they make five or six heats. At Creusot they produce seven different qualities of manufactured iron, and of course in making those seven different qualities, they use different mixtures of pig, and give a different amount of labour to it. I examined the iron with care at the works, and I have never seen more beautiful material nor better workmanship done anywhere.

9291*a*. It is made with coke, not with charcoal, I suppose ?—It is made with coke. Their furnaces run with coke. In my judgment the great bulk of their ores come from Algiers and Elba.

9292. (*Mr. Merivale.*) What is the ground round there, is it alluvial sand ?—Creusot is in a coal-field and the soil is the ordinary sandstone, and the main ore that they have there is a fossiliferous ore, very lean.

9293. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is the Algiers ore similar in character to the Elba ore ?—No, the Algiers ores were all magnetic oxides, while the Elba ores were all peroxides. I have another point which I may mention here. In Paris the working men seem to complain of the price of bread and the high rents, which compel them to live a very long distance from their work, so much so, that one of them told me that he was always so exhausted when he got to his work in the morning, that he required to get an additional meal in order to enable him to go to his work. He had to get up before daylight and come four or five miles on foot (he could not ride), and he was so exhausted at the end of the time that he had to get something to eat. I asked him whether that was the general practice, and he said yes.

9294. (*Lord Elcho.*) What class of man was that ? —This man that I speak of was a perfumer, and you would not think perhaps that his work was heavy. Still he had this long walk to take, and he said that it was the general thing with all mechanics there.

9295. (*Mr. Roebuck*). As to the price of bread, did the artizans in France believe that the price of bread was properly under the dominion of anybody, that it was not to be settled by nature and production, but that it could be put under the dominion of the préfêt ?—I did not discuss the question with the common workman.

9296. You said that he complained of the price of bread. Now the complaint might be that the préfêt had made a wrong judgment, or he might fancy that nature had given him the doom of heavily priced bread ?—No, he simply said that the price of bread was so high, and the price of rent so high, that with 5 francs per day which he received for wages, he could barely keep his family together.

9297. The Préfêt in Paris does fix the price of bread, does he not ?—He did some time ago fix the price at 50 centimes the kilo. There is a provision in that decree that the baker may have his reimbursement.

9298. Did the workman merely mean that the préfêt had made a wrong decision ?—He never even referred to the préfêt.

9299. When he complained of the price of bread did he complain that bread was too dear by the combination of certain people, or by the effect of nature ? —I think he meant that his wages were too small to buy him bread at the price.

9300. I ask you the question because in the one case it is utterly impossible to alter the price of bread, and in the other case it might be altered, that is to say if the complaint was made of the préfêt's decision ?—I am perfectly satisfied that this workman had never got beyond his stomach. I do not think that it had ever got up into his head so as to lead him to consider how it was that the price of bread was so high or his wages so low.

9301. I heard a statement made in an English railway station that bread ought never to be beyond a certain price. The person who said that did not know the rules that govern the price of bread ?—No doubt.

Mr. A. S. Hewitt.

22 Nov. 1867.

9302. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Did you ascertain when at Creusot whether there was any work going on there for the English railways in the shape of locomotive engines?—No, I asked no questions as to the destination of the work. I saw the work going on and engines being built there.

9303. (*Lord Elcho.*) You are not aware that there was an engine in the French Exhibition, made by Mr. Schneider, at Creusot, which is a specimen engine, one of 40 made for the Great Eastern Company in England?—I was not aware of the destination of the engine, but I saw his engine in the Exhibition, which I regarded as a beautiful piece of workmanship.

9304. (*Mr. Harrison.*) With regard to the wages of the puddlers which you have given us, I suppose that the amount was calculated upon the earnings of the men in the course of the day, was it not?—I gave you the amount by the day. I found over there that they were as ready to pay by the day as by the piece.

9305. Are they not paid by the piece?—In some cases by the piece; in others by the day.

9306. If they turn out 11 heats in the course of a day, and their wages are still only 8 francs in the day, the price per ton must be very low indeed where they are paid in that way?—At Sireuil the price was 8 francs a day. The puddler was paid by the day. As I have testified about the common workman, let me say this, that the puddler who gets his 8 francs a day at Sireuil said that he had meat every day, and that he was able, out of his 8 francs, to save about half his wages,—in other words, the additional $1\frac{1}{2}$ francs which he spent over the $2\frac{1}{2}$ francs of the common labourer enable him to have meat every day, while the common labourer said that he had it only once a week.

9307. Did you make any observation as to the employment of women in the works?—At Creusot I did not see a single woman in the works.

9308. (*Lord Elcho.*) As to this puddler who you say had meat every day, and at the same time saved 4 francs out of 8, was he a married man?—Yes.

9309. Do you know how many children he had?—No, I do not, but children are not so abundant in France as they are in England, I may say.

9310. Did you make any inquiries as to what more especially comes within our province, the associations of workmen among themselves?—I asked the question as to the associations of workmen among themselves, and was told that they were not known in the provinces.

9311. Are there no benefit societies there?—At Creusot the only benefit society is the one administered by Messrs. Schneider & Co. themselves. I asked Mr. Schneider how it was organized, and he said by a rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. assured upon all the wages of all the people in the work. That is put into a fund and administered by the proprietor; and the morning I went into the office I saw in the outer hall, I should think, five or six persons who were evidently sick, or had been injured, sitting there and waiting for an audience of Mr. Schneider, who administers the relief.

9312. I presume that a trades' union in our sense of the term is illegal.—I do not think that it is illegal, but you have that in Mr. Fane's communication.

9313. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is that $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. levied exclusively on the wages of the workmen, or is any portion of it contributed by the principals?—As I understood it, it is $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. exclusively levied upon the workmen. I did not hear of any contributions from the principals.

9314. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Those institutions to which I alluded, of which there were models in the Exhibition, were maintained out of this fund, provided by the $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. I suppose?—I so understood it.

9315. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You say that the fund was in the hands of Mr. Schneider himself.—I only infer that from the fact of my seeing persons waiting in the ante-room as I have described.

9316. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Did you enquire or hear whether he had in the course of his experience had anything in the shape of a strike to deal with or any combination among the workmen?—I asked him the question "Have you ever had a strike at Creusot?" and he said "No." I said "I should think you would at times." "No," he said, "the people here work in the place usually their whole lives." I said, "Do not they often go away?" He said "No, there is the livret." I did not know then what a livret was, but I went back to Paris and got a livret from the police, and I have attached it to my report to my own government, and I find substantially that a French workman cannot be received by any employer in France unless his livret is endorsed by his last employer, and that if any wages are due from the workman to the employer it must be endorsed upon the livret, and it seems to operate as a kind of mortgage or lien upon him following him wherever he may go.

9317. In fact it is equivalent, is it not, to the discharge note, and things of that kind which have been introduced in certain trades in some parts of England?—I know nothing of that.

9318. Are you aware that it has been stated that the same plan has been adopted in England by railway companies with regard to drivers of engines?—No.

9319. (*Lord Elcho.*) Is it the custom of the country in France to have this livret or is it the law?—The law of livret is a regular French statute law.

9320. It is not a custom that has grown up on the part of the employers?—No, this law of livret was enacted in the year '12, and has been modified by a new law in 1854, and a decree of the emperor in 1855. I got a circular from the préfêt in which he explains to the working men that so far from its being a hindrance to them it is a concession made by the Emperor Napoleon for their special benefit.

9321-2. (*Mr. Hughes.*) He has modified the law in a liberal sense?—Yes, he has. I wish to say further that the préfêt said that in Paris the livret was not strictly enforced, but in the provinces it appeared to be strictly enforced. I heard that there were no strikes in France in the ironworks, and I heard assigned as the reason the fact that the law of livret was an impediment.

9323. Taking the general condition of the better paid class of workmen whom you saw at these works, what do you consider their condition to be as compared with your own men who work at the same employment in America?—The better class of workmen in France appear to me to be comfortable and intelligent both, and I do not think that I can say more than that of any class of workmen anywhere.

9324. (*Mr. Merivale.*) Then this general air of depression of which you speak did not extend to them?—It was not so characteristic of the upper workmen as it was of the very lowest class.

9325. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Did you get anything like an accurate idea of what their habits were, and whether their habits of dress and living and their amusements were better or worse than those of your own men?—I should say that their dress was very much inferior to the dress of workmen in our country, that their habits were much less expensive, and that their amusements were decidedly, apparently at least, less expensive than we have. I think that in our country there is much greater cheerfulness and a much larger expenditure among the working classes than in France.

9326. Had you any opportunity of judging of the intelligence of those men?—To some extent. I talked with the puddlers only with reference to their own work around the furnace, which they seemed to understand as well as workmen ordinarily do.

9327. (*Mr. Mathews.*) What about the degree of sobriety of the workmen?—I should think, as far as my observation goes, that it was decidedly in favour of the French; they are generally a more sober class. They drink wine to a great extent, common wine, but still, an honest wine, I think, and in the long

time that I was in France I certainly did not see more than two or three drunken men. The only case I can now recall was that on the day I left Paris I saw a drunken cabman.

9328. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Is it in accordance with your experience that generally in wine-growing countries there is more sobriety than in other countries?—That is the observation of all travellers, I think.

9329. (*Mr. Harrison.*) And since beer has been introduced largely in Paris there has been an immense increase in drunkenness?—I think so.

9330. (*Mr. Hughes.*) I understand you to say, that in your belief the ironmasters, at present, in France are making no profits?—That is my belief.

9331. The men are under-fed and depressed in appearance, you say?—The common labourers.

9332. But the work turned out is as good as that turned out anywhere else in the world?—As far as my judgment goes.

9333. Then how do you account for such a state of things as that?—I think that the character of work done (I speak now of machine work), depends very much upon the supervision which is given to it, and that with intelligent foremen, even depressed and under-fed workmen will turn out good work, because that is mostly a matter of supervision and tools; and the supervision and tools in France, as I saw them, are equal to any in the world.

9334. (*Lord Elcho.*) Are they home-made tools? By "home-made" I mean French tools.—They are mostly French tools, but generally copied from English models.

9335. (*Mr. Hughes.*) But that state of things which you have described must come to an end?—I sincerely hope it will come to an end; that is one of the very objects that I have in view.

9336. Will you tell me what you believe to be the cause of it. Do you believe that unlimited competition has anything to do with it?—If you ask me my individual judgment, I must answer, yes. I do not think that that judgment is of any value in a matter of this sort, because everybody has as good a right to an opinion as I have, but all I can say is, that it is the conclusion which has been forced upon me by observation, and forced upon me against all my preconceived notions, that unlimited competition has brought about this state of things.

9337. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Unlimited competition between whom?—Between all the world.

9338. So that in fact you think that unlimited competition is a thing to be regulated by law?—You must excuse me if I do not pass a judgment of that sort. I have been trying to make as philosophical an observation as I can of certain facts. I find as one result of that observation a large portion of the people engaged in labour reduced to what I regard as a very miserable condition; I am asked what I think is the cause of it. It seems to me that the unlimited competition to produce articles at the lowest possible rate for sale in the general markets of the world without any regard to the condition of the labourer is the cause of it. How that shall be regulated I am unable to say.

9339. (*Mr. Booth.*) You do not see your way to any remedy?—I do not at present, and I say that with a conviction in my own mind that there is a fallacy lurking in this thing somewhere, either in my own observation of the facts, or in the conclusion I have drawn from them, or in the organization of society, upon which no one has yet been able to put his finger. What that fallacy is I do not know.

9340. (*Mr. Merivale.*) Is competition unlimited in France according to your view of the meaning of the words?—It is unlimited between themselves, but if you mean as between nations, I will answer that question in this way. There is a tariff in France upon English iron and Belgian iron, but owing to the superior natural advantages which the British ironmaster possesses for the manufacture of iron the French people are compelled to reduce their wages below the standard of wages in England, even with the tariff they have, in order to keep up any competition.

9341. And that you call unlimited competition?—I call that unlimited competition, except so far as it is limited by this tariff.

9342. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Do not you think it a bad application of capital to use it upon matters which necessarily will not give the ordinary return?—You ask me a question now which involves a good many considerations. If you ask me that question with reference to England, I would say yes; if you ask me that question with reference to the relation of capital in two different countries, as the thing now stands, I would say no.

9343. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Is it not necessarily a bad application of capital. How can Mr. Schneider carry on these enormous works at Creusot if he loses by them?—Mr. Schneider states in his publication that the result of the investment at Creusot has been that the stockholders have received 8 per cent. per annum, besides laying by a fund for extensions and renewals. But he stated to me that the business at present was unprofitable.

9344. (*Mr. Mathews.*) May not that explanation be found in the circumstance of its being for the manufacture of other articles, irrespective of the dry manufacture of iron, for instance, the manufacture of locomotives may be productive of gain, while that of the dry iron may be a loss?—That may be true. Mr. Schneider also stated to me that the transportation of iron ore from Marseilles to Creusot, which is a very long distance indeed, was done at a rate equivalent to a little less than a halfpenny a ton a mile.

9345. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is it brought by rail?—It is brought by rail all the way.

9346. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Will not the necessity for importing a very large proportion of the ore account for the seeming anomaly that you have wages at the lowest point, the most excellent supervision and management, a manufactured article most excellently turned out, and almost no profit made, and yet that they do not undersell the whole world.—In my judgment I testify that the wages of labour are as a general thing in proportion to the natural advantages which the country possesses for the manufacture of the goods.

9347. Then you think that in point of fact that explains the anomaly of the absence of profit, that the ore has in large proportion to be imported.—I think so. I think that that is one of the leading elements.

9348. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Can you say what is the comparative price of railway iron at the Creusot works as compared with English railway iron?—The price of iron in France is about a 1*l.* a ton higher at the works than the corresponding price in England.

9349. So that assuming that the price of rails in England would be 5*l.* 10*s.*, the price of rails in Creusot would be 6*l.* 10*s.*?—I should think so.

9350. And with the price 1*l.* a ton higher than in this country the disadvantages under which they labour in respect of the importation of their ore from long distances more than counterbalance their advantages?—I think so.

9351. Though the importation of foreign ore may be a disadvantage, the manufacture of articles may involve a considerable profit to the proprietor.—It might, but I know nothing of the fact. But you must consider the magnitude of these works. There are 15 blast furnaces, and a rolling mill which is 1,400 feet long.

9352. Are you aware of the amount of railway iron produced at those works?—I know the total number of tons of wrought iron produced in the mill, it is 110,000 tons a year.

9353. That is iron of every description?—Wrought iron of every description.

9354. You do not know what amount of rails is produced?—It is an impression on my mind that about 30,000 tons of that quantity are rails.

9355. And does your observation as to the price of the iron being 20*s.* a ton more than the price of

Mr. A. S. Hewitt.
22 Nov. 1867.

English iron apply to bar iron as well as rails?—That seems to be the difference. There is a duty which enables English iron to compete with French iron in Paris.

9356. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Are those puddlers whom you have spoken of as earning in France 8 francs a day the same class of men of whom we heard yesterday as getting 10 guineas a week in this country?—I testified before that I found a guide roller here who was getting 25*s.* a day.

9357. But we have had 10 guineas a week stated to us?—I do not doubt that a man who is competent to heat one of those enormous plates that I have seen rolled for John Brown & Co., so as to be responsible for the heat of that enormous mass, commands 10 guineas a week, and that he is cheap at 10 guineas a week too.

9358. (*Mr. Mathews.*) What is the duty upon English rails imported into France?—I cannot say at this moment. It is not heavy.

9359. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Your report to your own Government will be published some day, I presume?—My report will probably be published in the course of three months.

9360. (*Chairman.*) Can we be allowed to have it?—I have no objection at all to submitting the report to the inspection of any gentleman here with reference to asking questions of other people, but it would not be proper for me to let you have the report in advance of sending it home. I may say that it is exactly in the direction you are proceeding that I have conducted my investigation, and it was the hope that I might learn something to help me in my inquiries that brought me here originally.

9361. (*Mr. Mathews.*) With regard to the manufacture of plate iron at these large works at Creusot, are there any plate rollers in these works?—There are plate rollers there.

9362. Does the plate roller take the whole charge of the mill, and pay his under-men as he does here?—I cannot say that.

9363. You cannot draw any comparison then between the wages of a plate roller here and one in Creusot?—No, but I may say that at Creusot they do not roll heavy plates. Petin Gaudet and Company, roll heavy plates, but they publish no statement. Returning to the question of Mr. Hughes I may observe that the greatest social evil of modern times seems to me to be this, that the barrier separating honest labour from pauperism is so slight that a man never knows how soon he will be crowded from the one side of the dividing line over to the other side. I think that a man who has a family, and who from the organization of the community in which he lives is in perpetual dread that within 24 hours his family may be brought to want, cannot be happy. That is the idea that I have of the subject, and that is the great advantage which I see at present in the United States over these older civilizations. Owing to our soil, owing to the fact that we have a great outlet, owing, if you like, somewhat to our institutions; our working men are not in the condition in which I find workmen over here, that they cannot see ahead.

9364. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you know any institution in England which guarantees a man against that state of things except the unions?—After looking over the constitution of the unions, if you ask my judgment I do not think that they guarantee him against it.

9365. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Do you think that that is their object?—I think that these working men believe that they are working on sound principles for their own elevation and benefit, otherwise of course they would be fools to do what they do. Whether they have got the right of it or not is a totally different question. That as I understand you are here trying to find out. The working men themselves ought to be as grateful for the information as the community at large will be. It is a problem to be solved. If they are right we must reorganize things in our own country.

9366. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) With reference to some evidence which you gave us when you were here before, with regard to the rate of wages in this country and in America, will you tell me whether your attention has been called to an article in the "Chicago Tribune," which appeared soon after you gave that evidence expressing an opinion, which opinion was based on information obtained from this country, as to the cost of living here, that opinion being that the wages received by the ironwork men in this country went further than the wages received in America?—I did not see the article, but I can testify without hesitation that any such idea is totally fallacious. The reason is this: As the mayor of Pittsburgh has informed you, the only question in Pittsburgh was between 7 dollars and 9 dollars a ton for puddling, that is to say, between 21*s.* and 27*s.* Now, taking the lowest rate, 21*s.* a ton for puddling, against the rate for the same class of puddling here, namely 8*s.* 6*d.*, there is a difference of $2\frac{1}{2}$ fold. Any man can see that there is no such difference between the cost of living in America and here. Beef and grain, the necessaries of life, are cheaper in America; the things which are dearer are clothes and house rent. Now clothes are things that people may be as economical as they like about. In France they wear a blouse; in America our workmen on holidays are usually dressed in full cloth suits.

9367. (*Mr. Harrison.*) At the Creusot works did they work on Sunday?—I was not there on Sunday, but my impression is not, that is to say, the rolling mills do not, I think, but the blast furnaces must. I think I can say that the puddling mill does not work on Sunday, because the puddling furnaces must be repaired once a week. I have had the point raised as a religious question in my own country. A clergyman said to me, "How can you consent to "allow your men to work on the Sunday?" My answer was, "I let five men work on Sunday in "order that 500 men may not be deprived of their "work on Monday." Will you allow me to say that I have been shown a letter here from the mayor of Pittsburgh addressed to Sir Edmund Head. I wish to say in regard to that letter, that the mayor has made the obvious mistake of supposing that I testified in regard to the Pittsburgh strike, and the outrages which were alleged to have taken place there upon my own knowledge. Now I was careful to say in my testimony, that I received the information from a manufacturer residing in Pittsburgh, and when asked for details, I repeated that I had no personal knowledge of the subject whatever, and subsequently, when it was commented upon in the London "Times," I returned to the Commission for the express purpose of complaining of those comments as unfair, and repeating that I had no personal knowledge whatever of the facts at Pittsburgh, but had only derived them from other persons. Of course I could discharge myself from all responsibility by simply giving the name of my informant, but inasmuch as a public meeting has been held at Pittsburg, at which I have been denounced, I can imagine that it might be an uncomfortable thing to him if I were to do so, and therefore I do not think it right to give his name, beyond saying that he is a man of high respectability. There is one point in the mayor's letter in which he is right, and I am wrong, that is as to the origin of the strike in Pittsburgh. The men were receiving 9 dollars a ton in Pittsburgh, which was a rate peculiar to that place and its vicinity. The iron business having become unprofitable, the owners requested the workmen to reduce the rate to 7 dollars, the prevailing rate in other places; the workmen refused and the mills stopped, and since I went home and have returned, the strike has been settled, and it was compromised by the workmen going to work for a brief period at 9 dollars, with an agreement that it should be reduced to 8 dollars in a few weeks, which I believe has been done. I wish to state this simply because I want all the facts that are stated in my testimony to be correct. The mayor's statement in that respect is technically correct,

although it was never called a lock out, and as I was talking about rates of wages rather than strikes at the time, I did not draw the distinction.

9368. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) It was a lock out was it not? It was a lock out in this sense. They did not lock the mills up, they said to the men, "We cannot give you more than seven dollars." The men said, "We will not take seven dollars;" but the works were open to the men if they wished to go on at seven dollars. There is another point that I must refer to. I stated that the Irish were rarely good puddlers in America. That statement was broadly taken down and has been published, and the Irish have naturally felt aggrieved at home at that statement. Now if I had been asked whether the Swedes, or the Austrians, or any other nations made good puddlers under the same circumstances as the Irish are taught puddling, I should have given the same answer. The reason is this, that in England and Wales puddling is begun to be learnt by the boys around the mills, and they grow up into this knowledge from early boyhood, and hence by the time they get a furnace they are really accomplished and experienced puddlers. In our country the Irishman comes into the country an adult and gets a furnace without having had the advantage of that training, and for that reason simply, that he has not had any early experience, he is rarely a good puddler, but that would be true of other people under the same circumstances.

9369. (*Mr. Mathews.*) It would be as true of English workmen as of Irish workmen?—Yes.

9370. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Does the number of hours worked in France at all correspond with the number of hours worked in England?—In reference to puddling it necessarily does, and I think it does in respect of rolling, in fact in regard to ironwork I find that the same time is worked all over the world, except in very hot climates where they make three shifts instead of two.

9371. (*Lord Elcho.*) Do you know the highest sum earned in the week by any one puddler in the case where you gave the average of 8 francs?—I think that that is pretty much the regular thing. I do not think a man can exceed that.

9372. You say that they pay 3*l.* 5*s.* for their houses, to whom do those houses belong?—At Creusot they belong to the works.

9373. They are not the property of the workmen?—No, they are not the property of the workmen.

9374. And the gardens attached to the houses equally belong to the proprietors I suppose?—Yes, the grounds and the houses belong to the proprietor of the works, and the workmen pay rent for them.

9375. Is the work mostly piece-work?—No, I should think not, I should think that in France, the preponderance would be rather in favour of day work.

9376. Have you extended your inquiries to other works than ironworks?—No, I have not, because my time was absolutely occupied with this investigation.

9377. Did you extend your inquiries to the ironworks in Belgium or Germany, and have you any knowledge of the circumstances of the trade there?—Only by inquiry, not by any personal investigation, hence I would not wish to testify upon that subject. The rates for Belgium are very well given in Creed and Williams's pamphlet.

9378. You could not give us any general impression which you have formed with respect to the state of trade in Belguim and Germany?—I can say that I think that the condition of the workman is better in Germany than it is in Belgium. He is better fed and educated in Germany than he is in Belguim.

9379. (*Mr. Merivale.*) What part of Germany do you speak of?—Rhenish Prussia.

9380. (*Lord Elcho.*) Do you know of any one who could give us evidence on those points, with reference to Belgium and Germany?—You have two Englishmen here who have gone and made this special investigation, Creed and Williams, and who have published the result of their inquiries.

9381. (*Mr. Hughes.*) In one of these letters from Pittsburgh, which are printed in the document I hold in my hand, the writer says, "Ten shillings in England is as good as nine dollars here." I suppose that is a great exaggeration in your judgment?—Nine dollars in currency would be about 27*s.* I should say that it is a great exaggeration moreover.

9382. (*Mr. Harrison.*) With respect to the rate of wages, is there a greater variation in France, in the rate of wages, according to the individual skill of the workmen than there is in English works; for instance, are the puddlers all paid at the same rate?—I should say that there was a greater discrimination in England in favour of skill than there is in France.

9383. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) You have told us what the puddlers ordinarily earn at Creusot; how many hours do they work a day there?—The usual time that a puddler or his helper has to be at the furnace is 12 hours, but they do not work continuously 12 hours; between the heats and the making up of the fire 12 hours is consumed.

9384. Are there many children or women employed in the works?—I saw no women in the works at Creusot, and I saw very few children, those that I did see were boys not younger than 13 or 14, I should say, and there are schools at Creusot in which the younger children are all engaged in being instructed.

9385. That is to say "the younger children belonging to the men employed in the works"?—Yes, they were undergoing instruction, and in the Exhibition of Paris there were very beautiful specimens of their work. I may say here that I do not think that there is over-education there.

9386. Is the expense of those schools borne by the levy of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. which you have spoken of?—My impression is that the whole of these educational arrangements are paid for out of the $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the wages. The organization which Mr. Schneider has effected has been done upon the basis of the earnings of the workmen, but I would not say that there is not any contribution out of the funds of the proprietors. I am inclined to think that there must be a contribution from them.

9387. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You say that in the ironworks at Creusot no women are employed?—I saw none.

9388. Did you ever find any employed in England?—In South Wales, as I stated in my former evidence.

9389. (*Chairman.*) Is there any other matter to which you wish to call our attention?—There is another matter to which I should refer before I leave. On my return to America I endeavoured to get the information which I was asked here to get with reference to any case of intimidation that has occurred. I stated that there was a case in Newark, New Jersey, in which the men had been indicted. I went to the district attorney, Mr. Parker, and asked him if it was so, and he said, Yes, the men were under indictment. I asked him if there were any statute under which they were indicted, he said, No, that it was at common law, and that the case would be tried in the next term of court, under the general principles of the common law of England, and that he would furnish me with a printed copy of the whole affair, to be sent to this Commission, and I presume that that will cover the discussion which is going on here as to what the common law is on that point. The men are under indictment for having conspired to prevent other men from working for a Mr. Marsh, a carriage maker. The point to which I call attention is that there seems to be no special statute beyond the ordinary common law of England. and that it is an indictment under the common law that they are to be tried upon.

9390. (*Chairman.*) Could you kindly bear in mind when that matter comes to be decided, to give us the decision?—Yes. It ought to be decided by the time I get home.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. J. Jones.

22 Nov. 1867.

Mr. JOHN JONES examined.

9391. (*Chairman.*) I believe you are the secretary of the Ironmasters Association for the North of England?—I am the secretary of the Iron Manufacturers Association, and of the Ironmasters Association also. We have two distinct associations in the North of England, the one relating to blast furnaces, and the other to manufactured iron.

9392. Is that one institution?—They are distinct organizations.

9393. Are they of the same date, or is one of longer standing than the other?—I think they have both been in existence for a considerable length of time, but they have been reconstituted, perhaps within the last three or four years.

9394. How long have you been secretary?—Since July 1866.

9395. Are there contributions from the members of the society so much a week or so much a year?—No. Levies are made to meet what expenses are incurred.

9396. When expenses are incurred the executive committee sends notice of a levy?—Of a levy on each of the firms connected with the association.

9397. Is there any reserved fund kept?—In the case of the Iron Manufacturers Association there is a reserve fund amounting now to about 45,000*l.*

9398. Then are the levies and the reserve fund both used in case of trade expenses, if I may use the term, and only for trade expenses. By trade expenses I should understand inquiries and actions considered to be for the interest of the members of the association in the trade?—Yes, all the funds are devoted to those purposes.

9399. Without anything in the way of a friendly society, superannuation, or any of those expenses incident to the nature of such a society?—Quite so.

9400. Can you say what has been the expense during the year that you have been secretary. What has been the expenditure on the part of the masters for trade purposes?—I have no statement except up to Christmas last. That would be perhaps for a year and a half. It refers only to one association, the Iron Manufacturers Association, relating to mills and forges. This statement of accounts in my hand which I may perhaps epitomise, states that for the 18 months ending December 31st, 1866, the association had deposited with the bankers promissory notes to the extent of 47,575*l.* I should explain that according to the rules of the association these promissory notes are given by the different firms, and the association from time to time may place on the fund any firms whose men may be on strike, and may give them an allowance according to the rules. They may then draw upon these several firms for the expenses connected with any particular strike, and these promissory notes are deposited with the bankers as a security that may be used in case any firm should not pay the respective monies required in the shape of levies.

9401. In case of a strike against a specific firm the executive committee have the power to make a levy from that firm do you mean?—No, from the other firms. I should put in the rule, perhaps, relating to that, it is this: "That any member whose men "demand an increase of wages, or any other con- "cession, which, if granted, would be likely to lead "to a general advance, submit the same to the "masters association, who shall appoint a committee "to determine whether such demand is justified by "the generally prevailing scale and practice of the "district, and if such committee recommend a refusal "of the men's demand, and a strike ensue, that there "be paid out of the funds of the association, in re- "spect to the period that such strike is sustained, "with the approval of the association, to the master "whose men have so struck, such sum per furnace" (per puddling furnace that is) "per week, as is "defined by the class under which such master "has placed himself." Each firm may elect under which class they will be placed. If under class A they receive a sum of 4*l.* per week for each puddling furnace laid off; if under class B a sum of 3*l.* per week. At the end of a strike the firm whose men have been out send an account to the association, and the money to be paid is then raised by a levy upon all the firms belonging to the association.

9402. (*Mr. Hughes.*) An account of what?—An account of the number of weeks that the furnaces have been laid idle.

9403. Simply for the puddling furnaces?—For the number of furnaces insured. Each firm state the number of furnaces they insure for; that includes in many cases the number of heating furnaces.

9404. The account, I suppose, is limited to that, "so many furnaces out." There is no general estimate of loss?—No, that covers everything. As I have stated the amount deposited with the bankers for the 18 months was 47,500*l.* There had been paid on "subsidy account" during the 18 months ending 31st December 1866 a sum of 6,012*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* which had been levied from the firms whose promissory notes were held to the amount of 47,575*l.* Then come the general expenses. There are other expenses that occur in the balance sheet, but the general expenses, printing, and management are 264*l.*

9405. Does that include all the salaried officers?—Everything.

9406. Does it include your salary?—Yes, but you must bear in mind that I only became secretary six months before the date at which this statement terminates. Before that time the matter had been attended to by a gentleman who had not devoted nearly so much time to it as the association wished me to do, and consequently the remuneration was less.

9407. What is the remuneration?—The remuneration from the Iron Manufacturers' Association is 200*l.* a year, and from the Iron Masters' Association 100*l* The salaries appear in this printed statement of accounts which I have already referred to, in fact here are the items: travelling expenses, 22*l.* odd; salaries, 151*l.*; postages, 3*l.*; stamps for promissory notes, 24*l.*; deputation expenses, 5*l.* 14*s.*; two-thirds expense of office furniture and fittings, 25*l.*; printing and stationery, 7*l.* 16*s.*; sundries, 14*s.* 7*d.*; therefore the expenses would be only about 240*l.*

9408. (*Chairman.*) Is there any action of this masters' union, except in case of action by way of strike on the part of the workmen's union?—Yes; that is only a minor part of the work on the part of the association, because there are many matters connected with statistics of exports and imports of iron, and in connexion with railway bills, and various parliamentary matters which affect the interests of the trade. The question of wages and of matters connected with that department, though it occupied a very prominent part during the latter portion of last year, has required very little attention during the present year. I should think that very nearly all the work I have done during the present year has been on questions with respect to matters affecting the general interests of the trade as implicated in parliamentary bills, and so on.

9409. If I understand you rightly, very little of your attention and very little of the expenditure has related to disputes between the employers and their workmen?—I am speaking of this present year.

9410. (*Mr. Hughes.*) What is the meaning of that sum of 6,012*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.*?—That is quite apart from any management expenses; that is paid to certain firms as subsidy for strikes. I will explain that more fully presently.

9411. (*Chairman.*) I thought you said that there had been very little expenditure in respect of disputes between employers and workmen during your time?—There has been no subsidy at all paid this year. I think that nothing has been paid on the subsidy account since the closing of last year's account. But the general expenses incurred in the manage-

ment of the association as a matter of course still run on, and if any question of wages were to arise, the actual secretarial and other expenses incurred in connexion with it would not touch this subsidy account at all except as a levy made for general expenses, because we keep these subsidy accounts entirely distinct. If for general expenses we require a certain sum of money a levy is made on the same principle, but the accounts are kept separate. There is also another account which I ought to mention, for expenses connected with the strike of 1866 (we had a long one then of about 20 weeks), amounting to 89*l.* 9*s.* 10*d.* that is put down as the expense, a little over 90*l.* would be the actual cost, but that is as it appears in our account.

9412. (*Mr. Hughes.*) That is apart from all subsidy of course?—Yes, this is the amount that had to be contributed by all the members of the trade that took part in that movement, because the association does not include all the firms in the district; it only includes those who agree to the subsidy arrangement; there are certain others who do not agree to that arrangement but still co-operate for all general purposes connected with the trade, and they also bear their share of the expenses connected with any combined trade movement.

9413. Can you tell us the expenses of the subsidy during that strike that cost 90*l.*?—We paid no subsidy then. There was a case which did come in this year, and which will involve a payment that I quite forgot just now, of about 150*l.*, or something of that kind. That was owing to some of the men at one of the works not going in at the proper time. It was thought then that the case came under the subsidy regulations. Some members of the association scarcely thought that it did. Still it was decided that the matter should be supported in that way, and so the firm had a payment from the subsidy account. The subsidy arrangement was made before I went in the North of England, but the reason given for it was that it was found that the action of the union, which was very well organized at the time, was devoted mainly to dealing with one firm at a time, and it was felt that by working up the wages, by laying hold of wages that were higher perhaps in one case than in another, probably from some differences or other in the construction of the works, and by each of these firms being taken individually, the whole would be dealt with in time, and that the wages were thus being gradually worked up. This was a defensive movement in order to support the masters that were so attacked, and it was to be limited entirely to that purpose.

9414. (*Chairman.*) I think that the results of your attention to the questions between the employers and the workmen is embodied in the paper with which you have furnished the Commission, and which I hold in my hand?*—Yes, I thought that it would save a considerable amount of the time of the Commission if the general nature of the evidence which I was prepared to give were thrown into that particular form; and, moreover, it was desirable also, in order that it might be communicated to the several members of the association, for them to intimate whether they agreed with the general statements made in the printed evidence. Therefore, as it has been submitted to them, of course it may be given as representing their views.

9415. Having paid attention to the subject, and having framed this paper, you offer it to the Commission as containing your views upon the matter?—Yes; I would also say that in order that the views of the different members of the association might be quite independently laid before this Commission, if desirable, I obtained a number of copies of the questions which were issued by the Commission, and sent them to all the firms in the North of England, requesting that they would fill up those papers and return them to me. I only received four papers filled up in that way, but it is only fair, I think, to those firms that did send them to me that their answers should be handed in for the inspection of the Commission, if it is so required.

9416. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) I will ask a few questions upon the paper which you have put in. You state here that the trade "have never heard these organizations," referring to the unions of the men, "spoken of as Friendly Societies at all." We have been told by several of their representatives who have been here that they all combine friendly societies with them?—I am speaking of the ironworkers, simply of these three societies mentioned at the head of my paper, not of unions as a body. There are three unions which you have had before you, the Associated Ironworkers of Great Britain, the Staffordshire Millmen's Association, and what is generally called the Brierley Hill Union. Those are the unions to which I have referred, and I say, "The general experience "of the trade fully bears out the above statements as to "the objects of the Ironworkers' Union. They have "never heard these organizations spoken of as friendly "societies at all, nor have they any evidence that they "expend any of the funds, except payments for funerals, "on other than wages questions. In addition to this, "none of the balance sheets which have come to hand "contain any item for funeral allowance." I have not got all of the balance sheets no doubt, but still those that have come under my notice, published by the different unions, do not show any entries at all with respect to friendly societies.

9417. I see on the first page at the top of the third column that you say this: "The North Staffordshire "strike of 1865, and the North of England strike of "1866, were both undoubtedly prolonged, owing to "the interference of the London trades council." I merely wish to call your attention to the fact of that being a mistake, because the London trades council was decidedly opposed to the strike at the time as I know, for I had some communication with it myself. It was the London trades delegates represented by Mr. Potter who were supporting the strike in North Staffordshire?—Certainly there were some London trades under some organization or other that did so.

9418. (*Mr. Harrison to Mr. Allen.*) I believe this was the case. The manager of the "Beehive" newspaper sent round circulars to the various trade societies in London, and called a meeting of delegates. Delegates from certain societies in London went to that meeting, and at that meeting resolutions were drawn up, a committee was appointed, and subscriptions were ordered to be collected, was not that so?—Yes, that is quite correct. The notices which were sent out were simply sent to a few individuals known to the gentlemen connected with the "Beehive." Those parties met, and it was arranged that contributions should be received, and that the "Beehive" should be the medium of receiving them. While on the one hand the trade societies of London, as a rule, as well as the London trades council, recommended the men to accept the terms proposed by Lord Lichfield, they on the other hand recommended the reverse.

9419. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) But quite independently of that, the strike in North Staffordshire was not supported by the London trades unions in general?—Certainly not.

9420. It was by those trade delegates, or those who called themselves trade delegates. At the time one saw the account of the meetings, which were sometimes of the London trade delegates and sometimes of the London trades council, one also saw that the London trades council disapproved of that strike, and that the London trades delegates, whoever they may be, supported it?—Yes.

(*Witness.*) Will it answer the case if I substitute for those words these, "owing to the interference of "some persons who were said by themselves to repre-"sent in general the trades of London."

9421. (*Mr. Harrison.*) To represent those trades

* This paper will be found at p. 53.

Mr. J. Jones.
2 Nov. 1867.

in London who had come together in meeting for that purpose?—They did not put it in that way.

9422. (*Earl of Lichfield to the Witness.*) I see upon the same page that you refer to instances where the new men who were introduced into the district by certain firms were assaulted. Are you prepared to give us any evidence on that point?—Some of those assaults occurred in connexion with men who were taken on by Messrs. Fox, Head, and Company, and some men were committed to prison for those assaults. I could certainly get the particulars of the individual cases if desired.

9423. Where was that?—At Middlesbrough.

9424. When?— Soon after Messrs. Fox, Head, and Company commenced to work on their co-operative principle.

9425. At what date?—It would be about December last year.

9426. You say that it was at the time that Messrs. Fox, Head, and Company commenced to work upon their co-operative scheme?—Yes.

9427. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Was it proved that the men who were charged with the violence were all members of the union?—I really forget.

9428. Do you know whether they were labourers, or skilled workmen, or puddlers, or what?—I forget; they were ironworkers; they were puddlers, or something of that kind.

9429. Was there any evidence given to connect that outrage with the union?—None at all, that is to say, not to connect it with any premeditated action of the union.

9430. It was not suggested that it had been ordered by a secretary?—No, it is only stated in my paper as a fact that occurred, it is not meant to associate that with the union authorities, and I do not believe that it was so.

9431. Can you tell me what the circumstances were?—Some workmen that were taken on by Messrs. Fox, Head, and Company when they went into the town were assaulted, I believe, by some of the men that were out on strike, and the former applied for the protection of the police. Summonses were taken out, and the men were brought up before the magistrates and committed.

9432. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) You said that it was not brought home to the unions in any way?—No.

9433. (*Mr. Harrison.*) With respect to that case do you know whether it was a case of violence or a case of intimidation under the Combination Law?—I think if I recollect right that there was personal violence in one, at all events, of the cases. I believe that was so, but it is quite possible to get the newspaper reports. It is a matter of fact, that they were before the magistrates, and the other question could be easily settled. My impression is that in one case there was personal violence, and that the men applied for protection.

9434. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) At page 2 in the first column you say, with reference to the North Staffordshire strike, that "a circular, which had been issued "by the president of the northern union, found its "way into the newspapers about this time. This docu- "ment explained to the Scotch ironworkers that the "union authorities had resolved to call out the North "Staffordshire men, and that all other districts were "to support them." You refer there to the association of which Mr. Kane, I suppose, is president, and Mr. Kane is the person referred to?—Yes.

9435. Have you got that document, because we have understood from Mr. Kane that that strike was disapproved of by his association?—I have not got the circular, but I think that it can easily be procured. It was published in the newspapers at the time, and I have no doubt that it also appears in the union records.

9436. It stated, you say, that the North Staffordshire men had been called out?—Yes, I believe that is correct. It was a circular which was sent I understand by Mr. Kane; I was not fully conversant with the North of England view of that question, because at that time I was connected with the Staffordshire trade, and it was before I went to the North of England, but I remember the document perfectly well, and recolloect its being printed in the newspapers, and I also remember the terms of the document perfectly well. I say here, "This document explained to the Scotch ironworkers." It was written by Mr. Kane, it was addressed to the Scotch ironworkers, and it got into some of the Scotch papers, I believe; at all events it came into the hands of some of the North of England ironmasters, was by them printed, and then got into the papers generally.

9437. You have heard Mr. Kane's evidence to the effect that the strike was not sanctioned by his association; that would be inconsistent with the statement you make in your paper?—Not quite; I say "This "document explained to the Scotch ironworkers that "the union authorities;" it does not place the whole onus upon the union to which Mr. Kane belongs.

9438. The great point was "that all other districts were to support them"?—That it had been arranged as a union movement, the exact details I am not prepared to speak to.

9439. Perhaps you could lay your hand upon that document?—I will endeavour to get it.

9440. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) On page 2 at the top of the second column you must make the same alteration with regard to "the London Trades Council"?—Yes.

9441. Then a little further down on the second column on page 2 you refer to the loss in wages consequent upon the strike in North Staffordshire, and the lock-out in South Staffordshire?—Yes.

9442. In South Staffordshire you calculate the loss of wages to have been 150,000*l.*, and in North Staffordshire you calculate the loss of wages to have been 120,000*l.*; that represents the loss in actual wages during that time I understand?—According to my calculation.

9443. That is calculated upon the number of men out, and their earnings during that period?—Yes, at the wages current at that time.

9444. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Provided they were employed all the time?—Yes.

9445. (*Mr. Mathews.*) That amount of wages would have been paid if there had been no disturbance?—Yes.

9446. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Of course that represents nothing like the total loss to the wages in the district. You must take into consideration the amount of coal, for instance, that would have been raised and was not raised in consequence of the strike?—It only represents the direct loss of wages to the men employed in the forges and mills.

9447. But the indirect loss consequent upon any strike in the iron trade in actual wages must be very considerable?—Of course.

9448. It includes the wages of colliers and others employed in raising coals used in the ironworks?—Yes. I should think you might easily estimate it in this way; supposing you say, speaking roughly and without meaning to be exact, that the wages paid on the manufacture of iron would not be more than two parts out of five of the total amount of wages on a ton of iron, then there would be three-fifths more loss of wages if you take into account the coal and limestone, and the ironstone, and all other departments that are connected with the iron, that is assuming that 5*l.* represents the amount of wages on a ton of manufactured iron, taking every department, coal and everything that comes into consideration, then 2*l.* of that would be for the conversion of the iron from the pig iron into the manufactured article, and this calculation represents simply that 2*l.*

9449. (*Mr. Harrison.*) When the price is 7*l.* the wages are 5*l.*?—I should think that the price, even when iron is lower than that, would be more than 5*l.* I am assuming that as a rough calculation. I am supposing that the cost of wages on a ton of iron, now selling for from 6*l.* to 7*l.*, would be perhaps 5*l.* 10*s.* I assume in round numbers that it is 5*l.*,

and I know that the cost in the manufacturing department is at least 2*l.*

9450. That is five out of seven, is it not?—No, two out of five. I say that if you have a ton of manufactured iron the total amount that has been paid in one way or another in wages on that iron will be about 5*l.*

9451. And what will be the selling price of the whole?—Say 6*l.* 10*s.*

9452. I understood you briefly to say that the wages are three-fifths of the cost of the manufactured iron?—No; that the other wages lost would be three-fifths of the total amount of wages expended on a ton of iron. The Earl of Lichfield asked me what this calculation represented. I say that, taking Mr. Mathews's figures, there would be 5*l.* 10*s.*, in round numbers it would be 5*l.* for the total amount of wages. This amount which I have stated here represents only that part of the wages which is expended in converting the pig iron into manufactured iron, and that would be itself 2*l.* per ton. Consequently there is a margin of 3*l.* per ton for the manufacture of pig iron, getting the coal, and all these other things that are required to come into a calculation as to the total amount of wages in a ton of iron. Therefore, three-fifths of the total amount of wages are unrepresented in this statement of mine.

9453. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) In short, it comes to this, that for every 2*l.* actually lost of wages here there would be another 3*l.* in other departments?—Yes.

9454. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do I rightly understand you that the wages in manufactured iron pay amount to 5*l.*, and that you are speaking of three-fifths the wages of the residue?—We are speaking now of the forges and mills. When the pig iron is taken into the forges and mills it is ready to be manufactured. Then before that iron goes out as a manufactured article, a cost of say 2*l.* per ton has been put upon it in wages, at the very least it would be that.

9455. I say, what is the cost price of that as a whole?—About 6*l.* 10*s.*

9456. 2*l.* has been expended in manufacturing iron, the cost price of which is 6*l.* 10*s.*?—Yes.

9457. Then the wages of manufacturing that iron amount to one-third of the whole?—Yes, from the pig iron, while you have to take into consideration the wages expended upon the fuel used, then you have to take the wages on the pig iron, and so on, and that makes up the balance 3*l.* more.

9458. (*Mr. Mathews.*) That is a rough estimate?—Yes, because different districts represent different figures, the charge in royalties for instance differs in different districts.

9459. (*Mr. Harrison.*) I think I understand you rightly in saying that the wages of manufacturing the pig iron into manufactured iron are so much, and then out of the cost of the whole pig iron three-fifths goes in wage?—Not quite that. In turning iron from pig iron into manufactured iron you take, in this 2*l.*, no account at all of anything but the wages paid in conversion, but then you have a great quantity of coal to be used, and there are many other matters used really embodying wages which would also have to be added, and thus 2*l.* does not represent the total cost of converting pig iron into manufactured iron. The cost of the coal for instance is mainly wages, but the wages alone paid to puddlers and all those other people in forges and mills would be about 2*l.* per ton of iron manufactured.

9460. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) That North Staffordshire strike was brought about by the puddlers alone?—Yes.

9461. What proportion of the whole number of persons losing their work for that period were represented by the puddlers?—There would be in the North Staffordshire district at that time about 800 puddlers, and the total number of ironworkers I should suppose, speaking roughly, would be 4,000.

9462. We have heard, and I believe that is so, is it not, that the millmen and other persons employed in those ironworks entirely disapproved of this strike?—Yes; I believe that that was true, that is to say, the millmen in the millmen's union.

9463. Therefore, really to support a strike brought about by the refusal of the puddlers alone to accept a reduction of wages which had been accepted by the whole of the rest of the trade in all other parts of the country, all these persons were thrown out of employment against their own will?—Quite so.

9464. I see that on page 3 you refer to the ironworkers having resisted the introduction of machinery upon one occasion. We have been told that there have been no instances of resistance to the introduction of machinery, and I certainly had never heard of any before. You say that they resisted the introduction of some mechanical puddling machines which were tried to be introduced?—That evidence I took from one of the journals of the ironworkers. I fancy it was in Scotland. It was stated in the journal that the men should have payment, if they worked these machines, at the rate of a full payment for six turns for working five heats. There was a case of complaint, and it was brought before the conference, and I recollect that in the evidence it was stated that the men should not work these machines unless the firm consented to give them six heats pay for five heats work.

9465. You cannot refer at this moment to the particular instance?—No.

9466. We have heard to-day something about the rate of wages at the works at Creusot in France, and at other works in France; can you tell us what is the average rate of wages earned by puddlers in this country now?—I may perhaps best answer that question by putting in a letter which I have received this morning, quite unsolicited on my part for I did not write for it, from the North of England. It just answers the question and also a portion of the evidence which was given by Mr. Kane the other day. This, as it happens, is a letter from Mr. Hopkins, the president of the Iron Manufacturers Association, who is one of the principal directors of a large firm at Middlesbrough. He says, at the end, "You may give it as evidence that can be sworn to," and therefore I imagine that this may be put in as evidence. I may say, as mentioned just now, that I simply wrote to inform Mr. Hopkins of the examination that had taken place here. I did think of writing for information to the North of England, but I felt that I had sufficient material by me to have given an answer to that question, though not in the same definite and convincing manner it which it is given here. He says, "I have gone carefully into the earnings of our "puddlers during the last 24 weeks. The net earn-"ings of several, after full allowance for under hands, "have been for the whole 24 weeks on an average of "1*l.* 15*s.* to 1*l.* 16*s.* per week. The forges in that "time worked 215 shifts or about nine shifts per "week, or 4½ shifts per puddler per week, so that the "average daily earning of these puddlers has been 8*s.* "per day net. Many more puddlers at our works "have averaged in the same way 1*l.* 13*s.* to 1*l.* 15*s.* "per week, and no one puddler need have earned less "than the latter amount had he liked. All this has "been taken out promiscuously in about 20 cases; "you may give it as evidence that can be sworn to."

9467. But before you draw any comparison between that rate of wages and the rate of wages given at Creusot, you must take into consideration the sums paid to the underhand. What are the helpers or underhand puddlers paid in the North of England?—I should say that as a rule they are paid about 3*s.* per day.

9468. They are paid by the puddler himself?—Yes.

9469. And only one is employed?—Only one.

9470. Can you speak with certainty as to what they pay them?—I have returns, and most of my returns state that before the late reduction the underhands were paid from 3*s.* to 3*s.* 6*d.* per day. I have not had returns just recently, but I believe they were

Mr. J. Jones.

22 Nov. 1867.

not reduced below 3*s*. In most instances I fancy that the puddlers are paying their underhands about 3*s*. a day at the present time, there may be some few cases where they are paying a little less.

9471. That letter which you have read states the actual amount of net earnings?—Net earnings after paying the underhand.

9472. But will you tell us what the puddlers receive per ton?—In this particular instance, I believe that taking their ordinary mixture of iron, the price would be 8*s*. For all grey, which is used for many purposes, the amount is 9*s*., but their ordinary mixture which they use would be 8*s*. They also give (which fact has sometimes been lost sight of) 5*s*. per fortnight to those workmen who work the full number of heats, and it is a custom to do this in many of the North of England works.

9473. What is the full number of heats?—59 per fortnight.

9474. If they work the 59 heats per fortnight they get an additional 5*s*.?—Yes, in most instances; it is not so in all cases, but it is in this instance, and it is in many others that I could name. In some cases also they have the custom of allowing the underhand some consideration for full work in the same manner.

9475. We have heard from some of the witnesses that great complaints are made on the part of the men in consequence of their treatment by some of the managers placed over these works by the employers. Have any instances come under your observation, where these complaints have been made to the employers by the men against the managers?—I have heard of cases of that kind.

9476. Are they cases that frequently arise?—It is quite natural that the manager of each department should frequently have disputes of various kinds with the men, and in some cases, as a matter of course, there are managers that are not judicious, and then the complaints may have considerable foundation.

9477. We have heard great complaints as against some of these managers. I want to know whether you know many instances where a complaint has been brought before the master in a proper way by those employed?—Those are questions which scarcely come under my notice, but I believe that such questions do arise, and that some managers are far from being infallible.

9478. Do you know whether there is such a thing as a managers association of any kind in existence?—I think there is one in North Staffordshire, but there is not one in the North of England.

9479. There is one in North Staffordshire you believe?—I believe so. I have heard that there is one.

9480. Do you know anybody connected with such an association?—No, I have merely heard casually that there was such an association.

9481. Could you get us the name of anybody connected with the association?—I think not.

9482. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Were you intimately acquainted with the facts of the 1863 strike to which you refer in this paper?—I was in Staffordshire at the time, but I was not intimately mixed up with that strike.

9483. At what period of the year did the improvement of which you speak in this paper begin to manifest itself?—If I recollect right, it was about May. I am speaking quite without book in this case, because it is a long time ago. I cannot recollect the exact period of the year.

9484. When did the agitation about the rise of wages begin?—It had begun sometime previously. I do not know exactly at what particular time.

9485. But you state here, "They then decided to make a movement for the advance of wages." That would seem to imply that it was after the better time came; but you say that that is not so?—"In 1863 an improvement began to be manifested."

9486. Then you say, "They then," that is after the improvement began, in the ordinary meaning of the English language?—It was in 1863. If the strike took place in the spring it would be some time during the earlier part of the year that this agitation was going on, and it assumed a tangible form some time in the spring.

9487. Before the good time came?—Before any declaration of advance had been made on the price of iron. Masters are always ready enough to advance the price of iron, as you are quite aware, if they can possibly do so.

9488. When was the first offer to raise wages made, or was there any offer made to raise wages?—There was no offer made, I think, to raise wages, because the plea was put in that there was no advance in the price of iron, and until there was an advance in the price of iron the masters declined to make any alteration in the wages. I am not very certain about this particular strike, but perhaps some gentleman from Staffordshire will be examined who was intimately associated with that strike. I was not; but I think that these are the correct facts, because they have been submitted to the gentleman in question, and he has passed them as correct facts.

9489. Then the result was that a rise in wages took place?—Quite so.

9490. Can you give us the date of that rise?—I think it was about the middle of the year. I have not got detailed information about this, but I believe it was about May or June.

9491. You should get detailed information, because here we have the facts stated one after another. You say, "This went on for about 14 weeks," and then you say, "The result was that the ironmasters advanced the price of iron." I ask you when the result came, and you say in the middle of 1863, but the strike had not begun then?—I say it was sometime in the spring; it is a question of months. I am not quite certain about the date. The strike begun 14 weeks before the price of iron was advanced.

9492. The impression I get from reading this document putting my interpretation upon the facts is, that there was no offer made by the masters to advance wages?—There was a second advance of wages; there was first of all an agitation on the part of the men, there was a strike, and then wages were advanced. The men's demands were conceded, and the price of iron was at the same time put up. Then shortly after that another pound was added to the price of iron, and wages at the same time were pushed up 10 per cent. by the masters on the advance of the price of iron.

9493. Without any demand on the part of the men?—Without any demand on the part of the men.

9494. The first rise came in consequence of the demand of the men?—Yes.

9495. The second did not, but was given without any demand?—Yes.

9496. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Perhaps you will tell us what the scale of wages and prices upon which that rise took place had been?—Wages had always been régulated by the plan of allowing 1*s*. per ton for puddling, according to the price of iron, so that when iron was 7*l*. 10*s*. puddling would be 7*s*. 6*d*., and that was the scale adopted about that time.

9497. (*Mr. Merivale.*) Has the Ironmasters' Association, of which you are secretary, any written or printed rules?—Yes, they are here. I will put them in (*handing in the same*).

9498. How often do they meet, is that in their rules?—They have quarterly meetings. It is not mentioned in the rules, because it is a matter rather for trade purposes, a sort of market to compare prices. The members would meet under any circumstances if there was business.

9499. When they take a decision on the subject of The price of iron or the rate of wages, is that announced in any way?—I may say that in the North of England they publish no list of the price of iron.

9500. But the Midland Association do?—Yes, they quote prices every three months.

9501. What announcement do they give of those prices?—They are always given to the newspapers.

9502. The district papers?—Yes, the district papers fully report the next day what is done at the iron-masters' meetings.

9503. As to the rate of wages, did they decide that?—That decided itself, because if iron went up it was understood that wages were advanced, and if iron went down it was understood that that carried a reduction of wages.

9504. I want to ask you a few questions about another portion of your paper. In the first column you give certain extracts from the rules of the unions, and then you say, "The main object of the Iron-"workers Union is to force up wages to the highest "possible point, to encourage emigration with a view "to thin the home labour market, and to provide "funeral money for members and their wives. That "the object of encouraging emigration is simply to "thin the home labour market in order to raise wages "in this country irrespective of the fate of those "sent abroad, is clearly proved by the following ex-"tracts." Now, in your view, is the object of "thinning "the home labour market in order to raise wages in "this country" a bad one?—I do not say that it is a bad one, from the men's point of view. I simply state a fact.

9505. Without meaning us to infer that you disapprove of it?—Without expressing any opinion upon it; I simply state it as a fact.

9506. Did you not mean the inference to be drawn that it was a dangerous and bad thing?—It seems to me a bad thing if the emigration is to be encouraged irrespective of the fate of those sent out.

9507. But supposing that we look at it generally, without regard to the fate of those sent out, should you say that in itself it was a bad thing?—No, I should not say that in itself it was a bad thing; I should say that they would have the power of doing very little in that way to affect such a large interest as this.

9508. You quote these words, "by thinning the labour market you enhance the value of the British workman;" that is a doctrine which you condemn, I suppose?—No, I do not condemn it; I simply state that that is one of the objects, and that circular states that the union is formed for the encouragement of emigration. Now one would naturally infer that they would consider the benefit of those sent out, but it appears from this that the object in view all the while is simply to thin the labour market in order to enhance the value of the British workman; and I have shown in another part of my paper, by an appendix containing letters sent from Pittsburgh, the place to which some of these men from the North of England district went, that they had been entirely misled.

9509. I understand that you mention the objects of the Ironworkers Union which are stated in your paper in order to show the mischief of them, and that that is your purpose in coming here?—No, I simply came here to give evidence on the objects of the Iron-workers Union as I find them stated.

9510. And this statement of yours I am to take as being given without any *animus*, as lawyers say?—Quite so, because this was the view I took in preparing this paper, I could not tell who would have to come first, or how far the men would give evidence of the objects of their union, therefore I simply took publications that have come into my possession, and I took the questions which the Commission had issued and worked the answers out in connexion with the papers I had.

9511. Therefore I may the more freely ask you, in reference to this sentence, "by thinning the home labour market you enhance the value of the British workman," would not it be a very good thing in itself?—Yes.

9512. So far then, if it be one of the objects of the union to induce people to emigrate fairly, it would be doing good to the interests of the working class generally, and not harm?—Yes, looked at in itself, and up to a certain point.

9513. Of course I need not point out to you that when they got to a certain point the thing would defeat itself, because they would raise wages to such a point that they could not get work at all; but up to that point it would be doing good?—Yes.

9514. Now you have given some very strong instances here in which this advice of the unions has been followed by men going away to America and leaving their wives and children behind dependent upon the public. That I presume you, myself, and all would agree in thinking a great evil and a great abuse. But what class of men are those who are thus persuaded to leave their wives and families and go abroad; are they good workmen or bad? As a general rule, may I not safely say, that a man who takes the advice of a union and leaves his wife and children dependent on others is a shifty fellow at the best?—But I imagine tath these men were sent out, and that it was quite understood that they would send for their families to come after them. If persons go from Staffordshire to the North of England, it frequently happens that they go for a certain time, and they do not on speculation remove their families and break up their homes all at once. There are many cases I could mention where they go and stay there for sometime. I know that I myself did not move for sometime, and I should have thought it rather unwise to do so; and I think that the workmen act on pretty much the same principle.

9515. And those who go abroad, in the meantime leave their wives and families on the poor rate?—No. As I suppose these men took sufficient money with them from the union to pay their expenses out there, and were expected to send sufficient money home for their wives and children.

9516. Is there any evidence at all that they were likely to keep their wives and families at home when going out in that way?—I do not know that there is.

9517. Supposing these men to be really shifty and undependable men, are they men whom we are really to trust for a description of the true state of things in America?—I imagine that these are letters written to their friends, and therefore they do not come under the category of things written for a purpose; I think, therefore, that they are to be trusted in stating to their friends that they have been disappointed.

9518. Are they not a class of people pretty certain to be disappointed?—If these letters had been written for a public purpose I should say that they might be, but these are written to their friends, and in writing to their friends they would naturally state the case correctly.

9519. As they found it; but would that be the way in which honest, hardworking men would be likely to find it?—I have no further evidence from Pittsburgh about the state of things at that time, and therefore I cannot say. This was published in an extract from the "Beehive," that is to say, published by the men themselves; it seems, therefore, to have commended itself to the men that the case was correct.

9520. For instance, such information as that 10*s.* here goes as far as nine dollars in America?—I have further information which goes to show that that statement is tolerably correct; I may say that I saw the communication in the "Chicago Tribune," to which allusion has already been made in the examination of a previous witness. The argument was on the pauper labour question. A great deal had been said about the pauper labour of England, and about its being only by such labour that the English were able to undersell the Americans. This communication was written to refute that argument. It dealt with the iron and the woollen trade. In the iron trade the wages paid in the North of England were given, and it was stated that the wages in Staffordshire would be about 15 per cent. and in Wales about 40 per cent. below the wages in the North of England, The wages of the woollen workers were also given, and the article took this view, that the agricultural labourers were earning at that time on an average about 10*s.* a week, that the woollen workers were earning on an average about 20*s.* a week, and that the ironworkers at the

Mr. J. Jones.
22 Nov. 1867.

time these wages were referred to (that was in 1866), would be earning 30*s.* per week on the average, and it was assumed that the 10*s.* per week, on which the agricultural labourers as a class were generally subsisting, was certainly sufficient to draw them over the line which marks off paupers. Therefore the men in the woollen district were twice as well off, and had a margin of 10*s.* in their favour as compared with agricultural labourers, and in the iron districts they had a margin of 20*s.* Then the article went on to give the cost of living, the amount of rent to be paid, and of schooling and taxes, and everything that would come ordinarily into the expenses of a workman. Those were just given as facts in that article. The editor himself put a leading article in the same paper, stating that he had gone over those statistics, and he stated the reasons he had for sending to Europe for that information. The editor, I believe, is chairman of one of the free trade lodges there, and he stated that he had made a comparison between the position of the working men in that country (in the Chicago Ironworks I presume) and the position of the working man in England, and taking into consideration how far the money in England would go and how far the money in America would go, he made out that the English workman would be 33 per cent. better off than the American workman at the wages that were being paid at that time in the two districts. There was a letter in a further number of the paper from a Welsh puddler then at Chicago, calling in question the statements that were made, but in point of fact absolutely confirming them, because he pointed out that wages in Wales were 40 or 50 per cent. lower than those that had been given in the article in question, he evidently having overlooked the statement made in that article, that wages at that time in Wales were 40 per cent. lower than they were as quoted in the North of England. In the printed paper before you I have stated that the president of the Ironworkers Union had advised very strongly that the emigration scheme should be supported, and I simply brought those letters in as evidence which appeared to show that the unions were sending these people regardless of the circumstances on the other side.

9521. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) You say here, "That the "object of encouraging emigration is simply to thin "the home labour market in order to raise wages in "this country irrespective of the fate of those sent "abroad"?—Quite so.

9522. And you insert those letters to substantiate that argument that you made use of?—Yes.

9523. (*Mr. Booth.*) Those letters you found in the "Beehive"?—Yes, published in the paper of the men, and therefore it could not be supposed to have any bias on the part of the masters. It was on that that I based the statement I make, that they evidently had been encouraging emigration, perhaps without knowing what the state of things was on the other side, or taking sufficient pains to inquire as to the prospects of these men when they went out there, but the fact remains that a great number of them were discontented.

9524. (*Mr. Harrison.*) It comes to this, that the union sent out 20 men, and that five returned?—Yes, according to Mr. Hobson's explanation.

9525. (*Lord Elcho.*) Supposing that the officers of the union, who are consulted by the men and who advise the men on these matters of strikes, wished to ascertain the exact state of trade, and how far masters at their meetings are justified in announcing a reduction of wages, would they have any means of finding that knowledge; are there any documents or any other means by which they can obtain such information?—There are papers published which are recognized by the trade; I do not mean by people connected with the iron trade simply, but by people connected with trade in general. Quotations of prices of iron appear in the "Mining Journal," in the "Engineer," and from time to time in the "Colliery Guardian;" in addition to which there are two special iron trade papers, one, of which I am the editor, being published on the North of England but applying to the whole country, and the other being published in Birmingham. Those might, perhaps, be taken by the men as interested to some extent and might not be believed, but there are general papers published in London which give the current prices of metals.

9526. But I presume that the information and the knowledge which lead the ironmasters to announce a reduction of wages are not within the reach of the officers of unions?—Yes, those things cast their shadows long before. Every Monday in the "Times" there appears a paragraph which under the head of all the leading iron trade centres gives the state of trade in those places, and when trade is bad it is to be gathered from the reports which appear in the papers from parties residing in the particular districts; so that everybody, the public in general, can tell when the trade is depressed and when it is good.

9527. Then your opinion is that a person in the position of the secretary of a union, who naturally ought to be conversant with all the information that is obtainable on such points, would be able to acquire sufficient knowledge to enable him to advise the men as to whether a reduction in the rate of wages was or was not justifiable under the circumstances of the trade at the time?—Yes; he might (as I believe the men in the North of England did) form wrong conclusions, for instance, from the state of the export trade. Although as was mentioned the other day the export returns for last year showed an improvement as compared with the exports of the previous year, yet it was the wonderful falling off in the home trade, in the trade connected with the renewing of the home railways, and so on, that caused such an immense depression in the iron trade; so that their inference, which would have been quite fairly drawn without taking into consideration the home trade, led them astray; they concluded that because the export returns were favourable therefore the iron trade must be in a favourable condition, but they overlooked the fact that the home trade was paralyzed.

9528. Do you believe that the secretaries of these unions do endeavour to acquire such information, and to advise the men with the knowledge which they ought to have on these questions?—I cannot speak from any knowledge on that point. I should imagine that they would use these facts to the best of their ability, but I daresay that sometimes they overlook such matters as I have mentioned, owing to their not being sufficiently acquainted with the general bearings of the whole trade.

9529. Must there not be matters connected with previously existing contracts before a rise or fall which might influence the action of the masters, but which these trade circulars and newspapers which you have referred to, and the other sources of information open to the men might not give them any knowledge of?—That is not quite the case, for it is generally known when there is a large contract in the market. For instance, there was a large contract in the market last week for 14,000 tons of iron for Indian railways that was adjudicated last Thursday, and I have seen it stated in several of the newspapers that it was taken by two South Wales firms (I need not mention their names here), and not a single ton of it has come into the North of England. Those are facts not exclusively stated in the trade papers, but also in the public papers. Then, for instance, as to contracts recently running in the North of England district, it was known that the Russian contracts had been taken and that they must be completed by a certain time; indeed, the principal facts about the trade really ooze out very generally as to all these large contracts, so that the secretaries of the trades unions have very good opportunities of getting information on those points.

9530. (*Mr. Mathews.*) That is to say, in the case of large contracts?—Yes.

9531. In the case of the ordinary mercantile iron, bar iron, hoops and plates, and so on, are there any

means which the workmen have of getting at the actual truth except from communication with their masters?—I think not.

9532. (*Lord Elcho.*) If there are not those means open to the workmen, and the information can only be got by communication with the masters, does not that fact rather point to establishing as much as possible that intercommunication between employers and employed?—That information is given to a great extent in the quotations in the papers. The cost of things must be measured by the demand; and, therefore, those prices which are quoted, as long as they are given to the general trade, I imagine could be taken as reliable without the men consulting the masters.

9533. I mean with a view to avoiding disputes in matters of wages; as for instance, when you see it stated in circulars issued by the unions that the masters are proposing reductions which are not justified. If that information can only be got from the masters, does not that show that there should be the means of intercommunication between employers and employed?—I think that the masters are always ready to see their men upon those points. Indeed, I believe that the North of England notice now posted up states that the masters will be quite ready to give them further information as to the reasons for the step which they have taken.

9534. From your knowledge of the views and conduct of the masters in all these matters, do you think that any objection would be taken by the employers to establishing in this country something like those courts of arbitration, or councils of conciliation as they are called, which exist abroad?—I have no knowledge of the councils of conciliation. The ordinary idea of arbitration is evidently out of the question, for the simple reason that the masters would close their works if the decision of the arbitrator were such as to compel them to work at a greater loss than would be involved in closing the works. It does not follow that by closing the works all expenses cease. Taking all kinds of standing expenses, depreciation of machinery, and payment of all standing charges, and rates and taxes, there is a sum amounting from 7*s.* 6*d.* to 10*s.* per ton loss involved in closing the works.

9535. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Does that include plant and rent?—Depreciation of machinery, and so on.

9536. Does that include the value of the ground for instance?—Yes, it would include the charge on that; it amounts in all to 10*s.* per ton on the iron.

9537. On the selling price of bar iron?—Yes; that is to say, it has been stated to me by one firm that they made it out to be about 10*s.* per ton; of course it would be different in different works. Supposing that such a firm could take a contract at 7*s.* 6*d.* a ton loss, knowing that they would lose 7*s.* 6*d.* on every ton made, still it would answer their purpose to take that contract rather than let their works stand idle, for the simple reason that they would be losing 10*s.* per ton in the latter case, which would be 2*s.* 6*d.* a ton more than they would be losing in the former case. I could point to very large contracts now in which it is absolutely certain that there is a loss to the employers; at the present time the cost of manufacture is at least 5*s.* per ton more than what they receive at the other end. But it is accounted for in this way, if they ceased altogether there would be a loss of 10*s.* a ton.

9538. Can you say whether such a fact as that which you have just mentioned is generally known to the employed?—That is one of the things which they do not give their attention to, but if they were really to consider the matter they would soon find it out. As far as that is concerned, the trade look with some interest to the establishment of co-operative ironworks in the North of England, because it will afford a means by which the men will be able to ascertain all those things for themselves.

9539. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) How long have they been established?—They were established sometime about the beginning of this year, but they are not in operation at present.

Mr. J. Jones.
22 Nov. 1867.

(*Mr. Millington.*) As I may not have another opportunity of doing so, I wish to correct some of Mr. Jones's statements now. In the first place, Mr. Jones states that one of the objects of our associations is to pay funeral donations, but he has not seen any in either of the balance sheets. I wish to explain that. The various branches of the association pay each their own funeral donation, and, therefore, they are published in the local branch balance sheets and not in the general balance sheet; therefore, the evidence of Mr. Jones on that point is of no importance. The next point is, respecting the statement that the men receive 8*s.* per ton in the North of England, and that their average wages have been 35*s.* per week; I will show you how that is an impossibility. Six heats per turn, at 4¼ cwt. per heat, will yield upon the average 24 cwt. This amount at 8*s.* per ton will bring the puddler 9*s.* 7¼*d.* per day, and when, according to Mr. Jones's evidence, the forehand has paid out of that 3*s.* per day for his underhand's wages, he will have left 6*s.* 7¼*d.* Now considering, as is always the case, that a forehand pays an extra day's work to his underhand, that will bring the forehand's wages in full to 30*s.* per week, supposing him to work full time. Now I can assure you that I know of no work in the North of England which has worked more than two and a half or three turns per week, with the exception of the Tees-side works.

The following is the statement handed in by the witness, which is referred to in question 9414:

OBJECTS OF THE IRONWORKERS' UNION.

The ironworkers have two organisations. The National Amalgamated Association of Ironworkers has its headquarters at Gateshead. The Associated Ironworkers of Great Britain have their central offices at Brierley Hill. In Staffordshire there is also a Millmen's Union, distinct from the forgemen connected with the Brierley Hill executive, and having its offices at West Bromwich.* In the following statement, these three organisations will be referred to as the Gateshead Union, the Brierley Hill Union, and the Millmen's Union. In the preamble to the rules of the Brierley Hill Union we find the following given as the objects of the society:—

"The object of this association is to raise from time to time, by contributions among the members thereof, funds for the purpose of mutual support in case of strikes, emigration, and for the burial of the members and their wives."

In the preface to these rules we read:—

"The necessity and advantages of combination are so universally felt as scarcely to require one word of commendation. By combination, the working man is enabled to obtain a higher rate of remuneration for his labour; and by constantly associating together, feelings of friendship and unanimity will be the result; we shall get to understand that the interest of the one is the interest of all; and by comparing our own position with the position of those who have no such combination, we shall quickly perceive its value."

In the rules of the Gateshead Union it is asserted,

"That so far as the plan of action between the two "executives (north and south) is concerned, the executive "power to be one in sentiment, one in policy, and one in "action;" hence the objects set forth by the Brierley Hill Union may be taken as representing both organisations. The revised rules state "the objects of the association shall "be to obtain by fair and constitutional means, an "adequate remuneration to the members for their labour; "to secure the rights of the members in all questions "affecting their interests; and to afford mutual protection "and assistance to individual members as necessity may "require." The objects of the Millmen's Association are thus stated: "The protection of the interests of its mem-"bers against oppression; to enable them to secure a just "remuneration for their labour, and maintain a fair "regulation of wages throughout the trade."

As indicated in the above extracts, the main object of the Ironworkers' union is to force up wages to the highest possible point, to encourage emigration with a view to thin the home labour market, and to provide funeral money for members and their wives. That the object of encouraging emigration is simply to thin the home labour market in order to raise wages in this country, irrespective of the fate

* See correction subsequently substituted, answer 9821.

Mr. J. Jones.

22 Nov. 1867.

of those sent abroad, is clearly proved by the following extracts from a circular of President Kane, issued to the members on the 1st February 1865:—

"Our opinion is this, that it would be more desirable to "adopt the following plan than the policy which we have "carried out in the past: Instead of exhausting our funds "on strikes and defending ourselves against the tyrannical "conduct of the employers, as manifested in what is be- "coming quite a common practice—viz., lock-outs, we "would advise the workmen to put up with grievances, "rally round the standard of union, pay their money, but "not grudgingly, so that we may be enabled, with your "approval, to carry out an extensive scheme of emigration. "By thinning the labour market you enhance the value of "the British workman. Where there are three at present "let there only be two, and employers will soon be brought "to their senses." The Brierley Hill executive, at their conference in 1865, expressed views much similar to the above.

The general experience of the trade fully bears out the above statements as to the objects of the Ironworkers' Union. They have never heard these organisations spoken of as friendly societies at all; nor have they any evidence that they expend any of the funds, except payments for funerals, on other than wages questions. In addition to this, none of the balance sheets which have come to hand contain any item for funeral allowance.

The union has tended to separate employers and employed and to destroy the individuality of the workmen. In case of strikes, individual workmen, and, in many instances, whole bodies of men, have been prohibited from speaking, to their employers or their agents; have been bound never to go within several hundreds of yards of the works; and have been heavily fined for merely speaking to a master. Instances in support of the above occurred in connexion with the North Staffordshire strike of 1865. A man was fined 10*s.* because he spoke to his master when the latter asked if the men at the works would appoint a representative to meet the masters in conference.

The union is said to have raised wages in the iron trade, but this is not the case to any marked extent, if we look over a considerable period. Wages in this branch have for many years been regulated, in most districts, by a rough sliding scale based upon the selling price of iron; so that without the action of a union the men experienced an immediate benefit when trade was good, and generally submitted without dispute when prices went down. Had this system alone been followed, and had no strikes occurred owing to wages disputes (originating with the union authorities) the aggregate earnings of the men for the last five years would undoubtedly have been quite equal to, if not greater, than the amount actually obtained. If the sums paid by the men in support of union movements—often reaching 2*s.* or 3*s.* per week—were also deducted from the actual earnings, the advantage would be clearly against the union.

In the matter of wages the principal adopted has been to take the highest rate paid in any place in any department, and to make this the country price, without reference to the special circumstances which may render an exceptional payment in certain places only reasonable.

At a delegate meeting it was urged "that they should "take a decided stand against all reductions, and do to the "utmost of their ability to maintain the highest prices, and "endeavour to bring up the lowest to them. It was ulti- "mately resolved, that the association take a decided stand "against all reductions."

With respect to the employment of non-union men, frequent instances have occurred in which the unionists declined to work unless certain men were either discharged or compelled to join the union. Though the employers have generally declined to interfere directly in these matters, it mostly happens that the strong pressure which the workmen bring to bear compels non-unionists to either leave their job or become unionists. The rules contain the following with reference to non-union men:—

"That no member of this association shall be allowed to render any assistance to non-unionists. Neither shall any member send for, or by any means procure, a situation for any such *obnoxious* workman. Any member disregarding this rule will be fined 5*s.*, or be dealt with as the committee may determine."

The above rule brands those who do not choose to be unionists as "obnoxious" workmen, whatever their character or ability may be.

The policy of the union has been on the whole detrimental to the interests of the ironworkers, as previously stated. As far as the employers are concerned it is not easy to define the effects. There is every reason to believe, however, that many failures have occurred owing to the exorbitant demands of the men and the consequent strikes; also that British merchants have sent orders abroad which would have been executed at home were it not for the uncertainty of getting the work punctually performed. The increase in continental ironworks has been stimulated by the knowledge that our labour market was so frequently unsettled, and our wages so high. Prussian and other continental papers have frequently alluded to this, and advised the extension of their ironworks. All departments of trade depending upon the iron trade have suffered from the effects of the ironworkers policy, as the frequent suspension of operations has acted most injuriously upon tradesmen; but in the end these people calculate the chances of strikes, and accordingly allow a wider margin for profit, which has ultimately to come out of the earnings of the men.

Amalgamation of Unions.

Though there is no definite organization by which the various trades' unions of the country are bound together, there is always a tacit understanding to pull together, and in case of an extensive strike in any department of industry other branches seldom decline to give their support to the men on strike. The ultimate effect of this is to make labour disputes much more protracted in character, and hence to produce more distress to the operatives and greater loss to the masters. If the men affected by a particular strike were left to themselves they would know their resources would at any time be able to calculate their chance of success, and the struggle would mostly be of short duration; but when they are expecting help from various unions throughout the country they are buoyed up with a false hope, and are led to be more obstinate in their adherence to the position they have taken up. Attempts have been made to establish international unions, but at present no particular success seems to have attended the movement. The ironworkers are said to have sent representatives from several lodges in Belgium, with the view of stirring up the men there to agitate for higher wages; but they do not seem to have been successful.

By a trades' council we understand a council composed of delegates from different trades, and such an organization naturally acts prejudicially to the interests of masters and men. In this way the onus of deciding questions, involving many technical details, is thrown upon workmen unacquainted with the industry in which the dispute has occurred; and not being possessed of any special judicial qualifications, they are not likely to sift the evidence nearly so well as would a body of experts; consequently their decisions are mostly unsatisfactory for their clients, and more than ordinarily injurious to the interests of the employers.

The North Staffordshire strike of 1865, and the North of England strike of 1866, were both undoubtedly prolonged, owing to the interference of the London Trades' Council,* and the blunders and mis-statements which they circulated on the matters in dispute. Even were their intentions thoroughly honest, their ignorance of the iron trade, which is particularly complicated as far as wages are concerned, would prevent their understanding the points is dispute.

Effect on the Rate of Wages.

The policy of the ironworkers' unions, as far as wages are concerned, has been already alluded to, and also the effect which this policy has had upon the rate of wages. In proof of this it may be stated that wages in all the iron making districts are now almost as low as they have been known to be during the last few years, though the union organizations have never been more prominent than they have during the last five years. The rapid development of the iron manufacture about three years ago caused an unusual demand for men, and some derangement of the old principle of payment then took place, and altogether wages are now slightly higher than the standard formerly adopted. On the other hand there have been four or five extensive and protracted strikes during the period referred to, and the union contributions would more than reduce the present wages to the lowest point they have ever touched in the iron trade. Uniformity in rate of wages, irrespective of the skill or merits of individual workmen, has a most injurious tendency, as it destroys emulation, and reduces all workmen to a dead level. It seems one of the main objects of the union to secure this by levelling upwards. It has not been found that wages in the iron trade have been rendered more equable owing to the action of trades' unions. There are many disparities between the several districts, and the union has signally failed in carrying anything like uniformity. The ironworkers' union does not appear to take any prominent part in transferring labour from one district to

* See correction subsequently substituted, answer 9420-1.

another. When workmen proceed from one part of the country to another in search of employment, the rules of the union provide that they shall not visit employers, but shall consult the local unions, and shall produce their credentials from the lodge to which they last belonged. If they are non-union men no assistance is afforded them. In cases of strike, when men come in from other districts, the strongest efforts are made to send them back, and to prevent them from working. There is a most marked difference between the treatment of a union and non-union man by the unionists. The "black-legs," as they are termed, are made as uncomfortable as possible by moral intimidation; and instances are of frequent occurrence where physical intimidation has been resorted to. Instances of this occurred in the late strikes, where the new men introduced into the district by certain firms were assaulted. Several individuals were committed to prison for such assaults.

Strikes and Lock-outs.

The principal disputes which have led to a suspension of work in different iron manufacturing centres, since 1860, are the following:—

1. The Staffordshire strike, 1863.
2. The Leeds lock-out, 1864.
3. The North Staffordshire strike, 1865.
4. The Mersey Iron and Steel Co.'s strike, 1866.
5. The North Country strikes, 1866.

1. After the depression of 1857, the iron trade was very quiet for some years, but in 1863 an improvement began to be manifested. The Staffordshire men established a union, and took great care to make the organization as complete as possible. They then decided to make a movement for the advance of wages, though no change had taken place in the official quotations of iron; and it had, up to this time, been always customary to let wages advance and recede according to the official list prices of iron, as fixed at the masters' quarterly meetings. The plan adopted by the union was to avoid a general strike, but to put out a few works for an advance, the other men meanwhile contributing to the support of those on strike. When this line of action became known to the masters, they endeavoured to frustrate the policy of the puddlers by supplying "puddled bars" to the mills where the men were not working. This went on for about 14 weeks; but the arrangement about the puddled bars did not work satisfactorily, especially as a sudden improvement in trade took place, and the works became fully occupied. The result was that the ironmasters advanced the price of iron, and gave the men the wages which had been demanded three months before. So rapidly did things improve, that this advance of iron was almost immediately followed by another, and for some time there was a general activity and prosperity in the iron trade. The men having succeeded in their demands, being aided mainly by the unexpected improvement in the demand for iron, attributed their success solely to the operation of the union, and at once set themselves to consolidate and extend the organization, until they made it a national union.

2. Not many months after the termination of the Staffordshire strike, the union made some objectionable demand in connexion with one of the firms in the Leeds district. The men also insisted that all the hands employed should belong to the union. The firms in the district resisted this, and combined together to close their works except to non-union men. They agreed that a declaration should be signed by every workman, pledging himself not to belong to a union, or to interfere with the liberty of masters or men. The union exerted all their power to resist this; but after spending upwards of 17,000*l.*, and, being idle for 27 weeks, the men gave in, and have never belonged to a union since. The strike was mainly broken up by the introduction of foreign workmen imported by the masters.

3. The exceptionally prosperous state of the iron trade did not last for any length of time; and hence, about the end of December 1864, the masters of North and South Staffordshire, Sheffield, Derbyshire, and the North of England, met together and decided to give simultaneous notice of reduction of wages, equal to 10 per cent. This course of action had never been previously adopted; but the policy of the union compelled the masters to make a joint movement, as it was felt that if one district struck the others would be able to support the men thrown out of work, and it would be very difficult to carry the reduction under such circumstances. It should be mentioned here that the masters had never before attempted any simultaneous action with regard to wages questions; but, as the men had established their National Association of Ironworkers, it was felt that the extensive combination of the men could only be effectively met by a general agreement amongst the ironmasters of the country. The notices for reduction were given simultaneously throughout the above-named districts. Before the notices expired, the men in Staffordshire, the North of England, and other places, had meetings, and it was announced that as they felt there was considerable depression in the trade, they had resolved to accept the reduced wages offered by the masters. Thus, it was thought, that the matter had been quietly disposed of. It soon turned out, however, that the North Staffordshire men declined to accept the reduction, and a strike ensued in that locality. A circular, which had been issued by the president of the northern union, found its way into the newspapers about this time. This document explained to the Scotch ironworkers that the union authorities had resolved to call out the North Staffordshire men, and that all other districts were to support them. As the strike in North Staffordshire thus turned out to be a union movement, the masters of the other districts gave notice that if the men did not return to work at the terms acceded to in other places, they would close their works at the expiration of a fortnight. This notice was carried into effect, as the North Staffordshire men did not show any willingness to return to work. Soon after the mills were closed, the union executives, both north and south, stated that they had advised the men on strike to return to work, but that they refused to do so. The Earl of Lichfield was called in, and requested to act as arbitrator in the case. The masters agreed to leave themselves in his lordship's hands; but the men declined to agree to the proposal, and so the strike went on. In the North of England the union authorities proposed to break off their connexion with Staffordshire, provided the masters would also sever their connexion with the masters of other districts, and would re-open their works. Several conferences between the masters and delegates from the men were held, the final one being on 27th March 1866. The following document was handed in to the masters, signed by the officers of the union and by a number of delegates, representing all the north country districts:—

"We, the delegates representing the various ironworkers in the North of England, do hereby honestly and sincerely declare on behalf of our constituents, that the following resolution has been passed in our respective lodges.

"Resolved—In compliance with the order of the executive, we hereby pledge ourselves to withhold all support from the North Stafford men, either directly or indirectly, during the continuance of the present dispute between them and their employers; and we further pledge ourseives to sever all communications between our union and those of North and South Staffordshire."

After this the mills in the North of England were re-opened, and some confidence was felt in the prospect of a better understanding between masters and men in the future. Meanwhile the strike in North Staffordshire continued, and the masters finding that their men declined to obey the instructions of the union, liberated the other masters from their obligation to close their works, and thus the strike became confined to the North Staffordshire district. It lingered on for some time—about five months' altogether—as Mr. George Potter, of the London Trades' Council, came down, and advised the men to continue their resistance, promising them liberal support from the London trades. Several meetings were held on the subject in London, and the facts of the case were very considerably mis-stated; so much so that the Earl of Lichfield felt called upon to attend one of the meetings and give a correct explanation of the proceedings as far as the arbitration question was concerned. A portion of the trades' delegates appear to have been much dissatisfied with the manner in which Mr. Potter acted on this occasion, and not long afterwards withdrew from the organization with which he was connected. The help obtained from London and elsewhere was only nominal, and the men on strike were reduced to great distress. At length they returned to work; but several of the masters declined to re-open their mills except on non-union principles. The men, however, assented, and have gone on working quietly since the close of this strike. The South Staffordshire works were closed for five weeks, representing a loss in wages of about 150,000*l.* The North Staffordshire mills were idle about twenty-one weeks, representing a loss in wages of about 120,000*l.* The mills in the North and other parts of England were closed from two to three weeks, representing about 50,000*l.* loss in wages. The North Staffordshire men returned to work at the wages originally proposed by the masters.

4. In May, 1866, the men in the employment of the Mersey Iron and Steel Company struck work, on the advice of the union, and a long strike ensued; but after being out for about twelve weeks the men resumed on the masters' terms, and also signed a rigid agreement pledging themselves to give up the union.

5. In the North of England a constant series of disputes occurred from the time of the lock-out onwards. These

Mr. J. Jones.

22 Nov. 1867.

mainly resulted from the attempts of the union to force up prices to the level of the highest paid in any part of the district, though the circumstances of the respective works are so different as to fully explain varieties in the rates for the same kind of work.

In the spring of 1866, the Cleveland pig iron trade was considered in a very prosperous condition, and prices improved; though it turned out that this apparent briskness of trade resulted from speculative operations in the Glasgow market, and ultimately great losses were incurred by the ironmasters on the transactions which took place about this time. The ironmasters, however, had heavy contracts on hand; and would have incurred much loss had they failed to carry these out properly. It was at this time that the blast furnace men, who are merely labourers, and in the majority of departments require no special training, gave notice for an advance of wages, varying from 10 per cent. to 80 and 100 per cent.; and also that they should in future be paid irrespective of the quality of iron produced. The advance of wages demanded was conceded after a good deal of negotiation. Soon after this the financial crisis brought great depression in all departments of the iron trade; and in June the masters intimated to the men that they should reduce wages 10 per cent. The notices were given to expire on the 28th July; and as the men refused to work at the reduction, the greater number of the Cleveland furnaces were damped down—that is, were filled with coke, or were blown out. After a month's idleness work was resumed on the master's terms, and in many cases the reduction was much more than 10 per cent. originally proposed. By this strike nearly 3,000 men were thrown out of work for a month; and as a considerable number of the furnaces were blown out, and have not since been worked, many men were thrown out of employment, and have since been unable to find work in connexion with the blast furnaces. The details of this strike are appended in the evidence given by Messrs. Gilkes, Wilson, Pease, and Co.

The iron manufacturers also gave notice to reduce the wages in forges and rolling mills. These notices expired on 14th July, when the works were closed, as the men, acting on the instructions of their leaders, declined to accept the reduction. The men appear to have been in communication with Staffordshire, and to have received promises of support from that district. Indeed, notwithstanding their pledge to the contrary, the Gateshead executive placed itself in communication with South Staffordshire almost immediately after the withdrawal of the lock-out in the north in 1865. This is proved by a correspondence which took place between the masters' association and the northern union, and by the published proceedings of the two unions. This connexion seems to have been kept up, and to have been much the same as it was before the men entered into their agreement to sever themselves from other districts. The masters based their notice for reduction on the depression of trade, and the consequent decrease in prices throughout the North of England district. The men replied that they would rather work short time than be put on lower wages; that no reduction had taken place in the South Staffordshire official quotations; and that, in short, things were not so bad as represented. The answer to these statements was, that to work mills and forges half-time would increase the cost of the iron very much, owing to the waste of fuel and standing charges; that though no reduction had taken place in the official quotations in Staffordshire, the masters there were selling at prices very much under the list rates; and further, that the North of England had never been guided by the prices of iron in Staffordshire; and that they would rather keep their mills idle than pay the former rate of wages. The strike lasted about five months, and ended in the men returning to work at rates of reduction much greater than was indicated in the original notice. The London trades promised assistance in this case, and sent altogether about 700*l.*, and the unions at Brierley Hill and West Bromwich also sent considerable sums. The London Working Men's Association suggested referring the matter to arbitration; but the masters declined on the ground that it was not a subject which admitted of being settled by this mode. About 12,000 men were out of work for 20 weeks, and owing to increased depression of trade, have since had to submit to a further reduction of 10 per cent., and have only had partial employment on these terms.

A few of the more prominent incidents in this strike may be mentioned.

For many weeks the men, apparently acting on instructions, rigidly kept away from their respective works, and held no communication with the masters.

A fortnight after the strike had commenced, the union issued an appeal to the members of trades' unions in England, Scotland, and Wales, and to the public generally. In this appeal it was stated that the masters of the North of England had planned a conspiracy against the workmen and their families more cruel than the children of Israel suffered from Egyptian bondage. The union officers affirm that during the previous four years they had expended 17,000*l.* in defending the trade. They call upon the trades' unionists for aid in resisting the unjustifiable and indefensible demand of the masters. They specially appeal to the men in South Staffordshire, and refer to the assistance which Brierley Hill received from the north in 1863. This appeal, also, was directed to the London trades' organisation. The London Working Men's Association took up the subject, but urged the men first to agree to submit the matter to arbitration. This, as before mentioned, was declined by the masters, and a meeting was held in London, in order to hear the case of the ironworkers. The result was that the association opened a subscription list, and made very hearty promises of assistance. About this time a brief statement of the facts connected with the strike was published by the masters, and this led to a correspondence of some length, in which it was demonstrated that the London Working Men's Association knew very little about the iron trade, and that it was not an authority likely to bring the dispute to a settlement. Communications were opened up by the men with South Staffordshire, and a proposal was made for an amalgamation of the two districts. After several meetings, the Staffordshire men declined to agree to the proposal, but considerable sums of money were voted in aid of the men on strike. About the end of September about 2,000 men (those employed by the Consett Company) gave in and accepted the reduction. They appear also to have left the union altogether, and exhibited great hostility towards the president of the union, Mr. Kane, who had difficulty in escaping safely from the place.* Several gentlemen who took an active part in inducing the men to return to work received threatening letters. The funds divided to the union men on strike did not average more than from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* per week, sometimes more and sometimes less. Of the means used to keep the men together and to maintain the struggle, there is not much to say, as they were the usual methods. The strongest possible pressure was brought to bear upon the members. Every effort was made to put the matter in a false and favourable light before the public; frequent meetings, often public, were held, but gradually one lodge after another gave way, until all had accepted the reduced and revised terms proposed, and which were as nearly uniform for the whole district as it was found possible to make them.

In several of the iron trade strikes, many new men have been introduced. In the Leeds case, Belgian men were brought over and continue to work there. In the last strikes in the North men were introduced from other districts. The number of hands driven out of the iron trade in this district has been considerable. The result of these strikes to the masters was the loss of contracts and the cancelling of orders, as the uncertainty of execution led buyers to send their orders elsewhere. As a general rule, the men on strike received a tolerable allowance for the first few weeks of a strike, but afterwards only a few shillings per week, and frequently nothing at all. These allowances were obtained from their own union, from other trade societies, and from subscriptions.

In most of the strikes above referred to several of the leading union men have not been taken back to work by their previous employers. This has frequently arisen from the fact that the leaders were the last to give in to the masters' terms, and before they expressed themselves as ready to work other men had stepped in and filled their places. One effect of the strikes was to afford an opportunity for the less skilful men to advance to higher positions, which they retained when the union men came to work, and hence many of the experienced hands was compelled to take subordinate places, or lost certain advantages which they had previously enjoyed; but this arose naturally, and without any special arrangement or design on the part of the employers or their agents.

Great depression was produced amongst the general trades in all the districts depending mainly upon the iron manufacture for their support. The amount of money which would, under ordinary circumstances, have been paid away in wages, was stopped from circulating, thus causing considerable interference with all branches of industry.

None of the strikes alluded to secured a permanent wages standard. The advance secured by the Staffordshire strike would have come naturally in a few weeks after it was actually secured, as the improvement in trade would have rendered necessary a rise of 20*s.* per ton on the price of iron at the next quarterly meeting, and this would have carried with it an advance of wages equal to that secured by the strike. The strikes against reduction have been ineffectual, and the result has generally been that the men

*This statement was subsequently withdrawn. See answer 9821.

have had to go to work on less advantageous terms than those against which they struck in the first instance; nor have strikes proved any obstruction to further reductions when trade continued bad.

One feature in connexion with the ironworkers' strikes deserves particular attention. The number of union men who conducted any strike was only a small proportion of the total number of hands affected by the strike. In the North of England case, on the authority of the men, there were 3,000 union hands affected, though there is reason to believe that this number was very much over-stated. The total number of hands thrown out of work directly by the strike, was above 12,000, or at least four times the number of unionists. The labourers and others forming the 9,000 were, in most cases, desirous of working; but they were unable to do anything without the assistance of the skilled labour of the unionists. Thus they were reduced to enforced idleness, and to the greatest distress, by the action of men over whom they could exercise next to no control; but as they were unable to fill up the places of the unionists, they had no chance of obtaining work. There is no branch of industry where a strike of a comparatively small number could produce more disastrous consequences than is the case with the iron trade.

There are no special instances where ironworkers have resisted the introduction of machinery, except in the case of some mechanical puddling machines, which the puddlers declined to work. They have also in many cases offered the strongest resistance to the introduction of improved puddling and heating furnaces, and thus valuable economical inventions have been rendered practically inoperative in the iron trade.

The Internal Working of the Union.

The union authorities are accustomed to speak of their proceedings as if they represented the whole body of ironworkers, and as if the various movements were conducted with general unanimity. The only way the masters have of judging of the correctness of these assertions is by an examination of such union publications as have from time to time fallen into their hands. The union officers, both at Brierley Hill and Gateshead, issue occasional journals, giving privileged reports of proceedings at union meetings, and in connexion with various strikes. If a complete series of these were laid before the Commissioners by the men, the Commissioners would be in possession of much valuable *bonâ fide* evidence as to the object and policy of this union organization. The tone adopted is generally such as is calculated to create ill feeling and bitterness between masters and their men. In a pamphlet issued by Mr. Kane, president of the Gateshead executive, in February 1865, we find such expressions as the following:—"The seven Pharisees in the Leeds district;" "Leeds and Low Moor tyrants;" "they (the masters) enter into combination, or "rather a conspiracy, against the life and liberty of iron-"workers." The Leeds workmen were "craven-hearted cowards and sycophants." In the journal for December 1865, speaking of one manager, "they saw the tyrant was bent upon encroaching on their rights." And much more might be adduced in a similar spirit.

The president publishes an occasional journal of his proceedings when itinerating amongst the various branch lodges. We allude to one of these, as affording evidence of the actual feelings of the men with respect to unionism:—

Held a meeting in Sheffield. Found the men had been sadly divided amongst themselves. The men grumbled because they had not been paid their lock-out money. In 1863 the union was very strong round Sheffield, but since then it had become much smaller. At Swinton he found great dissatisfaction. At Hoyland disorganisation existed. At Wakefield he held a meeting, but says it was the worst he ever attended. The next day he tried another meeting, which was a "wretched affair," and had to be adjourned. Many had fallen back from the union owing to the North Stafford and Leeds dispute, and to the levies for lock-out and strikes in England and Scotland. At Ruabon, he found the landlord of an inn, and his sister, the life and soul of the union. The men at this place were on strike; and a meeting was held, at which a dissenting minister presided. His first act at Blaenavon was to arrange for counter advertisements to those inserted by the masters at Ruabon. In South Wales he lectured on union subjects; and found the men very much irritated at the manner in which they had been treated by the Brierley Hill executive, the result being that confidence was nearly destroyed, and the union almost a dead letter. With the exception of Blaenavon and Blaina, there was very little union in Wales; and against its becoming better the difficulties appeared almost insurmountable. He next held meetings at Llanelly and Blaina. He addressed meetings at Llandaff and Rhomney, but the lodge at the latter place had but a short existence. The men seemed indifferent to unionism; and one man said the union was no good, or why did they not prevent the prices being reduced. At Brymaur there was only a small meeting; but at Llanelly things looked better.

The tone of the journal indicates that the president found, in most of the places visited, no hearty feeling in favour of unionism; and it seems that the strongest language and efforts were required to make the men become permanent paying members of the union.

From the list of secretaries' addresses appended to the journal above mentioned, it appears that a considerable number of the union secretaries keep public houses; 11, at all events, are returned as publicans.

The next report gives the proceedings at a delegate meeting, held at Consett, January 1866. Each delegate was called upon to give an account of the state of union affairs in his particular district. One delegate complained of the conduct of the works' secretaries in failing to make returns. The general state of the north-eastern district was good; but Fence Houses was very bad. The delegate for the north-western district gave particulars of a strike which had occurred at Witton Park, and two weeks' allowance was voted to the men. Other Witton men were dissatisfied with their prices, and the council ordered their cases to be taken up. A matter of dispute was also reported from Middlesborough; and some extremely offensive letters and resolutions are printed in this part of the journal; also correspondence with a Stockton firm, in which the objects of the masters' association are very improperly quoted. The delegate from Scotland, referring to the Middlesborough case, said it was incumbent on the association to bring up the lowest rates to a fair average country price; for the object of the association was to raise the lowest to a position with the highest—not to allow the highest to be brought down. With reference to a grievance of the Consett men, it was resolved that the union should support the men in their demand; but their movements must be guided by the number of men the union had on strike. The men at East Jarrow, who had been sent to prison for neglect of work, were allowed 2*l.* per man as compensation. The Ruabon delegate said the men in that district had been on strike for twenty-four weeks. (The men afterwards went to work without securing the advance for which they struck work.) The case of a man who absented himself from work without notice was not entertained. The London delegate said, that since the Leeds lock-out the London union men had fallen off very much. Several grievances were brought forward by the South Wales delegate, and ultimately a missionary was engaged to spend the whole of his time in propagating unionism in Wales. The reports from the Scotch lodges were in many cases very unsatisfactory. With respect to a patent puddling furnace which had been introduced, it was resolved that the men should demand six heats' pay for five heats' work. The sum of 75*l.* was voted to the committee having charge of the movement, relative to modification of the existing law of master and servant.

The proceedings alluded to clearly demonstrate—

1. That the operation of the union is to take the settlement of disputes out of the hands of the individual workmen affected, and to place such matters under the management of the central authority.

2. That the ironworkers are not unanimously in favour of unionism; nor do they generally admit that the organisation has worked satisfactorily or beneficially for them. There is a pervading tone of complaint about the apathy of the workmen and the appointment of special missionaries to stir up a spirit of unionism in certain districts, and the itinerant work of the president show that the union is only supported in large measure under compulsion.

3. That the levies for the support of the Leeds men, while refusing to work on non-union principles, and for the support of the North Staffordshire men on strike, had not been approved of by a large section of the men, and that these had subsequently left the union.

Ironmasters' Associations.

There are several ironmasters' associations; the oldest is the one in the South Staffordshire district. This association has held quarterly meetings for many years. At these the selling prices of iron for the district have been fixed, and wages were invariably regulated by these prices until recently, when some derangement of the system occurred. The principle is still adopted, however, and wages advance or recede 1*s.* per ton for puddling, and 10 per cent. for other wages, for every change of 1*l.* per ton in the price of iron, according as the "list" prices

Mr. J. Jones.

22 Nov. 1867.

of iron rise or fall. Thus, if iron goes up the men get an advance without any trouble or representation on their part. These list prices are not binding upon members of the association, and it not unfrequently happens that makers are selling at more than 1*l.* per ton under the list rates, though wages are regulated by the standard prices. The Staffordshire association also take general action in connexion with railway, canal, or other Parliamentary bills affecting the interest of the trade. The North Staffordshire association was modelled on the plan of the South Staffordshire society, but has been to some extent modified since that time. The North of England association first assumed a definite shape in 1863. It was established for the purpose of regulating prices and terms of selling iron. There were no rules or code of regulations. In 1865, after the masters of the northern district agreed to withdraw from the general compact on the undertaking of the men to sever their connexion with other districts, a set of rules was adopted, and the constitution of the association was defined. The men were to adopt such modifications in their rules as would make them conform to the spirit of the resolutions they had passed with reference to the separation from other districts. The objects of the manufacturers' association are the following:—

"The interchange of information on all matters connected with the iron trade, more especially in regard to rate of wages and current selling prices.

"The securing of united action and mutual support on these and all other important points.

"The holding free and friendly communication with the representatives of the ironworkers' with the view to the avoidance of strikes, and at the same time the prompt and united resistance of any attempt on the part of the men to enforce unreasonable demands, or to limit the free action of any individual ironworker.

"The promotion of the interests of the trade in connexion with Parliamentary inquiries, foreign tariffs, or any other matter.

"The promotion by legal assistance, when necessary, of the interests of the members of the association as a body."

The objects of the Cleveland Ironmasters' Association are thus defined:—

"The interchange of information on all subjects affecting the interests of the trade; securing united action and mutual support for the general welfare; attending to Parliamentary bills, and proposed alterations in the laws relating to employers and employed; and other similar matters."

It is entirely optional on the part of iron manufacturers and ironmasters whether they join the respective associations or not; nor do the firms holding aloof from the associations experience any unpleasantness; nor is any pressure put upon them in consequence of their isolation.

Appendix A.

MESSRS. GILKES, WILSON, PEASE, & CO., ON FURNACE MEN'S STRIKES.

Instances of the operation of the blast furnace men's union on the Middlesborough-on-Tees district, exemplifying the obtaining an undue rise in wages through the influence of the union, and intimidation of workmen at the blast furnace works of Gilkes, Wilson, Pease. & Co., Tees Ironworks, the firm having seven blast furnaces, five of which were at work, and producing an aggregate of 1,150 tons of pig iron per week; the firm having been established for 13 years, and being the second oldest of the smelting undertakings in the Cleveland district; the members of the firm personally superintending the operations of the works.

In March 1866 the furnace men, after some time agitating for an advance of wages, individually gave notice to leave in accordance with the rules of the works, unless the advance in the meantime was conceded. During this interval conferences with the men were held, and individually they expressed themselves satisfied with the arrangements proposed, with the exception of two departments of labour; the chargers and slaggers, who also agreed in every particular, except to have three groupings of qualities, which they said they would not sanction, stating this was in the hands of their union, and they could not act separately, this being a point of minor importance to the men, and upon which the different works of the district had various arrangements and practices. It was thought that the men would not hold out on this point, especially as their fellows had agreed to the proposed plan, and as no strike had taken place before this period among the blast furnace men in Cleveland, it was fully expected the men (many being old hands), would not act up to their notice, but would re-engage on the new terms.

The day the notice expired, however, it was found they all intended to cease working, and when it was represented to them that, as the majority were perfectly satisfied with the new terms, they should remain; and it would be an easy matter to obtain fresh charges and slaggers. They replied, that as the men of two departments were not satisfied, they must all go out until the concessions required were made. The blast was thus stopped, and the furnaces left standing charged with raw material; and so they remained for three days, when it became absolutely necessary for the men to be induced to return to work, or the loss of the furnaces themselves must have been incurred, for if left to cool down in this condition they could not be made again available in less than six months time, and at a minimum cost of 5,000*l.* per furnace. In vain were the men individually applied to. Usually they said they would gladly return to work, but that they dare not for their lives on account of the union, and new men could not be obtained for the same cause. As a last resource, they were invited to a conference at the works office, when about 15 appeared, whom it was supposed represented the rest; and it was not until negotiations had proceeded to an advanced stage that it was discovered that the deputation were not composed of men entirely employed at the Tees Ironworks, but consisted of men from two or three other works as well, and, in fact, formed a union deputation. The possibility of such a circumstance taking place is explained by the fact that the faces of several of the men were quite familiar. When this discovery was made it was not thought desirable to close the interview, during which the following concessions were made in order to save the furnaces from ruin. In one department, consisting of eleven distinct classes of labour, the advance in wages agreed to amounted from 10¾ as the lowest, to 60 per cent. as the highest increase; the intervening rates of rise being 12, 15¼, 23 and 30 per cent., and so on. In another department of 12 classes the advance varied from 9 to 26¾ per cent., and besides this the men obtained the grouping-of-qualities concession, and an arrangement, which was a serious giving up on the part of the employers in the way of tools and implements. These points having been conceded, the men said they were satisfied, and promised to start work again in a few hours. Presently, however, they returned to the office, and stated they had forgotten one point, and that was that the employers should compel the hoist brakesman to join the men's union, or that they should discharge them. It was represented to them that this was an act of tyranny that could not be countenanced, and rather than carry out this demand the works must be closed altogether. They persisted, however, in saying "that they would not work with him; that so long as he was not a union man he was not fit company for them;" and the matter had to be compromised by the man being removed from his post, and an inferior position given him, though the rate of remuneration remained the same. The result was that this individual joined the union a few days subsequently.

The rate of wages current before the rise in April, 1866, was equal to an average of 27 per cent. higher than the wages paid in 1860.

As stated, the Tees Ironworks are conducted by the principals, to whom the men have access any day they incline, and who are always ready to listen to any grievance or suggestion they may make. There are cottages upon the ground where a limited number of the men have house-room, water, and coals, at less rates than are current in the district. There is a sick club also attached to the works, where, for a subscription of 4*d.* per week, benefit is received to the extent of 8*s.* per week, with proper medical attendance, and 4*l.* in case of death. The funds are kept up by the fines levied on account of infraction of the rules of the works. The institution is conducted by a committee of the workmen; the president and treasurer, consisting, since the commencement, of two of the employers.

The pig iron trade took a turn for the worse, until in July 1866, a reduction of wages was asked for, amounting to 10 per cent., to enable the employers the better to meet the falling market. The men, however, emboldened by their previous success, refused to agree to this, although they were informed that unless they would work at the reduction, one-half of the producing power of the ironworks must be laid idle. They still refused, and three furnaces were in consequence blown out entirely; the men displaying the animus of the union to the last, by endeavouring to leave the furnaces with the iron untapped, the moment their term expired. The strike lasted a month, when the men required to work the two furnaces which had been damped down, resumed their work

on much the same terms as those they refused when the strike occurred in the previous April, and since then have worked contentedly; many of them declaring the union leaders deceived them, and that they would have nothing more to do with it. The three furnaces are still (April 1867) out of blast, and must continue idle until a very marked improvement in the iron trade may take place.

Several of the better hands, who were stationed on the portion of the works out of operation, have taken subordinate positions on the work still being continued.

Appendix B.

SPECIMENS OF HANDBILLS CIRCULATED IN CONNEXION WITH UNION STRIKES.

"Thieves! Fire! Murder!—Caution to the ironworkers of England, Scotland, and Wales.—Strike of the ironmasters of the Mersey Works, Liverpool, commonly termed a lock-out, against their workmen that are united in the bonds of union.

"FELLOW WORKMEN,—The following advertisement appeared in the *Daily Post* and may fairly be denominated a mantrap:—

"'Good puddlers and ball furnace men may find employment, with full rates of wages, at the Mersey Steel and Iron Company's Works, Liverpool, fifteen puddling and ball furnace men are at work with non-union workmen, together with 800 men in other branches. Members of the Ironworkers Union need not apply.—Address by letter to the Mersey Steel and Ironworks Company, Limited, Liverpool.'

"In reference to the first part of it, or that which states 'that fifteen furnaces are at work,' is a gross falsehood; there is not three non-union men there, except the 'doggies,' who are all at work, doing what they can; and as the weather is very warm, we say let them work a little longer, as it is not often they do much, especially the 'head boss,' (Mr. Clay). With respect to the last clause, we would ask, 'why do they object to the members of the Ironworkers Union?' Why, because the directors want to reduce the wages and impose more work upon the men, but the union men will not submit to it, consequently they are trying to get non-union men in order that they may be able to reduce wages when they think proper, and make them do just what the indiscreet 'doggies,' require them. It would probably be policy to just relate the reason why they are compelled to have the above advertisement inserted in the daily papers, and what has caused the present struggle between the directors and their workmen. It appears that there were two shinglers (noe-union men) that consented to get away the cinder from the hammer, and likewise to pay the hammer driver. The manager wanted to compel the other shinglers to do the same, but they being good union men refused to submit to such an unreasonable and unjust demand, consequently the directors struck against all union men, and closed their work, and are now advertising for non-union men.

"If any ironworker feels anxious to work for log wages and have plenty of work, go and be black-legs. If you want to become a disgrace or a stinkard among your fellow-workmen, and fix an everlasting stigma upon your children, go and be black-legs. Before doing so, however, we would ask you to look back to the year 1862, and see what the price paid for puddling was at that time, and you will find that it was 7*s*. 6*d*. per ton, and you had to break the bull dog (calcined cinder), to fettle the furnaces with, as well. What has got you the present price, and what maintains it? Is it the black-legs? Let each answer for himself? Union and good wages. Black-legs and tyranny. Treat all advertising quacks as impostors, and oblige your well-wishers in the bonds of union,

"THE WORKMEN."

Appendix C.

RESULT OF UNION EMIGRATION SCHEME.

The following, headed "Appeal to puddlers, shinglers, and millmen," appeared in the *Beehive* newspaper March 24, 1866, and refers to the condition of certain emigrants who had been sent out under the auspices of the union:—

To the Editor of the Beehive.

SIR,—I shall feel obliged if you will insert these few remarks in your next edition. They will no doubt prove of great value to many ironworkers, who, we know, are fixing their minds on emigration to America. Moreover, we hope that it may have another desired effect, viz., of arousing their practical sympathy in behalf of the wives and children of those men gone from our branch during our strike against a reduction of prices, which has lasted now for twenty weeks. Some twenty weeks ago the foreman of our works offered to us a list of prices, which would have been a disgrace upon us, or any body of men to accept, below the prices of the trade generally. Our refusal to accept those prices was approved of by our association at large, and so we have endeavoured up to the present, to maintain the right. During our struggle the general council have considered the question of emigration, which was approved as one likely to benefit the working classes of this country, by thinning the labour market, thereby keeping up the value of labour. Our men, in preference to submitting to anything against the interest of their fellow-workmen and the principles of the association, choose rather to leave their native soil and try the value of their labour in America. Fourteen of them went at some 5*l*. per head from the association, leaving their families entirely dependent upon the subscriptions we could get from the public and our fellow-workmen, till they could help themselves. The reports of America were of the most favourable description; thus were they confident that they would soon be able to send for their wives and families, again establish their homes, and enjoy its comforts, with something like a magnificent remuneration for their labour. What is the news? The following letters will show:—

Mr. J. Jones.

22 Nov. 1867.

"Pittsburg, Feb. 27th, 1866.

"Dear wife,—I take the present opportunity of writing to you, hoping to find you all well, as it leaves me well in health—thank God for it. I hope you won't put yourself about about me, for I am safe; but the men are all on strike, and they are all a —— sight worse off than ever. We got a good passage, and I thought you would have had to come in the spring. But if I don't get above 1*l*. a day I shall come back to the old country, for if we get money it takes it all to live, for it costs 50 cents. for a breakfast and 30 cents. for a bed. So as soon as I get the money I shall come back to you for it is no go here at all. Take this to Sam and Will, and tell them not to be gulled from home for nobody. It's a pity for people not to tell the truth about the place, and stop other people from coming from their home. But cheer up, I am young enough yet. You had better get in a little house if you can. You will hear from me again soon.

Tell the children I have not forgot them; I have them in my heart. From your loving husband,

BENJAMIN RAYBOLD.

Pittsburg, Alleghany County, Pa., U.S.
Care of Joseph Spencer, Bull Head."

"Pittsburg, February 27th, 1866.

"Dear wife, child, and friends,—I hasten to inform you I arrived safe in America, and enjoy good health, as I hope this may find you and all inquiring friends in good old England. Dear friends, we have been sadly gulled by coming to America. Tell all my friends to content themselves in England, and not ruin themselves and families by coming to America. The works are all stopped for the last six weeks, with no signs of commencing, as the men refuse to work at the reduction of wages. Dear wife, 10*s*. in England is as good as nine dollars here; besides there is a surplus of men, and they seldom work more than half time.

"Dear wife, tell my father how I have been deceived in coming to America. But yet I am of good spirits, as I enjoy good health. Give my respects to your father and mother; tell them I am well, but without money, and no prospects of earning any for some time; and when I am lucky enough to have any money I will take care to bring it to England myself, instead of sending it.

"Dear friends, you shall see us at home, as soon as we get the means to bring us. And we hope our experience will deter others from coming to try their luck in America. Dear wife, show this letter to all the friends who may contemplate coming out here, as God knows we are tired of our experience. Dear wife, be of good cheer, as I am. Your devoted husband,

"WILLIAM HUDSON."

"Pittsburg, Feb. 27th, 1866.

"Dear wife,—I write to you hoping to find you and the family all well, as it leaves me at present—thank God for it. It is with a trembling hand and an aching heart that I write to you. I am happy to say I arrived safe at New

Mr. J. Jones.
22 Nov. 1867.

York, and had a good voyage. But I am sorry to say that we are deceived, for the men were all on strike when we got to Pittsburg, about 431 miles from New York. Go to T. Jones, and tell him not to be deceived as I have been. Tell him to be contented in England, for to meet with a downfall like mine will upset his wife and family. Tell him to tell all his butty workmen not to throw away their lives for 5*l.*, as I have done. G. Yates is with me. We mean to do our best.

"Tell Hannah to take care of the children, and he will pay her back as soon as he can. Cheer up; I will do my best. God bless you and the children. All things work together for good. We have no money, but we have good hearts, and we hope you have. If we start to walk to New York we must die or the road, it is so cold. Cheer up, for I shall to the last. Your affectionate husband,

"JOHN CHERRINGTON."

" Pittsburg, Feb. 27th, 1866.

" Dear wife, and family, and friends,—I write these few lines to you, hoping to find you all well, as it leaves me at present, very well. We have been greatly deceived by coming to America, for they have been on strike in this country for six weeks, and when they are at work there are two men for every situation. The working men of Old England are gulled by emigration. For 10*s.* per ton in England is better than 9 dollars here. Dear wife, make this as public as you can, and let the men of Old England know we have been gulled by coming out here. Take letter to Bradley, and let him make it public amongst the men. My kind love to you.—Your affectionate husband,

" THOMAS STANTON."

The above letters are copies of the originals that have come to hand this week. They slightly show the destitute condition of the men. Now, sir, allow me to tell you and our fellow-workmen of the hardships of the families. Eleven out of the 14 have left families behind; some have left six children, some four, and three, and two. The least family is one child and wife. In most of these cases nearly all their goods were sold previous to the men going to America. Others have sold what they could spare to maintain them since, and we have been able to get them sometimes 2*s.* 6*d.*, 3*s.*, 6*d.*, and 4*s.*, by subscriptions from our fellow-workmen and the public.

But their sympathy has died, or the officials at the different branches are thoughtless about these poor families who stand in circumstances close akin to widows, and fatherless children. To these officials we must again appeal, and to our fellow-workmen and brothers in unity. We are not now pleading for us who are still out and left behind, but for the families above-mentioned. We hope, therefore, again to see your sympathy practically displayed in behalf of these poor families. Poor they are, sir, in reality; I speak that I know and testify that I have seen.

One of these poor women had a child died last week. I was sent for try to get the burial fees reduced in this one case, seeing the destitution of the family, but I am sorry to say without success. No money in the pocket, no food on the shelf, a sorrowful heart, and eyes swollen with grief have I seen, all the result of a man's determination to maintain the prices of his trade and the principles of his association against the unreasonable requirements of unprincipled employers. Yet we who are left are still determined not to fly from our duty, but say, none of these things move us.

In conclusion, I ask, "Remember the widows and fatherless in their affliction."

Subscriptions will be thankfully received by the secretary per post.—Remaining, sir, yours truly,

JOHN BRADLEY, Secretary.

Park Lane, Sandbach, Cheshire,
Associated Ironworkers—Wheelock Branch.

Appendix D.

COPY OF LETTER TO NORTH OF ENGLAND EMPLOYER.

SIR,—This is to inform you that your workmen have had a meeting to discuss the merits and character of the man you chosen to be foreman; and, after due deliberation, they have come to a conclusion that a greater tyrant there is not in the kingdom, and his character is well known both in England and Scotland; and, therefore, your workmen will give notice to close the works, for they are fully determined not to work under him. At the same time think not this is on account of a selfish principle, for it is as much for your benefit as that of the workmen, for you must be aware a man that will act a tyrant over workmen will not stand to be one over you if there is the slightest chance whatever. Sir, the association will be much obliged if you will place your decision in the office window before Thursday, when, if you think proper you can be attended to.

Signed on behalf of the
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF PUDDLERS, &c.

April 30th, 1864.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to Wednesday next at 11 o'clock.

1, Park Prospect, Westminster, Wednesday, 27th November 1867.

PRESENT:

The Right Hon. Sir WILLIAM ERLE.
The Right Hon. the EARL of LICHFIELD.
LORD ELCHO, M.P.
Sir DANIEL GOOCH, Bart., M.P.
HERMAN MERIVALE, Esq., C.B.
JAMES BOOTH, Esq., C.B.
THOMAS HUGHES, Esq., M.P.
FREDERIC HARRISON, Esq.
WILLIAM MATHEWS, Esq.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR WILLIAM ERLE IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. J. Jones.
27 Nov. 1867.

Mr. JOHN JONES further examined.

9540. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) There were one or two questions which I asked you the other day to which you were then unable to give me an answer, but perhaps you can give us information on those subjects now. One point was, that you referred to instances in which men had been assaulted in cases of strike which occurred, I think, in the North. Can you refer the Commission to any cases where assaults were brought before the magistrates?—I have referred to the case alluded to in my statement. It had reference to some of the men connected with Messrs. Fox, Head, & Company's works. I saw one of the magistrates who was on the bench at the time, and he stated that one man was committed for intimidation, and was, I believe, sent to prison, but a gentleman will be in attendance here tomorrow who will be able to give details of that particular case.

9541. There was another point upon which you were unable to give me sufficient information. It was with reference to some part of your statement in which you make remarks about a letter that was written by the president of the Ironworkers' Association to the men in Scotland. You say "This document explained "to the Scotch ironworkers that the union authorities "had resolved to call out the North Staffordshire "men, and that all other districts were to support

"them." Have you been able to refer to that since?—I have referred to that communication, but I have not found among the papers in the possession of the association the letter itself. I should just explain that I have only been connected with the North of England trade for about a year, and therefore I have not been able to go into all the papers which have been accumulated in connexion with the association for some time previous to that; I have not had time to go over them since my last examination, having been back only for a very short time; but this is an extract of a letter from Mr. Kane, dated the 28th January 1865, read by Mr. Palmer at a conference between masters and men on March 15th, 1865. The conference was at Newcastle, and this was printed in the "Newcastle Chronicle." "That "a delegate meeting was held at Brierley Hill, and a "resolution was passed to the effect that the men "of North Staffordshire resist the reduction. The "council of Brierley Hill called their number of the "North Staffordshire men out on strike, and acting "in concert with our friends at Brierley Hill, and "seeing the necessity of such, we immediately in-"structed the men of the Hanley district to come out "also to the number of 450."

9542. Is that a letter that you put in?—This is in fact the extract referred to. This was addressed to the Scotch lodges.

9543. In what shape do you put it in?—As an extract from the letter referred to in my evidence.

9544. Where did you get it?—This is from a published statement in the "Newcastle Chronicle." I was not present, of course, at that meeting, but this letter, as I understand, was brought forward at the meeting held at Newcastle on the 15th of March 1865, and Mr. Kane and I believe other representatives of the men were present. I do not myself know whether anybody beyond Mr. Kane was present then, but certainly Mr. Kane was. It seems that Mr. Palmer was in the chair, and called attention to this letter which had been published in some of the Scotch papers, or in one of the Scotch papers, and this is the particular extract which states that the men in North Staffordshire had been called out by the advice of the union. In connexion with the paragraph in my statement referring to the fact that physical intimidation had been resorted to, I did not particularly mention it in my statement, but I had some personal experience of not a very pleasant character, and perhaps that may be taken as bearing out the statement there.

9545. What do you allude to?—I will not put it that it was owing to the union authorities, but I may say that during the north country strike I believe there were 11 or 12 sets of verses published, most of them aimed at me as secretary of the Masters' Association, and in one of these which came under my notice, the writer particularly recommended the men to serve me in the same manner as a man named Bushell had been served. A year or two before there had been some dispute in connexion with the works where he was timekeeper, and he had made himself obnoxious to the men. I do not know the reasons, but the men went out on strike against this man, and the result was that he was mobbed out of the works, his windows were smashed, and he was obliged to leave the place. The case of Bushell had been alluded to in several of the journals of the men, and at one of their conferences it was recommended that one of the principal managers in the North of England should be served in the same manner as this man, Bushell had been. These verses to which I have referred recommended that I should be treated in the same manner. Nothing came of that for some little time, but about the beginning of November, I think, or the latter end of October, when I was passing through the town, and happened to go into one of the shops there, I found that a number of people were collected round the door when I came out, and these gradually got up to, I do not know how many, two or three hundred perhaps, and set upon me yelling and shouting and hooting a good deal, and at last they began to pitch mud and stones. That went on till I reached my office, and I was obliged to be guarded afterwards for some time, because the superintendent of police sent to inform me that he had information that they were on the look out for me, and that as I returned they were going to set on me again. I think that that is a case of intimidation.

9546. Do you regard that conduct towards yourself as being in consequence of anything that you did as secretary to the Masters' Association?—I attributed it solely to my connexion with the Masters' Association. I cannot see that there was any other reason for it.

9547. What strike was that, was it the strike of 1866?—The last strike, the strike of 1866.

9548. The North country strike?—Yes.

9549. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Were those men labourers or puddlers?—I think that they were a mixture of all the people that were out. A great number of people were about, I cannot say who they were.

9550. (*Mr. Booth.*) Were they members of the union—could you recognize them as being members of the union?—I cannot say, I knew scarcely any of the men, and do know scarcely any of the men connected with the different works. These were men that were collected, as the men that were out of work were in the habit of collecting, in the market place. I passed through the market place on my way to my office and these were a number of men collected there. There were, of course, a considerable number of roughs and others that were drawn in, but I certainly may safely state that a very considerable number of ironworkers were there; whether they were mostly union men I cannot say.

9551. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) I should like to know your opinion of the working of the system under which the price of wages has been ruled by the price of iron in South Staffordshire. I believe it is only in South Staffordshire that that system has prevailed, is it not?—It does not apply in the North, because we have no such machinery for fixing prices in the orth.

9552. (*Mr. Mathews.*) But it is the case, is it not, that if the price of iron falls in the north, it affects wages there as much as in South Staffordshire?—Yes; if the price of iron were to go down wages would go down, but there is no arrangement by which the masters meet at certain intervals and quote prices as in South Staffordshire.

9553. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Is it the case in the north that a fall in wages follows as a matter of course upon a fall in the price of iron?—No, not at all. There is a difficulty there, because there are no recognized means of stating what the price of iron really is. In Staffordshire the masters meet together and quote the prices of iron, bar iron and so on, but in the North of England there are no such meetings where quotations of prices are made, and consequently it can only be determined there by the general state of the trade. If the state of trade is bad, then, naturally, the price of iron goes down, and that fact can only be obtained from the quotations which appear in the public papers.

9554. (*Mr. Mathews.*) In the event of the South Staffordshire masters meeting and declaring a reduction in the price of iron and of wages, the Middlesbro' ironmasters would have to do the same?—I do not think it necessarily follows.

9555. They could not keep up the price in Middlesbro' if the South Staffordshire ironmasters reduced it, could they?—Not for any length of time—but I think that the price of iron went down in the North of England before it went down in Staffordshire, because those departments of the iron trade which more particularly centre in the North of England were affected sooner, and the price of iron went down rapidly in the North of England. That was one point which the men could not understand. They conceived (and naturally enough) that we in the North of England were guided by the quotations in Staffordshire; but the price of iron in the North was really very

Mr. J. Jones.

27 Nov. 1867.

much below the quoted price in Staffordshire, a long time before it was found necessary in Staffordshire to reduce the price officially.

9556. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You put it in the first paragraph in your paper, just at the bottom of the first column in this way, "Wages in this branch have "for many years been regulated in most districts by "a rough sliding scale based upon the selling price of "iron"?—Yes; I do not state there that it is by the quotations of the ironmasters in any one district, but if the price of iron were to go down in the North of England, of course wages would soon be down also.

9557. But it is understood that they follow, is it not; that they go up and down along with the price?—In South Staffordshire that is so. No doubt if the price of iron were to go up in the North of England district there would very soon be an agitation for an advance of wages, but there is no definite and fixed plan, such as there is in Staffordshire, for settling that point. The ironmasters would meet at their quarterly meetings in Staffordshire and fix the price of iron; if they raised the price of iron a pound, wages would go up, and no doubt that would have considerable influence in other districts, and if the circumstances of those districts were anything like the circumstances in Staffordshire, wages would soon go up as a matter of course. The men would make representations, and the masters would doubtless allow the advance as they did in 1863.

9558. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Can you mention any case of a rise in the price of iron taking place in South Staffordshire without a corresponding rise taking place in the price of wages?—I am not quite aware of the exact details of that 1863 strike, but my impression is that such a case has not occurred. That is my impression, I say, but I do not know the Staffordshire trade so far back as to speak to that.

9559. You are referring to the 1863 strike now?—Yes; I do not know all the details of that strike.

9560. You refer to that strike in your printed statement and say, "The result was that the iron-"masters advanced the price of iron, and gave the "wages which had been demanded three months "before"?—Yes.

9561. Then they had not advanced the price when the men asked for an advance of wages according to that?—No, they had not advanced the price.

9562. (*Mr. Harrison.*) They had advanced the price previously; the price of iron had been advanced some months before the strike, without a corresponding increase of wages, and then the strike came in order to raise the wages up to that point; was not that it?—I think not.

9563. Are you clear that those were not the facts?—I believe that those were not the facts. I believe the facts were that an agitation came on the part of the men for an advance of wages, and that the trade was not at that time thought to be in a position to give that advance. Men were put out on strike in a number of works, and a portion of the district was stopped in that way. That went on for a certain length of time, say about three months or 14 weeks perhaps; then, the demand for iron having increased very considerably during that time, the masters gave the wages asked. They advanced iron 10*s.* per ton and increased the wages at the rate of 1*s.* per ton in puddling and 10 per cent. on other wages. Then a very short time after that, as the trade continued to improve, the masters advanced the price of iron 1*l.* a ton, and gave the men an advance of 1*s.* per ton again; so that the price of iron was advanced 30*s.* and the advance in wages was 20 per cent. I believe that is how one of the sixpences now received above the ordinary average price was obtained.

9564. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Had that rule been adhered to in the north, or can you tell us any case in the north in which there has been a rise in the price of iron without a rise in the price of wages?—No, I cannot give any case of that kind, because there is no definite method of stating it. The price of iron goes gradually up according to the number of contracts and so on. If there had been a definite machinery for these quotations, of course it would have been quite easy to refer to them; but as there is no such arrangement in the North, I cannot refer to any definite advance of iron. If, however, the price of iron went up in Staffordshire, it is quite certain that that would indicate a general advance in the price of iron, and no doubt the price of iron would go up in the North of England about the same time; and as a matter of fact I believe that the wages movements in the North of England were pretty nearly simultaneous with those in Staffordshire. In 1863 they were advanced three times, amounting to about 30 per cent. in the North of England, and I believe that that was very much the same as in Staffordshire.

9565. It comes to this, that in South Staffordshire there is a published list of prices which governs the rate of wages, but that that is not the case in the North?—Quite so; that is to say, not a list of the Ironmasters' Association; there are plenty of lists, but they are not official in the same way as in Staffordshire. The ironmasters in Staffordshire meet once a quarter and pass a resolution stating what the price of iron shall be for the ensuing quarter, that is to say, the price of bars and so on, by which other varieties are regulated, but in the North of England there are no such quotations as those; you can only get them from the various exchanges, from the public lists, from brokers' circulars, and so on.

9566. Then I understand you to say that there has never been a rise in the price of iron in South Staffordshire out of which the men have not obtained some advantage?—I am not aware of any such case.

9567. How do you consider that that system has worked in South Staffordshire?—I have always heard that it has worked very well. Certainly it works in this way, that the men must at once get the advantage of any advance in the price of iron, and it works particularly to their advantage then, because most masters when prices are low have a number of low priced contracts, contracts at very low rates, which perhaps have to run on for a very considerable period after the nominal advance in the price of iron has taken place; but after this nominal advance in the price of iron has taken place, wages have to be increased, and those wages would apply quite as much to the low priced contracts as to the higher priced contracts. Therefore, in that case the men get an immediate advantage, and under any circumstances they get a per-centage of the rise in the price of iron.

9568. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Contracts would still be running at high prices for a master when a reduction took place probably, so that the masters would get the advantage sometimes?—But when contracts are high people are very cautious in entering into these very long contracts, and their contracts would not be so far a-head as they would be when the prices were low. At the present time I daresay many makers of pig iron have applications for contracts running over two or three years if they were ready to enter into them, but no one would enter into those contracts when the prices prevailing were at the highest point; at such times they only just buy a short time a-head.

9569. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) When there has been any dissatisfaction expressed by the men with regard to the state of things at the time, has it taken the form of complaint against the conduct of the masters in either raising or lowering the price of iron?—Are you referring to South Staffordshire or other districts?

9570. I am referring to districts where this system prevails of a sliding scale with a published list of prices?—I think that in South Staffordshire in 1863 the objection was that the works were getting fully occupied, and the men thought that as labour was in considerable demand it ought to be paid a higher price. I do not know that they objected to the published list, but they made an agitation certainly for an increase of wages. No doubt it was their impression that the masters were really getting more money than the published list represented, but I am not aware that they made that the groundwork of the objection.

9571. In the case of the strike of 1863, which you have referred to in your paper, the complaint on the part of the men was that they were not getting sufficient wages. But I presume they were getting the rate of wages fixed according to the published list. I take it for granted that that was the case?—I do not know how they expressed their feeling that they were not getting sufficient wages. I think their view was that the trade was getting brisker, and that there was a greater demand for men. I ought to explan here that there had been a considerable depression in the trade for some years previously, and many men had been naturally driven out of the trade. I believe that a large number of men who were engaged as puddlers up to 1857 when that depression came went into other works, and therefore the labour market in the iron trade had been considerably thinned by that depression which had been going on. Consequently when there was a little improvement in the trade there was an increase in the demand for men, and that being so, the men naturally felt that as labour was in very active request they might begin to ask for higher wages, but I am not aware that they made it any special point that the masters were getting more for their iron than was proportioned to the wages. Probably that was their idea, but I am not aware that they made a special statement of that kind.

9572. What is your opinion of the system under which the work is done by contract, the system, that is to say, under which a puddler is paid a certain rate per ton, and then pays all the men under him?—In the case of a puddler and in that department I cannot conceive any other system working, but with respect to the mill work, that is to say, when the iron has been puddled and has been brought out in that department, and has to be converted into merchant iron, into rails and bars and so on, my impression is that there the contract system has been pushed rather too far. It is the general impression on the part of the trade I know that it has worked advantageously. It has been in existence for a very long time, and consequently there is very great disinclination to interfere with existing arrangements; but I believe that a slight modification of it would be an advantage, so far at all events as to allow all of the men to be paid, or their prices to be fixed at the office instead of its being left to the contractors to make what terms they like with the men; I think that it would be an improvement if that contract system were modified so as to have all the prices fixed by the ironmasters. It works so far disadvantageously that the men have shown that in several cases where there has been a reduction they have not been able to get that reduction off the men whom they employ, but if the prices were fixed from the office, then, whether there was a reduction or an advance, all these prices would be regulated to some extent, and still the head man, the man in charge, would have a proportionate amount for the supervision which he exercises.

9573. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Would it be possible to carry that system out where the head man has the entire control of these men?—No doubt there are considerable difficulties in it.

9574. Is it not found to work most advantageously for all parties that the man who has the entire control of the men should pay them?—I believe that that is the general impression of the trade, and that is the reason why they object to make any alterations in their contract system. The disadvantage of it is that a few leading men can throw out an immense number of people, and keep them out. In the case of a long strike the number of men with whom the matter rests is often very small, a number of men are thrown out, and the masters cannot deal with them at all, because they are employed by these contractors.

9575. You mean that a puddlers' strike necessarily brings all other departments to a standstill?—Yes; and even if a mill roller strikes all the men under him are unable to go on.

9576. The puddler employing one man and the mill man several, that is the difference?—Yes; only a roller is a contractor of a larger calibre.

9577. He is a more skilled workman than the puddler?—Yes.

9578. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Are there any unions existing amongst the under hands?—I am not aware of any. The puddlers allow them to join their union; the puddlers bring them in as underhands. There is a special regulation about underhands in their rules.

9579. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) With regard to the printed lists which the Staffordshire masters issue at their quarterly meetings and which you say are not believed in by the men as representing the true prices that are given, is it the case that the prices mentioned in the printed list are those which are given by the public or is it not rather the practice and the rule that that printed list gives the highest price, and that many of the masters do sell iron under the price in that printed list?—Yes it is so.

9580. The public themselves knowing the price as the standard price do not give more, but the public who are purchasers endeavour to get from the masters something below that printed list?—Yes, I should say that the large proportion of the firms are getting nothing like what are called the list prices.

9581. It is a complaint in Staffordshire that they undersell each other, is it not?—Yes; but that arises from the difference in the quality of the iron.

9582. It is a question of a man who can sell his materials, taking a little less from the customer to have an advantage over those who adhere to the printed list?—Yes, the printed list represents of course the maximum.

9583. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) You say that in some cases they are not getting the prices of the printed list, are they in those cases paying the wages as ruled by the sliding scale upon the published list?—Yes, certainly, consequently a master who is only getting 6*l.* 10*s.* per ton for his iron, which is quoted on the published list at 7*l.* 10*s.*, is at a disadvantage of 10 per cent. in his wages, he is paying 10 per cent. more for his wages than he ought to be according to the rule.

9584. (*Mr. Harrison.*) I think you said something about a general policy on the part of the unions of forcing up the rates of wages above their existing standard. To take the last 10 years, what instances can you give upon any considerable scale in which the unions have endeavoured to do that?—I may state that as far as I gather, the action of the men during 1864 and 1865, in the North of England certainly, was to take out the highest prices that were paid in any mill for any particular class of work, and to insist that the price should be raised to that in the other works. I have already explained that it is impossible, except perhaps in the case of puddling, to institute a close comparison between the prices paid at the different works. Almost every mill has its specialities, almost every firm will be differently situated in some respects from others, and the puddling furnaces are about the only things that are the same in all cases. Therefore, when a price is found perhaps in one mill that is comparatively speaking high, the probability is that there are exceptional circumstances connected with that particular mill which fully account for the extra price which is paid in that special department. Now it is unfair to take that price and to say that everybody shall be brought up to it, since these specialities do not apply to all the works. I state that I gather (and the experience of the North of England seems to prove it), that whenever there was a high price paid at one works in a district the men at their meetings took that high price and endeavoured to force up all the other members of the trade working a similar kind of iron to the same point. I see that in the report of the conference of the men held on January the 3rd 1866 it is stated that "Mr. Parkes of "Glasgow referred to the prices paid at Middles- "borough by saying that in consequence of the "Middlesborough men working for so much less than "their neighbours, it was incumbent on us, as the "directors of the association, to bring up the lowest

Mr. J. Jones.
27 Nov. 1867.

"to a fair average country price; for the object of "our association was to raise the lowest to a position "with the highest, and not to allow the highest to be "brought down." I have pointed out that these higher prices were in many cases explained by the peculiar circumstances of the respective mills. Then, I find that at the same meeting a conversation took place which I perhaps may be allowed to read.

9585. I do not wish for a moment to interrupt you, but I am not sure that you quite understood what my question was; I want to know what are the instances in which by strikes or by combined action of the unions the associated puddlers have forced up the price above what was then current?—I believe that there were three or four strikes in the North of England, which were owing to the men endeavouring to force up the prices for heating, and so on, to these exceptional wages paid in some of the mills. Those are partial strikes of the men that occurred in 1866. I believe the case of Messrs. Whitwell was one in point, and I believe also that in the case of several strikes which took place at Walker and other places, the men struck to raise the prices up to other prices that were said to be paid in some parts of the district.

9586. Did that strike at Walker originate with, or was it directly promoted by, the union?—Yes, decidedly. The men would not have struck in any case except they had the consent of the union; the matter was brought before the local unions, and I believe brought before the conference of the general association, and it was only when they had the consent of the general body that they were allowed to strike. I am not aware that any of these strikes were entered into without the approval of the general union.

9587. Where the Staffordshire meeting of ironmasters declares the price of iron, and, as you say, wages currently follow that at the rate of 1*s.* for every 1*l.* of the selling price per ton, those wages are paid currently throughout the district where that rule applies, are they not?—When the price of iron rose 1*l.* a ton, the wages in all departments would be advanced 10 per cent. or 1*s.* per ton.

9588. And that would be uniform, would it not?—No, because there is no uniformity between the prices. I am speaking of a district where there is not that uniformity in the prices. The circumstances of each works are so peculiar that there is not a uniformity. Take the rolling of railway bars; the circumstances are the same in scarcely any particular case. The number of furnaces that are employed to heat the iron modify the make to some extent. Those circumstances are different in each works, and to some extent it is necessary to have a different price for every works. I am now speaking of the action of the union in such a case as this. Supposing that there are five prices at five different mills, varying from 2*s.* 1*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.*, the action of the union has been to bring the 2*s.* 1*d.* rate for instance up to the 2*s.* 6*d.*, notwithstanding that there might be particular circumstances connected with these five particular mills to justify a difference.

9589. In the Staffordshire district when the price of bar iron is declared to be 7*l.* the wages per ton given for puddling are 7*s.*, are they not, or is it 7*s.* 6*d.*?—I am not aware that the wages have ever been brought below 7*s.* 6*d.*

9590. That 7*s.* 6*d.* is paid for puddling a ton of iron throughout the Staffordshire district, is it not?—Yes.

9591. Now I ask you, what are the instances within the last 10 years in which the puddlers union have on any considerable scale engaged in a strike for the purpose of forcing that rate up above the proportion with respect to the selling price of bar iron?—I am not aware of any instances in South Staffordshire; my experience in those matters is in the North of England.

9592. You are aware of one instance, I presume, because there is the Staffordshire strike of 1863, which you have mentioned before?—With reference to what I now state as to cases where the men have agitated to force up the prices to the highest paid in the district, I am not now speaking of a given district price, but of a case where they have taken some exceptionally high price, and endeavoured to bring up the others to that.

9593. There is no question that the price of wages for puddling a ton of iron is equal throughout that district; that is admitted by all, is it not?—As to the price of puddling, it may be, but then that is only one out of a very great number of departments in ironworks. The rolling is a very important department, including all the rolling and heating wages after you have got the puddled iron to manufacture it into finished iron.

9594. I will take it in both ways, I will take it in the first instance of the action of the union in raising the rates throughout above their existing standard. Now I want to know within the last 10 years in which of the great strikes that has been the case?—It is not of the great strikes that I am speaking, but of the partial strikes. I say that the action of the union in the districts, certainly in the North of England, has been what I have described, quite apart from these general movements in Staffordshire or the general movements affecting the whole district in the North of England. Certainly in the North of England there have been great differences affecting the price of puddling; there has been no such uniform rate as prevailed in Staffordshire. It is well known that there were till quite recently, and that even up to the present time there are considerable differences in the rates paid at the different works; and it was only after some difficulty that we endeavoured to meet the case last year by fixing a special price for each of the varieties of iron which we should call roughly grey iron, mottled iron, white iron, and refined iron, or plate. We fixed the price for each of these, and then we stated that the price of puddling should be so much, and that the mixture should be *pro rata*, that grey iron should be paid at the rate of 9*s.*, and white iron at the white iron price. That has been maintained up to the present time, and it has got rid of some considerable difficulties, for previously we were constantly met by differences in the price of puddling. I believe that the actual price they are now paying in the North of England will be found in very few instances to be exactly the same. Therefore it would be possible to find one firm paying 7*s.* 6*d.* and another 8*s.* 6*d.* according to the mixture and the circumstances of the case. Now what I am saying is not that it was a general movement, but that it was a sectional movement on the part of the men to advance these particular prices, and I say that in the arrangements of the conference there are indications that that was to be the policy of the union, and not to extend over the whole district.

9595. There can be no question that the policy of the union, and I suppose the policy of working men generally, would be to get the highest rates known to be paid in the trade. That is perfectly intelligible, but I ask you what instances within the last ten years you can mention, on any considerable scale, in which the union has by a strike forced those rates up?—I do not know whether in the North of England they have succeeded. I think the action of the masters was to prevent their succeeding, but that was what they intended to do.

9596. You have mentioned five strikes in your paper which we have before us?—Yes, those are general strikes.

9597. Which of those strikes were directly for the object of raising the rate of wages above that current at the time of the strike?—The Staffordshire strike certainly was.

9598. That is the first of the five. Were any of the other four for that purpose?—One of the north county strikes, there referred to, in the beginning of 1866.

9599. Which was that?—That was the blast furnace men's strike as to which there is an appendix of the evidence given by Messrs. Gilkes and Company.

9600. Then the Staffordshire strike of 1863 is the only strike on a great scale, within the last ten years, in which a general demand of an advanced rate has been made by that means, with the exception of the case in 1866 which you have just mentioned as occurring at Messrs. Gilkes?—It was not simply at Messrs. Gilkes's, it was at the works of all the ironmasters in the district, but I have only brought the evidence of one firm on the subject. In the North of England we have two associations; the pig-iron makers are quite distinct from the bar-iron makers.

9601. With regard to that strike of furnace men in 1866 which was for a rise of wages, those men were labourers were they not, not puddlers or millmen, or skilled workers at all?—Well, they come nearer to the definition of labourers than the men generally employed in mills.

9602. You call them labourers in your paper?—Yes they were for the most part, but not entirely.

9603. Had they a union of their own?—Yes.

9604. But that was perfectly independent of the puddlers' union, or the millmens' union, or those which we have had before us?—Yes.

9605. Throughout the greater portion of the work in manufacturing iron, the payment to the skilled labourer is by the piece, is it not?—Yes.

9606. The puddlers are paid by the piece and the millmen are paid by the piece?—Yes.

9607. And we may take it generally that throughout the work payment is by the piece, per ton usually?—Yes, that is to say as far as the union is concerned, those men that are connected with the union are nearly all I think contract men.

9608. If that is the case it is impossible that there should be an uniformity in the earnings of each man without reference to the skill of the particular labourer, is it not?—Yes, and it is not simply a question of the skill of the labourer, but it is one of the laying out of the works as well.

9609. Therefore, we may say generally that throughout the skilled departments of the iron manufacture, there is no pretence whatever for saying that the union has interfered to produce an uniform payment of men without reference to skill or ability?—The union has moved to produce uniformity in the tonnage rate for the different classes of men.

9610. But I mean in order that each man should earn by the day without reference to his skill the same price. There is no pretence whatever that any such thing has been attempted, or would be possible. It is not possible from the nature of the work in fact?—Just so. It is a piece-work system altogether.

9611. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) You mean that there are different classes of men altogether, the labourers not being paid the same as the puddlers?—No, I am speaking of the union men. They were all contract men, and the union has not said that when they had earned a certain sum of money they were to stop production.

9612. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Twenty puddlers who worked at adjoining furnaces would at the end of the week find themselves in possession of different amounts of money according to their skill?—Yes.

9613. I am going to put to you a rather general question, but perhaps you may be able to give us some general answer. Speaking generally, how do you sum up the injuries which in your opinion the public receive from the operation of the workman's unions upon the iron manufacture. In what respects do you consider that they operate prejudicially to the public?—That is a very wide question, it is a question that really one would have to think about a little before going into it.

9614. I thought you came here for the express purpose of telling us that?—I did not consider the question of the public so much; but taking the effect upon the public, in the first place I believe that the unions have as I have stated not really advanced the amount of money which the men in those particular departments have received. I do not say that they have not forced up wages in certain cases beyond their proper level, as regulated by the trade usages.

9615. What do you mean by "trade usages?"—I am speaking of the rise of 1*s.* per ton in the price of puddling. At the present time in Staffordshire the price is 8*s.* 6*d.* per ton for puddling, whereas the selling price of iron is only 7*l.* 10*s.*, and therefore according to that the price of puddling ought to be only 7*s.* 6*d.* I say that 1*s.* has been obtained I believe (certainly 6*d.* of it has) by union movements. Now on the face of it, that appears to be a direct advantage on the part of the men.

9616. You seemed to be assuming that the rate of wages should not be governed by the supply and demand of the market, but by some trade usages, and that made me ask what you meant by "trade usages?"—I am referring simply to the custom which you have already mentioned, that there should be 1*s.* per pound on the price of iron paid for puddling, and I say that it is not so now in Staffordshire, but the price is 1*s.* above the average, 1*s.* above that price which, according to the usage of the trade which has lasted for many years, it should be.

9617. That shilling has obtained since 1863, has it not?—I believe it was begun to be got in 1860.

9618. It was finished in 1863?—Yes.

9619. Since 1863 it has gone up and down with the selling price of the iron?—Always with the shilling in favour of the men.

9620. Of course that point which you start from is entirely an arbitrary thing, and it comes to this, that the proportion was slightly varied in favour of the men in 1863?—Yes, I am speaking of the trade usage which you refer to, that usage is paying the men a shilling in the pound on the selling price of iron.

9621. (*Lord Elcho.*) When was that trade usage introduced?—A long time ago, in the time of Mr. George Thorneycroft. I daresay Mr. Williams will be able to state definitely when it was. That has governed the trade for a very long time, and in 1863 it was modified. I have said that it appears on the face of it that there has been a special advantage owing to the union operation, and that wages are at all events a shilling above what they would have been, according to the old standard. But then I maintain that the men have not derived the full advantage represented by that, because in the first place there have been a great number of strikes relative to questions of wages, and the union contributions have been very heavy in supporting these strikes—the Leeds lock-out, and so on, all coming from the wages fund; and in addition to that there is no doubt that a very considerable amount of the iron trade has been diverted into Belgium. At the present time the Birmingham merchants are actually buying nails from Belgium, and the pig iron that is used for making that bar iron has in many cases gone from the North of England. Consequently the Belgian ironworkers must have received a very considerable amount of the money which, under ordinary circumstances, would have been paid to the English ironworkers. If there is less money paid in the iron trade that again must affect all the public who are dependent upon the iron trade, and in that way it comes to be a very serious matter for the public. If you stop the wages from coming into the Middlesborough district, for instance, that affects all the tradesmen there, and that money is paid away into some other district—Belgium say, and goes to the benefit of the tradesmen there.

9622. (*Mr. Harrison.*) If, as you tell us, the union has only once in the last 10 years forced up the price of wages above the existing standard, and if it has no means of obtaining, and does not attempt to obtain, uniformity of payment for each man, how do you connect the partial diversion of the trade of Belgium with the operation of the union?—It must be remembered that the operation of the union is quite as effective whether it is to resist a reduction in wages, or whether it is to go for an advance, because if the ironmasters find that they cannot sell

Mr. J. Jones.
27 Nov. 1867.

at a certain price, and that the Belgians are coming into the market and offering iron at a lower rate than they can offer it at, they are obliged to go down to that price, and then it comes at last to this, that they have to insist on a reduction in wages. In North Staffordshire the difficulty arose from the men resisting a reduction of wages. Then in the North country strikes it was manifestly the same. In the manufacturing department, and in the pig iron department, the men resisted in one case for a month, and in the other case for 16 to 20 weeks, a reduction in wages. That reduction, nevertheless, came, but still the action of the men was diverting trade just as much as if they had been moving for an advance.

9623. In point of fact the operation of the union on trade on a large scale has been in the main this, to resist a gradual reduction of the rate of wages which has been going on since 1863 for the purpose of meeting the greatly lower prices of the Belgian and French manufacturers ?—Yes, and in consequence of diminished demand for iron.

9624. (*Chairman.*) I understand the effect of it to be that that which would have been 7*s.* wages when iron has been at 7*l.* per ton has been really 8*s.* ?—Yes.

9625. The action of the union has been for a certain time to get one-eighth more than the current rate ?—One shilling more.

9626. That has not been temporary, but it has been always the case since the time you speak of ?—And is so at the present time.

9627. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Not throughout the country, not in the north, is it ?—No, because prices in that district are not regulated in that way. I am speaking of Staffordshire. The official price of iron is 7*l.* 10*s.* now in Staffordshire, and the price of puddling is 8*s.* 6*d.*

9628. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Was not the Puddlers' Union established after that rise ?—No.

9629. Are you quite sure of that ?—The 6*d.* was obtained, I think it was in 1860, but I am not prepared to say exactly when it was. I have no information as to how it was, but certainly 6*d.* of it was obtained after the strike of 1863, 6*d.* extra was the result of that strike.

9630. What is the date of the Puddlers' Union of which Mr. Hobson is representative ?—It was certainly formed before that strike of 1863.

(*Mr. Hobson.*) It was formed during the strike.

9631. (*Mr. Harrison.*) My impression is that the union was not in existence when the increased rate was given ?—It may not have been in existence in the same form as now, but then it was a union of the men. It might not have been that it bore the exact name and had the exact organization of the present time, but it was a union movement that originated the dispute. There was a distinct organization on the part of the men in South Staffordshire (one part of the men supporting the other part) by which they picked out certain works, and said "such and such works are to "be put out and the men at the other works are to "send contributions to these men to support them." The masters being quite aware of that policy agreed to support those masters where the puddlers were out on strike by sending them puddled bars to work at their mills.

9632. That applies only to the second 6*d.* ?—Yes.

9633. I see that in your paper you mentioned a point upon which you may be glad of an opportunity of making some little correction, namely, with respect to the benefits. You say that nothing appears in the accounts which are made out by the union, except sums spent for trade purposes. That, I think, you know has been explained by the statement that it appears in the lodge returns, which you had not before you. But are you now aware what the benefits are which are given by the Puddlers Union ?—I have no evidence of anything except the statement that was made that funeral allowances are given at the different lodges.

9634. I am informed that there is a superannuation allowance, a non-employment allowance, and a funeral allowance as well ?—It may be so now. I think that must have been introduced recently. I do not recollect anything about it in the rules of the Brierley Hill union sometime back.

9635. You say in the second column that the sums paid by the men in the support of unions, perhaps, reach 2*s.* or 3*s.* a week. You do not mean that that is the ordinary weekly payment to the union ?—The ordinary weekly payment is 1*s.*, but there is extra payment for levies as I find stated in the report of the conference. I think a delegate from Darlington stated that he had paid 2*s.* 6*d.* a week. Those contributions are raised from time to time according to the strikes which are going on.

9636. Do you know that the action of the union has been employed with great success in the saving of waste in the puddling department, by insisting upon the men bringing out the puddled iron with as little waste as possible ?—It is always their interest to do that; the interest of the men in that respect would be stronger than the interest of any union, because if a man did not bring out his work with as little waste as possible, it would influence his wages; and therefore without the influence of the union he must always have the strongest interest to do the best he can. I do not think that the union would strengthen that at all.

9637. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is not the supply of iron to each man in the puddling furnaces uniform throughout the works ?—Yes.

9638. (*Mr. Harrison.*) I will put the thing in this way; are you aware that the union has materially interfered to prevent its members from following the dishonest practice of stealing iron in order to make up their own yield ?—I have no case in point; I will not say that it is not so, or that cases have not occurred, but I have no information of any.

9639. I have here a resolution which was unanimously carried at a general meeting of the Puddlers Association of the date of February the 10th, 1866, "Moved by Joseph Hawkes, and seconded by "Thomas Tromans, That this meeting recommend "all officials to use their influence to put a stop to the "obnoxious system of puddlers fetching iron (either "scraps or castings) 'puff,'" (that is the technical term) "and that a fine be inflicted upon all members "who disregard a resolution made by the members "at the respective works, 'for no puddler to charge, "'or put into his furnace more iron than the manager "'orders to be sent in to be worked at one heat, (*i.e.*) "'400 cwt. of pig iron.' In consequence of the "system both reflecting discredit upon the workmen, "and doubtless will have a tendency of proving "detrimental to the reputation of the association in "not endeavouring to have such a system abandoned." Are you aware of such a resolution having been passed ?—No, I am not aware of it, but that relates to Staffordshire, and therefore the gentlemen connected with Staffordshire will be better able to speak to it. If evidence is put in as to any income from the operation of that rule that would at once settle the matter; but those fines not relating to the masters, we could not know anything about the men inflicting them.

9640. (*Chairman to Mr. Hobson.*) Do you know anything about this rule being put in force at all ?—Yes, it has been strictly carried out at Messrs. Brown & Freer's works. Since the last reduction the men have fallen away from the union, and the employers have had to resort in two cases to a fine, which did not occur after that resolution was passed. Each workman then determined to give evidence against a workman who fetched any extra iron. Since the union however has fallen off the employers have now had to enforce fines for the action of fetching extra iron.

9641. (*Mr. Harrison.*) What was the fine ?—2*s.* 6*d.* That resolution recommends that the officers of each works shall pass a similar resolution, in order that it be unanimous; I believe that to a certain extent it was so. Mr. Arkinstall, of the Bromford Works, stated that if the men would institute fines for fetching the extra iron he would add

something to it at the end of the year, and the fines could be appropriated to a supper. He said that if the men objected to pay the fines, then if the union officials would apply to him he would enforce the fine or the workmen should leave the premises.

9642. (*To the witness.*) Can you give me now any calculation as to the proportion which the wages paid upon each department in the manufacturing of a ton of bar iron bear to the selling price of the iron?—I could not say upon each department. I made a calculation with regard to the wages for a ton of iron and I think it will vary, at least my own impression from what I know of the different districts is, that it will vary from 5*l.* to 5*l.* 10*s.*

9643. The selling price being 7*l.*?—The price being 6*l.* 10*s.* There will be 1*l.* margin for things which do not enter into the question of wages at all.

9644. I should like to know how you make that out. The cost of the puddling of bar iron we know is 8*s.* 6*d.* a ton?—Yes, on a ton of puddled iron; but it takes a good deal more than a ton of puddled iron to make a ton of finished iron.

9645. Would you just take each of the items on which that 6*l.* 10*s.* is made out?—It would be impossible without taking the whole wages scale of a works. In producing a ton of bar iron you have (I have not gone into the matter as to how many, but I should think) 50 different classes of men employed in works. If you take charges that are not wages you get at it more reasonably. For instance, take the royalties on all the minerals used in producing a ton of finished iron. I should say that you required pretty nearly 10 tons of minerals of one kind and another (that is taking the coal, the limestone, the ironstone, and all the other things used) in producing a ton of finished iron. Now in our case in the North of England we should have to pay at least 10*s.* a ton, and in some cases more (10*s.* a ton under the most favorable circumstances) for the carriage of these minerals alone. Half of that may be fairly taken to represent the profit of the railway company, and one-half would go to wages; that would be 5*s.* And the royalties, speaking roughly, the ironstone, the coal, and the limestone would be another 10*s.*; that makes 15*s.* Then as to other charges which would vary in different districts, it is very difficult to strike an average, because each district differs from the others, and in some cases they have not to pay so much for the carriage, because the iron mines are pretty near to the furnaces.

9646. You have made a calculation, and I only ask you the grounds upon which that rests. I want to know how the 6*l.* is made up?—Each works has its different costs. You can only get to a sort of average.

9647. I ask what the calculation is made upon?—The first calculation is to take a works and find out the amount of finished iron produced, and the amount of money paid in wages. That gives you the amount of wages per ton of iron in that particular department, but then you have to take into consideration the coal and everything on which the wages come.

9648. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) The easiest way is to take first the cost of the raw material?—Yes, if you want to find out what the cost of a ton of iron is you get that from the cost sheets. They will differ in different works, and you have to strike the average, and of course the cost sheet in one district would differ from the cost sheet in another. But supposing the cost sheet to be 6*l.* 10*s.*, and you work out what expenses there are that cannot possibly be brought to wages, that is royalties, railway charges, profit, and so on, it will be found that 1*l.* will on the average about cover all those matters; in some cases it will be a little more, but in some cases a little less.

9649. (*Mr. Harrison.*) "Wages" is rather a wide term; of course, it may be used to mean the wages which are paid to men anywhere in the country who have to deal with any of the materials used, but I am speaking of the wages paid by the person who manufactures that particular thing?—Then in that case, you must take the man that raises his own ironstone and his own limestone.

9650. I do not want to take that?—Those are all items in the cost of iron.

9651. I will give you this case. Take the case of a firm whose work consists mainly (as I believe in some cases in Staffordshire it does wholly) in the manufacture of bars. They buy their pig iron, and they sell their bars. Would you tell me what proportion out of the 7*l.* 10*s.*, which is the price they get for the bar iron, represents the wages which they pay to the men whom they have employed in the manufacture?—That in itself would vary according as the works were making plates, or making small bars or railway bars, and so on. But speaking roughly, taking the different departments, I should think that it would vary from 2*l.* to 2*l.* 10*s.*

9652. The cost of the pig iron being how much?—The cost of the pig iron varying also in the different districts. In the North of England district, probably by the time it gets in the works you may take it at 2*l.* 5*s.*; in other districts it would be perhaps considerably more. Then you have to take all the coal into account, and all the establishment charges, and so on, in getting up to the cost of the iron. But taking the wages alone in a rail mill, producing a large quantity, I should think that in most instances they would be two guineas. I am speaking now without having gone accurately into all the details.

9653. (*Mr. Mathews.*) With your experience, is it practicable for you to answer these questions? Is it not rather the business of an ironmaster?—Quite so.

9654. You have not been in the habit of going into all these details?—No.

9655. Therefore you can only speak very generally and very imperfectly on them?—Yes.

9656. (*Mr. Harrison.*) I am afraid that I have not made myself quite understood. Of course I am aware of the great varieties there are, but you having given us a calculation, I want to know what you have taken as the basis of it?—I think you will find that I said that Mr. Mathews had stated with reference to the evidence given by Mr. Kane or some one else who was examined, that the wages would be about 5*l.* 10*s.*, and I said what I did assuming that that calculation was correct. I did not say that I myself had made that calculation. But now I say that I can clearly make out that that is about correct. The cost of making a ton of iron will differ in different districts, but if you take everything into consideration I calculate that 1*l.* at all events will cover those charges where there are no wages concerned. In the cost of turning pig iron into bar iron there must be say two guineas a ton in simply converting it, that is, simply the wages, without taking into consideration fuel or anything of that kind.

9657. When you say that such and such is the amount paid in wages, if those wages are to include the wages of all the men who work in the quarries and get the ironstone out, the wages of the railway officials who bring it up, and the wages of every one who is engaged directly or indirectly on it, then the obvious answer is that those persons wages are not in the slightest degree directly or indirectly affected by a fall in the price of bar iron?—That is not so, because in Staffordshire a reduction of 1*s.* in the price of puddling in the furnaces affects the colliers, and the same thing applies in Wales. It goes all through the collieries and the ironstone mines and the blast furnaces.

9658. I want to know what proportion of the wages paid are such wages as are directly governed by a rise or fall of the price of the bar iron?—Everything would be taken out, except the charges on railway transit, and in many cases very little would cover them. In our district a good deal has to be allowed on this head, and in the north the railway company have generally met the trade in this way; trade being depressed, they have made a temporary reduction of 10 per cent. In several instances they have done that because the iron trade has been in a depressed state, and when there has been a reduction of wages,

Mr. J. Jones.
27 Nov. 1867.

there has been a reduction on the cost of carrying the minerals, and so on. Therefore, all classes of wages connected with the iron trade would be touched.

9659. Do you mean to say that the wages of the stokers, for instance, were reduced?—I do not say that, but the railway company have reduced the charges; railway charges on minerals, however, are a very small item. I should think that they scarcely come in in Staffordshire at all; in our district they do.

9660. All I should like would be a detailed statement with reference to this subject, and perhaps a subsequent witness will be able to furnish it?—It is a very complicated question; it could only be furnished by taking the royalties, and so on.

9661. (*Mr. Merivale.*) I understand, if I am right (you will correct me if I am wrong), that in your opinion the general result of the unions since the year 1863 has been somewhat to raise or keep up wages, but that that advantage, such as it is, has been wholly or mainly neutralised by the expenses of the unions?—Quite so, and by the shortening of work owing to the diversion of trade.

9662. Then, if so, am I right in saying that the net result is this, that through their operations since 1863 masters have lost something, secretaries and others to unions have gained something, and workmen are left pretty much as they were?—As far as the actual earnings are concerned that is my opinion.

9663. In addition you are of opinion that a great portion of the business has been diverted abroad?—Yes.

9664. Can you furnish us with any statistical or other information as to the amount of that diversion, or are you speaking merely from a general impression which you would naturally have, because of course you must know a good deal in that way?—A good deal might be said on that point, because statistics have been published showing the fact.

9665. From your own papers or from your recollection, can you give us a general idea of what the amount of the diversion has been in the last five years?—I cannot estimate the amount of the diversion. I have not estimated it there in the book which you have before you. It is a very difficult matter to get at. But we do know this, that foreign iron has even come in to compete with ours in our own district, and that buyers on the Tees have actually had quotations from Belgium at lower rates than could be quoted by the works in the locality.

9666. And they have acted on those quotations?—Yes, they have actually purchased.

9667. You cannot at all tell me to what extent that has been the case?—That is a difficult matter.

9668. (*Chairman.*) I understand you to say that buyers in the same market have taken a Belgian article in place of an English article?—That the buyer of iron, the consumer of iron, in an English manufacturing district, is able to buy manufactured iron from Belgium, delivered at his own works, at lower rates than have been quoted by makers in the immediate locality.

9669. (*Mr. Merivale.*) Not only is he able to do it, but it has been done, you say?—Yes. These facts were published some time ago with respect to Belgium. The exports of four descriptions of iron from Belgium to Great Britain were as follows:—In 1862 they were 1,777*l.*, in 1863 1,946*l.*, in 1864 75,648*l.* You will notice that that was just about the time when the price of wages went up so very much; and in 1865, 99,950*l.*

9670. Are you aware yourself of any improvements cheapening in the Belgian mode of manufacture which would in any way account for that?—I am not aware of any. I know that they purchase a good deal of the pig iron from our district on the Tees, and they can send it back to the Tees when manufactured and compete with our own manufacture.

9671. Supposing that there is a certain amount of money thus put into the Belgian pocket, is the result this, that the whole of what the Belgians have gained through the operations of the unions since 1863 is so much lost to the masters here?—It has not all been lost, but very largely so.

9672. Somebody must have lost it?—Quite so, but all that money would not be dead loss.

9673. If it had not been for the operation of the union the masters here would have got it, you say, as I understand you?—No, the masters would have had to pay a portion of it away in wages. They would have lost that much custom but not that much money. Supposing iron has been manufactured in Belgium to the extent of 100,000*l.*, it does not follow that the masters here have lost all that money, but they have lost their portion of that money.

9674. (*Mr. Hughes.*) With regard to those years as to which you have read us the increase of the Belgian imports into England, have you compared the general increase of the English manufacture in the same time?—It would have increased very considerably; probably I have given it in my article in the British Almanac Companion, I cannot recollect whether I have or not.

9675. Are you aware as to the decrease of the last year in our original exports of iron, whether in fact there has been a decrease on the export of iron in 1866, say over 1865?—No, I think that there has not been a decrease in our export trade—it has been chiefly in the home trade that the falling off has occurred.

9676. You say that some portion of your evidence was founded on what was stated in conference by the union, was any report published of that conference?—Yes, there are published statements of theirs that I have read something from already.

9677. Have your association published any such statements of conferences?—These are statements published for their own members.

9678. You say that you have seen reports of their conferences, and I wish to know if there are any similar documents of your own society?—No.

9679. You have not published the reports of any conferences at all?—We have had no conferences; we have simply had meetings.

9680. Those are conferences, in a sense, I suppose. When something has to be settled you have a meeting?—Yes.

9681. But you do not publish any report of those meetings?—Except that we circulate minutes to the members.

9682. Printed?—Mostly printed.

9683. Have you any which you could furnish us with?—Yes; they are simply minutes of our proceedings; but these reports of the men are rather different. As I understand it, these reports of conferences are the reports of general meetings of delegates from the different parts of the union districts, and they are not simply the reports of local meetings.

9684. You have something equivalent to delegate meetings; you have meetings at which you settle what your association is going to do to the other association?—Yes.

9685. Have you any reports of those meetings?—We have simply printed minutes of each meeting.

9686. I should like to see one or two of them as specimens?—These are the minutes of the last meeting (*handing in the same*). They just happened to come to me this morning among my letters, and are the minutes of a meeting held the other day.

9687. I see the first arrangement that is agreed on here is that the price for puddling is to be reduced a shilling a ton?—That is in connexion with the notices of reduction posted up.

9688. What reduction? Has the price of iron fallen, and is iron now selling at 1*l.* a ton less than it was in October, or when the last sheet came out?—These meetings are held at any time. As far as the price of iron is concerned, you must go to what prices are actually taken.

9689. You told us just now that iron was selling at 7*l.* 10*s.*, did you not?—No, I said that the list price in Staffordshire was 7*l.* 10*s.*

9690. This association of yours fixes that the price of puddling shall be reduced a shilling a ton. I want to know whether the price of iron fell 1*l.* a ton?—The price of iron has fallen very much more than 1*l.* a ton, compared with what it was a few months ago.

9691. I will put it in another way. Has the reduction of wages been *pari passu* with the fall in the price of iron, or has it exceeded it, or has it been less?—I think that the reduction in the price of iron is really more than is represented by that reduction in the wages mentioned in those minutes and which will come into effect in a little over a week. If you ask me what the price of iron in the North of England is now, I can only say that, taking for instance this East India contract, to which I have already referred, nearly all the makers in the North of England tendered for that. It was a contract for 14,000 tons of rails, and I believe that the price at which that has been taken, speaking from the best information I can get in the matter, is that it is to be delivered at Liverpool at 5*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* per ton. The railway charges on that are 11*s.*, and probably there is a commission also, so that we may take it that the money which the employers will obtain cannot be more than 5*l.* 5*s.* per ton. Now that is a very superior kind of rail, which has to stand a very severe test, and if that is the price for that rail, I am quite certain commoner rails can be obtained for at least 10*s.* a ton less.

9692. Then the ironmasters' meetings do not really fix the price?—No, we never fix or attempt to fix prices.

9693. I thought you said just now that they were settled at 7*l.* 10*s.*?—Yes, but that is Staffordshire; this is in the North of England.

9694. Leaving Staffordshire out of the question, do you mean to say that in the North of England wages have fluctuated proportionately during the last three or four years with the fluctuations in the price of iron; do you mean to say that they have gone up as much as iron has gone up at certain times, and that they have gone down as much as iron has gone down at other times?—I mean that they have gone up as much but not gone down as much, because at the present time the price of iron is remarkably below anything that would be represented by the price of wages.

9695. Was it not also at one time very much above?—No, I never remember seeing any quotations of iron being more than 10*l.* 10*s.*, and puddling wages were 10*s.* 6*d.* At the present time the average price of puddling is 8*s.* 6*d.* in the north, and with respect to the average selling price of iron, if you take cable iron, which is a very good kind of iron, one of the best varieties of it has been for a long time selling on the Tyne at prices which would leave considerably under 6*l.* to the manufacturers, whereas they have been paying at the same time on the average 8*s.* 6*d.* for puddling.

9696. During the last three or four years the advances have been made by the masters as the prices rose, have they not?—Yes, about the same time. I do not know the exact period in the North of England because I was not in the North of England then, but in 1863, I believe it was, there were three advances, from 7*s.* 6*d.* up to 10*s.* 6*d.*

9697. That 1863 advance in the first instance was forced as you said last time?—It was forced in Staffordshire, and notices I think were given in the North.

9698. (*Mr. Mathews.*) I think that before you went to Middlesbro' you were assistant secretary to the South Staffordshire Ironmasters' Association?—Yes.

9699. In addition to your occupation as assistant secretary there, you had various other occupations, and have now I believe, connected with schools and workmen's institutes, and other establishments?—In South Staffordshire I had, but in the North of England I have no appointments connected with the educational work of the district, though I hold other public appointments.

9700. Of the educational establishments in South Staffordshire you can speak from intimate acquaintance?—Yes.

9701. Is there in the South Staffordshire district an abundance of schools generally speaking for the education of all the population?—Yes. At a recent meeting I saw it stated that there was accommodation for a very much larger number of scholars than are actually in attendance at different towns in the district.

9702. There either is an abundance of educational means for the population in South Staffordshire, or the ironmasters are always ready to assist in providing it?—Yes, I may mention that I was for a considerable length of time secretary to the Iron and Coal Masters Prize Scheme Association, which did a great deal to promote the efficiency of the schools in the district. Mr. Williams, the honorary secretary to the association, was I think mainly if not entirely, the originator of that scheme, and the subscriptions that have come to it have been from the iron and coal-masters of the district.

9703. Are the iron and coal masters of South Staffordshire principally the means of promoting those schools?—Yes; a considerable number of them have established schools, though there are difficulties in the way of their doing so, owing to the scattered population. It is difficult to centre all the population of the mines and ironworks in one place, but notwithstanding that, a considerable number of firms have established schools, and support them entirely.

9704. Schools exclusively for their own works?—Mainly; others may be allowed to come, but still they defray all the expenses.

9705. I daresay you know that several of the larger establishments in South Staffordshire have schools exclusively attached to their ironworks?—Yes.

9706. And that there are also hospital establishments, and various other means of that sort, for attending to the numerous cases of accidents that occur in South Staffordshire?—Yes.

9707. And those are generally supported by the South Staffordshire iron and coal masters?—Yes.

9708. So that as far as the social duties of the South Staffordshire ironmasters in their connexion with the workmen are concerned, they endeavour to act up to them to the best of their ability?—I have always believed that they have done so; the facts are certainly very abundant to prove it.

9709. Previous to the establishment of these unions, in case of a dispute about wages or other circumstances between the workmen and their masters, was there any difficulty on the part of the men in having free personal discussion with their masters on the subjects arising from time to time?—I never heard that there was.

9710. The general impression was that whenever the workmen had a grievance, the masters were always ready to discuss it personally with their men?—Yes; it was so previous to the establishment of unions.

9711. Has that been in some degree restricted since the establishment of the unions by the intervention of the officers of the unions taking upon themselves to negociate with the masters instead of allowing the men to do it themselves?—Yes, I have heard that that is so. In many instances the masters do not object to meet their own men, but have raised very strong objections to meeting representatives not connected with their own works.

9712. As a rule, they dislike to have other people not in their employment interfering between them and the men who are in their employment?—Yes; I believe that that is the general feeling.

9713. With respect to the hiring, I will take the case of puddlers, because that is the staple department on which wages generally are fixed for other departments, is it not?—Yes, it is so; it is the only department upon which you can institute a comparison.

9714. In the case of hiring a puddler, is it usual to hire him at a certain rate per ton, the puddler finding his underhand, subject to a certain notice, say 14 days

Mr. J. Jones.
27 Nov. 1867.

notice, to be given either by the master for discharging the man, or by the puddler for resigning his place?—Yes.

9715. And when the relation between the master and the puddler is established at a certain rate per ton, that rate influences all the other departments in the works?—Yes.

9716. In the case of a rise of the puddlers' wages, the rise extends through all the works, generally speaking, through unskilled labourers included, and so in the case of a reduction, the reduction extends through all departments?—Yes, and generally even to the blast furnaces and to the collieries.

9717. So that when we speak of a rise or fall in the price of wages, it means a rise or fall in the price of puddlers' wages?—Yes, that is the standard governing all the other wages in the trade in that district.

9718. I think you stated that the relation which existed formerly between the price of puddling and the price of iron was 1*s.* a ton for puddling per 1*l.* a ton in the price of iron?—Yes.

9719. Whenever the price of iron rose the price of puddling followed in the same degree?—Yes.

9720. And whenever the price of iron fell the price of puddling fell in the same degree?—Yes.

9721. But whenever it got down to a certain point, say 6*l.* 10*s.* for iron in South Staffordshire, there was no further reduction in the wages of puddling?—I never heard of a reduction below 7*s.* 6*d.*

9722. So that there was an unlimited area in rising and a limited area in falling?—Yes.

9723. Then you speak of the price of iron as being regulated by the Iron Trade Association; do you not mean the species of iron which you call marked iron?—Yes.

9724. Which only a few houses can make?—Yes, not more than seven or eight.

9725. And which is confined to Staffordshire?—Yes, it is a speciality of the Staffordshire district—marked bars.

9726. That description of iron is made exclusively in South Staffordshire by a few firms who have established a reputation which has lasted for a great number of years?—Yes.

9727. And whose brand is well known?—Yes, there may be some particular manufacturers in other districts who are somewhat similarly situated, and theirs forms an exceptional trade.

9728. But the great bulk of the iron trade in South Staffordshire is not confined to the price fixed by these marked brands?—Certainly not.

9729. The sellers of the marked brands do not require the other makers who have no marked brands to adhere to their price in any way, do they?—No.

9730. In many instances the sellers of iron of inferior brands in South Staffordshire sell at 1*l.* or 2*l.* less?—Yes.

9731. And the makers of the marked brands, except for some conventional understanding; can sell lower than the price of the marked brands if they choose?—Yes.

9732. No restriction is put upon them?—No.

9733. (*Mr. Hughes.*) What then is the meaning of the marked brand being the fixed price if any of the makers can sell at any price they like?—It is simply that it is a convenient mode for regulating wages.

9734. Who is bound by it; is anybody?—Nobody at all.

9735. Then there is no meaning in it?—Except that these marked brand makers as a rule always adhere to those prices. They represent the value of that particular kind of iron.

9736. It is a voluntary agreement to sell at that price if they can get it; is that all that they mean?—It only applies to these marked makers. I do not know that they are in the habit of selling at all below these prices, but they may do so.

9737. I understand you that the prices of these few firms who sell with a marked brand are published periodically?—Yes.

9738. Do they adhere to them or not?—I think they do, but they are not compelled to do so. If they sell at 5*s.* a ton under those prices there is no one to prevent them. It is just quoting a market price. If you quote a market price for anything on 'Change it does not follow that everybody must adhere to that price. That is considered to be about the fair price of that particular kind of iron.

9739. As far as you know there is no obligation whatever upon the firms who sell with marked brands to sell at the price of the published list?—Not at all.

9740. (*Sir. D. Gooch.*) But the puddler gets the full advantage of the high price?—Yes.

9741. (*Mr. Mathews.*) The high price being in point of fact the basis on which the puddlers' wages are calculated?—Yes, and that is why it has been retained so long. If it was found that the market price of iron was increasing then putting it up 1*l.* would represent the highest class of iron made in the district and the highest prices that could be obtained, and the prices of puddling would go up a shilling a ton all over the district.

9742. (*Mr. Hughes.*) But supposing one of these marked brand manufacturers to sell iron, say 2*l.* or 3*l.* under the price of the marked brand, would he go on paying his puddlers according to the marked price?—Yes; people selling at 1*l.* or 25*s.* under this marked price are still paying the same wages, the 8*s.* 6*d.* per ton, therefore it never can act except in favour of the men.

9743. So that in fact this published list is a benevolent arrangement in favour of the puddlers?—I do not suppose that it is meant for that.

9744. It comes to this that they are the only people who really benefit by it apparently?—No, it comes to this, that you fix the top prices, and it is well known in the trade, and any consumer of iron knows that certain makers are, as a rule, selling 5*s.* a ton under the list price, that in fact is their list price, and when the price of iron goes up 1*l.*, their particular relative price would go up 1*l.*, and therefore, quoting 7*l.* 10*s.* for instance as the list price, leads the consumer to know exactly what the prices of all the firms in the district are.

9745. But the only people who necessarily benefit by that are the puddlers?—The ironworkers as a body.

9746. You say that the wages generally are settled by the puddlers wages, therefore we speak of the puddlers as representing the wages earned?—Yes, it is so.

9747. (*Mr. Mathews.*) There is no question of benevolence involved in this arrangement, I think, is there?—No, it is a purely hard business matter.

9748. In this arrangement there is no profession of benevolence on the part of the masters or acceptance of benevolence on the part of the men?—No.

9749. It is simply a convenient standard of prices. If a man with a marked brand is selling at 7*l.* 10*s.*, and the price goes up, then the price of the inferior brands goes up in the same proportion?—Yes.

9750. The nearest approach to uniformity is in the price of the marked brands, and therefore that is the best ground on which to base uniformity of wages in the case of puddlers?—Yes.

9751. That being so, when the puddlers are discontented, what is the usual practice that the union have suggested to the puddlers, has it been to fix upon one or two works to strike at first?—That was the case in 1863 markedly.

9752. What was the course they adopted upon that occasion?—It was to single out a certain number of works, and I believe that they were guided to some extent by what they thought to be the stability of the firms, and they picked out those firms where they thought they would have perhaps the best chance, and it was for the workmen engaged by the other firms in the district to support by the payment of a pretty good levy these men while they were out of work.

9753. That is to say, they fixed upon one or two works, not the stronger works of the district but what they thought weaker works?—Yes.

9754. And while they were out on strike at those particular works, the men in the other works in the district made a weekly contribution for the support of those men who were out on strike?—Yes.

9755. Was not that policy extended in the case of the North Staffordshire strike of 1865 to districts instead of individuals?—Yes, instead of a few isolated works in one district, the smallest district was put out.

9756. North Staffordshire being a smaller district than some of the other districts for a strike, they fixed upon that as cheaper to their funds than a large district like Middlesbrough or South Staffordshire?—Yes.

9757. And they persevered in that process in the hope that the north Staffordshire masters would be forced to give way and that then a rise would be compelled from the other districts then at work at a lower rate?—That was undoubtedly the policy.

9758. You have been asked some questions about the proportion of the price of labour in a ton of iron to the other charges. Taking an iron works who make their own pig iron and have their own ore, the first charge is the charge for royalties on minerals?—Yes.

9759. And all subsequent charges consist in the name of labour except a few trifling articles which constitute the fixed charges?—Yes, depreciation of machinery and all those things come in as fixed charges.

9760. What the proportion of the labour is it is exceedingly difficult to define in each particular case?—It must differ in each particular case and specially in each district.

9761. Scarcely any two works are alike with respect to the relation of the charges?—I should think that no two works and no two districts are alike.

9762. I have a paper before me professing to show those details. Although this may be correct in the main, the circumstances vary in each particular works according to the facilities or conveniences attaching to those works?—Yes.

9763. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Those returns are made up from information from the Chamber of Commerce, or wherever the information comes from, I suppose?—That applies to no other district except South Staffordshire.

9764. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Then generally speaking, taking the price of bar iron at 6*l.* 10*s.* the fixed charges upon a large ironworks would be from 10*s.* to 20*s.*, according to the circumstances of the works?—Yes.

9765. But all the rest must necessarily be labour and nothing but labour?—Yes.

9766. Therefore, assuming that to be the case it is absolutely necessary in the case of a reduction in the price of iron to reduce wages to meet that reduction? Yes, and the wages ought to be reduced through the pig iron, and through the coal too.

9767. And that is generally the case?—That is generally the case; it is not the case in all districts.

9768. In the case of a works which raises its own minerals it would be the case?—Yes, there it would go through all departments.

9769. If the price of iron were to fall 20*s.* a ton, and the ironmaster were to retain the rate of wages which he paid previous to the fall, if a large work it would very soon either bring his work to grief or cause the ironmaster to stop production?—Yes.

9770. So that it is not a mere caprice on the part of the iron masters when he lowers the wages, but an action of self preservation?—Yes, and there comes a certain point at which he would find it absolutely beneficial to close his works.

9771. Even if he had reduced his wages as far as he could?—Yes.

9772. He is compelled, you mean, to restrict his make very materially or stop his work altogether?—Yes; that is the case even now. There are instances that could be mentioned where they are working at a price very considerably under the cost price of the iron, but that is preferable in their case to ceasing work with the heavy standing expenses of the works, because the loss per ton of iron by reason of the actual standing expenses would be greater, supposing they were to stop altogether.

9773. It often happens, does it not, that an ironmaster goes on for a considerable time working at a loss rather than incur the very heavy expense of stopping his works altogether?—Yes, because the standing expenses in connexion with an ironworks are really very heavy.

9774. You spoke of the cost of labour in ironworks here compared with the cost of labour in Belgium, do you know what the relative difference is between the two, what the rate of wages in Belgium generally is compared with the rate of wages in this country?—To speak candidly I am not prepared to answer that myself, because I have depended mainly on the statistics of gentlemen who have visited Belgium.

9775. You say that there is an exportation of iron from Middlesbrough to Belgium?—Yes.

9776. That as manufactured iron, being returned in some small quantities to England, but being sent in a very much larger proportion to the continental countries, supersedes the English iron in the continental markets?—Yes, in Belgium and Prussia.

9777. Although the proportion brought back to this country is not very considerable, it serves to keep down the price of English iron?—Yes.

9778. And therefore it serves to keep down the price of wages in some degree?—Yes.

9779. There is no doubt of the fact that Belgian iron has superseded the English iron on the continent?—No, and a good many things from Belgium are coming here. I believe that some of the large nail merchants in Birmingham buy goods from Belgium. It is well known that the neighbourhood of Birmingham, Dudley, and all round there, has been for some time the head quarters of the nail trade.

9780. You mean that a Birmingham merchant would buy nails in Belgium for exportation to foreign countries, shipping them at Antwerp, and so supersede the labour of the English market entirely?—Yes, Birmingham merchants are buying now very extensively from Belgium for that very purpose.

9781. I ask that question because a Birmingham merchant told me that he had been in the habit of paying 12,000*l.* a year for nails in the neighbourhood, and that last year he only paid 500*l.* there, because he had bought most of them in Belgium and had them shipped there?—I have heard those figures stated.

9782. When there has been a request for a large contract, say for the Russian Government, that has been generally taken by English houses, I think, for some years past?—Yes, almost invariably it used to be.

9783. The Dowlais Works, in South Wales, generally had the greatest proportion of the Russian contracts, for instance?—Yes, the rail orders came there; to Ebbw Vale and the large houses in Wales and the North of England. We have had in the North of England a considerable portion this last year.

9784. Has it not been the fact that lately a large contract has been taken for Russia by the Belgians?—Yes.

9785. To what extent?—I am not aware. I have seen it stated that they are now mainly occupied with these Russian rails.

9786. Are you aware of any Belgian or Prussian rails having been bought for the English railways?—I cannot speak of that further than what I have heard of it.

9787. You were asked a question about the emigration of puddlers. It is never the practice, is it, of the ironmasters either in South Staffordshire, Middlesborough, North Staffordshire or elsewhere, to interfere with the puddlers or other workmen in the slightest degree with respect to their desire to emigrate?—No, they have no means of doing so, and no wish to do so as far as I have heard them express an opinion.

Mr. J. Jones.

27 Nov. 1867.

9788. On the contrary if the masters consider that they have some puddlers connected with these unions who give them more trouble than other men, is it not their desire to encourage the emigration of such men?—The general impression is that those men who are desirous of going away are those which give the most trouble.

9789. There is no sort of hindrance placed in their way by the ironmasters to induce them not to emigrate?—No, I do not say that those who have gone have given more trouble, but that that is the general impression.

9790. Without going to particular facts, there is no disposition at all on the part of the masters to put any obstacle in the way of their going abroad if they like?—No; but very few have gone abroad comparatively speaking.

9791. But if they were to go abroad and thereby lessen the labour market (which is the impression the puddlers have according to all accounts), and thereby the puddlers remaining behind were to get a higher price for their labour that would affect other labour as well as the puddlers, I suppose?—This matter of emigration must be very much more marked before it could have any effect. But their impression is, that by sending a dozen men out (at least they would lead people to imagine so) they could affect wages through the whole district. I believe it is said that in one case 20 went, and out of the whole number in the country that is very small.

9792. Supposing that the object of sending out these men was to raise the wages of those remaining behind, would it place the men in a worse position with respect to their employment, considering that although they got a higher rate of wages they would have less employment than they had before in consequence of a lower price obtaining in other districts?—The men going abroad would soon bring down the price there and would place the master abroad in a much better position to compete with the master in England, and therefore they would still bring down the price of iron, and wages would come down in this country in that way.

9793. If the ironmasters found that that really had the effect of raising wages, could they not remedy that by bringing forward the underhands and making them substitutes for the puddlers?—That would soon have remedied the matter.

9794. I believe that that was the case during the strike in North Staffordshire?—A great number of under hands became puddlers, and it was so also in the North of England strike; a considerable number were introduced then.

9795. So that, though there is no impediment placed in the way of emigration on the part of the South Staffordshire ironmasters, or the North Staffordshire ironmasters or the North of England ironmasters, they do not apprehend any advance of wages through that operation?—No.

9796. The machinery is too feeble and incompetent to effect such a result?—Yes, it would take an immensely larger amount of emigration to effect any alteration.

9797. What is your opinion of the social relation of the ironmasters to their men in South Staffordshire previous to the establishment of the unions and since the establishment of the unions?—My impression is that there has been a very strong breach created between employers and employed during the last few years.

9798. That is to say, the men have been placed in a much more atagonistic position to their masters and the relations that have existed between them since the establishment of the unions have been less cordial than they were before?—Yes; I may just mention a circumstance in connexion with that. A working man, or a person who has been a working man, wrote to me sometime ago, and he brought a case of this kind before me. I shall suppress the name, but I believe that the works in question had always got on tolerably well with their men. This is what he says: "I will "just relate to you the effect of the union upon the "men employed at these works, just previous to the "Messrs. ———— taking to them. It was on a "Saturday morning, after the night turn had finished "work, when the secretary of the union in connexion "with the works went to the manager and accosted "him in the following manner: 'I say, Gaffer, you "'musn't think you are going to do as you like with "'these men because you won't; I'll let you know "'I'm secretary over these men, and they'll do as I "'like, and not as you like;' and the only fault "belonging to the manager was that he was too easy "and quiet. I have just mentioned this to show you "an instance how arrogant and unreasonable the "trades union tends to make a large number of its "members." The writer further says, "But in a "very short time this secretary was detected in mis-"appropriating the contributions, and now there is "not one in the whole of the works that is a member." I speak in general terms in my paper, but I think that that is an instance, perhaps, showing the kind of feeling that there is. There has been a great breach between the masters and the men, occasioned by, perhaps, the injudicious action of some of these officials. I am not speaking of the general union, but of the union connected with each of the works.

9799. That is to say, in consequence of the interference of the unions there is a less cordial and friendly relation existing between the masters and their workmen than there used to be?—Yes.

9800. There is a disinclination on the part of the masters to deal with the officers of the union, and the influence of the officers prevents the men coming in contact with their masters directly?—Yes.

9801. Are you aware whether it is the habit of the unions to dictate to the masters what particular kind of manager they shall employ?—I have plenty of evidence here of cases where managers have been objected to.

9802. That is, the men say they will not work under such and such a manager?—Yes.

9803. And they require the master to discharge that manager?—Yes; I have cases of that.

9804. Do you think that that has arisen from the influence of the union?—It was never known before the unions. I cannot say how it was managed; if there was an objectionable manager, I suppose that the men then might go to the master and make representations. But I believe, that nothing of this kind was known some years ago. I never heard of any such cases. All the cases that I have heard of have been of recent occurrence.

9805. In the case of a strike in the South Stafford or Middlesborough district, is it easy on the part of the masters to get men from other districts, or is there any impression on the part of the men in other districts that it is dangerous for them to come?—There is an impression and a strong feeling among the men generally that they had better not. It is a sort of understood rule that they do not go and take another man's job off him; but I believe there are cases which have occurred where they have been compelled to leave (by some very strong pressure being put upon them) when they have gone into a district to work, the men in that district being on strike.

9806. You spoke of a letter addressed by Mr. Kane to the Scotch workers to solicit subscriptions on the part the of the North Staffordshire union when they were on strike, have you got that letter?—I put in an extract from a letter relating to that this morning. "That a delegate meeting was held at Brierley Hill, "and a resolution was passed to the effect that the "men of North Staffordshire resist the reduction. "The council of Brierley Hill called their number of "the North Staffordshire men out on strike, and "acting in concert with our friends at Brierley Hill, "and seeing the necessity of such, we immediately "instructed the men of the Hanley district to come out "also to the number of 450."

9807. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) I rather think that I saw it stated at the time in some letter from Mr.

Williams that that letter from Mr. Kane to the iron-workers in Scotland had some influence with the masters in deciding them upon taking the step they did in locking out their men upon that occasion?—By referring to the papers it would be seen that resolutions on the subject were published. It was stated in the "Daily Post" that the men at Brierley Hill had had a delegate meeting there, and that, taking into consideration the depression of trade, they had agreed to accept the reduction, and it was understood that that reduction was to be accepted by the districts generally. It only just oozed out by the publication of this letter that it had been an understanding by the union authorities that the men of North Staffordshire were to resist the reduction.

9808. If I remember right, I saw at the time a statement of the nature I have mentioned, in a letter written by Mr. Williams. Perhaps Mr. Williams himself will be able to tell us whether that letter had not something to do with deciding the masters to take the steps they did.

(*Mr. Williams.*) That is the letter (*handing it in*).

9809. (*Mr. Mathews to the witness.*) I have not been very well acquainted with the rules of the unions in the South Staffordshire district myself, but are you aware whether there is any rule with respect to the influence of the unions upon non-union men leading union men anywhere to refuse to work with them. Have any facts of that kind come under your knowledge?—They have a rule about non-union men.

9810. What is the nature of that rule?—"That no "member of this association shall be allowed to render "any assistance to non-unionists; neither shall any "member send for or by any means procure a situation "for any such obnoxious workman. Any member "disregarding this rule will be fined 5*s.* or be dealt "with as the committee may determine." I point out in my paper with reference to that that "The "above rule brands those who do not choose to be "unionists as obnoxious workmen, whatever their "character or ability may be."

9811. So that the inference would be that in the case of a minority of non-union men working with a majority of union men in any works, the non-union man's position is made very uncomfortable?—Yes. The evidence of Messrs. Gilkes, Wilson, Pease, and Co., contained in my appendix, refers to a case of that kind. The men would not go to work unless a non-union man was removed, or became a member of the union. Then he got another job, but he found the place so uncomfortable, I suppose, from the moral pressure brought to bear upon him, that he very soon joined the union.

9812. Moral pressure is brought extensively to bear upon a non-union man to make him join the union; is that so?—Yes. I do not say that it is a part of a definite understanding on the part of the union as a body that they shall bring any pressure to bear upon non-union men, but that union men and bodies of union men do that. It seems to be recognized.

9813. (*Mr. Harrison.*) With regard to your answer to Mr. Mathews just now with respect to the proportion which the wages paid bear to the total cost of the ton, your answers are not based upon an actual calculation of the figures, I think?—No; I have not made those calculations.

9814. In the case of the letter which you read just now with respect to the interference of a secretary, do you know what class of union that secretary belonged to, was it a labourers or a puddlers union?—It was a division of one of the associated bodies, a division of one of the unions.

9815. Was it a puddlers' union?—Yes; one of the two puddlers' unions.

9816. That man was a branch secretary of one of these two puddlers' unions?—Yes.

9817. Do you say that it is the practice for union men to refuse to work with non-union men?—I have had several cases brought under my notice where that was the case.

9818. You have had several cases brought before you where objections were made, but do you mean to say that as a fact the men working in one works are all unionists, and that in another works they are all non-unionists; is it in each of the works the usual rule for them to work together side by side?—I should say that in most instances the contractors generally do belong to the union. Either the greater part of them are in the union or the greater part of them are out. If the majority of them were in I believe that they would soon bring the others in. If a large section of them were out, at any time when union matters came to be considered, I think that probably the non-union men would be strong enough to retain their position.

9819. Can you mention any works at which the men now working refuse or have refused to permit the employment of a non-union man?—Cases were brought under my notice in connexion with the works in the Tyne district, where they refused to work with, I think, two non-union men. I wrote to ask for information from the manager, and I asked him whether he would come and substantiate any of those facts before the Commission, but he wrote to me a few days ago saying that those were such small cases that he thought it would not be worth while. Those were cases where the men had positively said that they would not work unless certain men were discharged or joined the union.

9820. Can you produce the case of any single works at the present time where the men employed are exclusively unionists and where they refuse to admit non-unionists?—My impression is, that at the present time the union men are not at all so numerous as they were, because bad trade and so on has affected them very much. I do not hear of union men being so marked or the distinction being so marked between union and non-union men as it was when trade was good, and when union movements were very brisk.

9821. That means to say that you do not know of any case in which the union men insist upon exclusive employment?—Not any special case. I do not think that I have information at present about that. I should like to make some remarks with regard to the paper I handed in. In the first part I have stated that "three organizations will be referred to," and I have stated the rules of these different associations. On referring to the papers more carefully, I see that I have quoted the rules quite properly, but I do not see that the Millmen's Association of West Bromwich has been mixed up in these conferences, and therefore that part of the statement which says that "these "three organizations will be referred to, as the Gates-"head Union, the Brierly Hill Union, and the Mill-"men's Union," may be so far modified as to run thus: "In the following statement the two organi-"zations to which the evidence relates are the Gates-"head Union and the Brierly Hill Union." But as far as the Millmen's Association are concerned, the rules are correctly extracted in my paper. I have not had an opportunity of knowing much about the proceedings of the Millmen's Association. I believe, however, that it would be unjust to them to say that all that is in this paper, which has been drawn to a very considerable extent from publications of the unions, would apply equally to them; therefore, it is only fair that I should just make that explanation. With reference to another statement that I made, having received from the representatives of the union information that it was not correct, I have referred to the case more particularly, and now I wish to make a correction in my paper, as I am very anxious that nothing should be stated that is not, as far as I know, correct. I refer to a passage in connexion with the strike in the North of England, where the Consett men are said to have gone into work. The passage is this:—"About the end of September about 2,000 "men (of those employed by the Consett Company) "gave in, and accepted the reduction. They appear "also to have left the union altogether, and exhibited "great hostility towards the president of the union, "Mr. Kane, who had difficulty in escaping safely

Mr. J. Jones.
27 Nov. 1867.

"from the place." Now Mr. Kane made a representation to me that that was incorrect, and I find it is so to a very considerable extent. I may say that I took that statement from the published accounts, which were not contradicted, and I imagined that they were correct.

9822-3. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Can you give us any information as to practice which is said to exist among some of the employers at Middlesbro', and which has been alluded to here?—Referring to the evidence given before the Commission relative to deductions made for bad rails, I communicated with the firm mentioned by a previous witness, because I thought it was a question that might arise, and the information that I have is contained in a communication which I have received from that firm. It seems that on the 5th of October 1864 this agreement was entered into:—"In order to settle the "differences respecting deductions made for the bad "rails, we hereby agree to cancel the arrears now due "from the men, and in future to pay them on "all rails which pass the saws, making a deduc-"tion of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., which is to cover the "amount of bad rails found after passing the "saws, be the same actually more or less than "$2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent." It was stated, I believe, that that agreement was entered into by the men and the masters, and was kept until the strike of 1866, but that after the strike that agreement had not been enforced. The manager writes to me to say, "I am "prepared to prove by your books that ever since the "men's resuming work in January, 1867, $2\frac{1}{2}$ per "cent. has been regularly deducted week by week, "and neither more nor less than $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent." So that he is prepared to prove that that agreement has been adhered to. It was on October 5th, 1864, that the agreement was entered into, and the men struck in 1866. And since the men have resumed work this year the firm state that they have deducted $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and neither more nor less than $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

(*Mr. Kane.*) My statement was this. Of course I spoke of the communication made to me, a meeting having been called there in consequence of the men receiving their pay notes, each with a fine ranging from 1*s.* up to 20*s.* Amongst other evidence that came before me on that occasion was a statement to the effect that the agreement entered into in 1864 had not been kept on the part of the company. But according to the statement received from Mr. ——— it has been kept. I therefore have no wish to press that statement of mine, but as far as the other statements are concerned I am not prepared to withdraw them, because I have the pay notes in my possession with the illegal deductions from the men.

9824. (*Chairman to Mr. Kane.*) You will not put your evidence against that of Mr. ——— if he states that the $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. has been abided by?—No, I shall write a note to him to-night, and state how the circumstances occurred.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. W. Williams

Mr. WALTER WILLIAMS examined.

9825. (*Chairman.*) You are honorary secretary to the South Staffordshire Iron Masters Association, are you not?—I fill that post.

9826. And a considerable proprietor of ironworks, I believe?—I am.

9827. What are the works with which you are connected?—The Wednesbury Oak ironworks, Tipton, in the county of Stafford, the Union furnaces, and sundry other collieries and places in the neighbourhood.

9828. There is a union of masters, I believe?—An association of masters.

9829. When was that established?—I imagine that it dates back for a matter of 40 or 50 years ago so far as the association is concerned.

9830. What are the purposes of it?—It was for regulating the prices of iron, looking to secure an average rate of wages agreed upon, and parliamentary business.

9831. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Have you any rules that you can put in that govern the transactions of the South Staffordshire ironmasters?—I have got the rules as passed on the 29th of March 1864, and I will put them in (*handing them in*).

9832. Were there any written rules previous to these?—None.

9833. It was simply an association for general trade purposes, governed by no particular rules?—Just so.

9834. Your position as honorary secretary of the South Staffordshire Ironmasters Association coupled with your reputation as one of the largest iron makers in the district, and as a maker of marked iron, gives you an opportunity of being well acquainted with the circumstances of the trade, the prices, the policy of the association, and other circumstances relating to the district?—Certainly.

9835. Can you speak as to the exact period for which the agreement has subsisted that the puddlers should be paid 1*s.* ton upon every 1*l.* of the price of marked iron?—I should say that that was the arrangement entered into after a strike in the year 1847 or 1848 if I remember rightly, and it was an arrangement which was entered into between Mr. Thorneycroft and his men as the means of settling the dispute at that time.

9836. Mr. Thorneycroft being one of the principal ironmasters in the district?—Yes, at that time. A considerable dissension arose between the masters and the men, the men feeling themselves aggrieved that the price of iron had run up rapidly to 12*l.* a ton, and yet that the rates for wages had not run up in the same ratio. After sundry reductions which came from falls in the price of iron, it was then considered desirable and an offer was made by Mr. Thorneycroft to his men, that from and after that date all prices should slide with the nominal rate of iron, 1*s.* per ton for the puddlers wage to represent 1*l.* per ton in the price of iron; and that agreement existed up to, I imagine, the year 1857 or 1858. I cannot tax my memory with the actual date.

9837. What took place to alter that relation between the price of puddling and the price of bar iron?—I imagine that there were less men and more work.

9838. That in consequence of an increased demand for puddlers, the puddlers established a different relation between the price of puddling and that of marked bar iron in Staffordshire?—They did.

9839. Were there any unions in the district at that time?—The present unions (if they really exist now) will be the third set of unions that I have known.

9840. That is to say, in the course of your experience you have known three different periods at which unions have been established?—I have.

9841. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) And each of them died?—each of them died.

9842. (*Mr. Mathews.*) What was the cause of their death?—Want of funds and want of objects.

9843. When the price of iron came down and the demand for puddlers was less urgent than it had previously been, the puddlers did not pay up to the funds, and the unions died?—They could not afford to pay anything for secretaries and associations, and I believe that they also died, because as an almost invariable rule their secretaries managed to walk off with their funds.

9844. That was generally the termination of the union?—Invariably, in my experience.

9845. It has been stated that the Staffordshire union took its rise in the strike of 1863?—Yes.

9846. Were unions existing then?—There had been unions.

9847. So that the effect of the unions upon puddlers' wages in relation to the price of marked iron, did not

date previously to 1863?—It had dated previously, but was not then in existence.

9848. With respect to the price of marked iron, your firm is one of the largest firms of Staffordshire, have had a reputation for making a superior sort of iron, and you in conjunction with three or four of the other large firms in Staffordshire have made iron that could not be made generally by the bulk of the ironmasters in South Staffordshire?—Certainly.

9849. Thereupon you found it politic as well for yourselves as for the public to fix a uniform price among all those members of the trade that made that particular sort of iron?—Yes.

9850. That price being more uniform and less subject to fluctuations than any other, was found to be the most convenient basis on which the rate of puddlers' wages could be established?—Yes.

9851. The price of marked iron being less fluctuating than the prices of other descriptions of iron in Staffordshire, it was found convenient to fix the price of marked iron as the basis for the general rate of wages?—It was considered the most equitable gauge as being subject to less fluctuations.

9852. And therefore less liable to affect the action of prices upon puddlers' wages?—Yes.

9853. Puddlers' wages being fixed upon the price of marked iron, and puddlers wages being the standard upon which all other wages are fixed, when puddlers wages rise it affects the wages throughout the whole mill, and when they fall it equally affects them?—I imagine it does.

9854. And generally speaking this principle has been recognized by the men on the one hand and by the masters on the other?—Yes.

9855. And until the recent resuscitation of the Puddlers' Union the relation of 1*s.* a ton upon wages upon the 1*l.* of bar iron has been for many years the understood relation on which the trade has worked?—Not quite so, because in April 1857 or 1858 there was already a 6*d.* advantage in favour of the men.

9856. Previous to the year 1857 or 1858 that relation which I have stated had always existed?—Yes.

9857. But above the year 1857 or 1858, there being an increased demand for puddlers, they established an advance of 6*d.* over the old rule?—Yes.

9858. And the second 6*d.* was established in 1863?—Yes; it now stands at 8*s.* 6*d.* as the wages for puddling, and 7*l.* 10*s.* as the price for iron.

9859 (*Earl of Lichfield.*) As I understand, the rise continues the same, only the minimum price has changed?—To make it quite clear, I should say that in August the 18th, 1863, the price of iron was 7*l.*, and wages 7*s.* 6*d.* On August the 19th, the price of iron was 7*l.* 10*s.*, and wages were 8*s.* 6*d.* It was a mild way of admitting that the masters were defeated.

9860. (*Mr. Mathews.*) That is to say, by the instrumentality of the unions the men established something like an addition of 20 per cent. all round to the previous relation that subsisted between the price of iron and the rate of wages?—That is the fact.

9861. What has been the effect of that with respect to the recent reduction in the price of iron. The price of iron having been reduced now considerably below what it formerly was, and wages remaining 1*s.* a ton higher, does not that place South Staffordshire as well as England generally in relation to foreign countries in a disadvantageous position?—As a matter of course there is exactly that amount of disadvantage to them that is advanced on the rate as compared with what it was before.

9862. And not only with relation to the foreign countries, but with relation to the different districts in England. Taking Wales, for example, they have established a 10 per cent. greater relation in South Staffordshire than in Wales?—Yes; but I should like to say in justice to the men that when the demand for puddlers increased it was not so much the fault of the men that they found three masters looking for two men as it was the fault of the masters themselves. The masters were outbidding one another for the men, and the men took the precaution (I should say wisely, as I think on their part) to seek an advance of wages, which I think the puddlers were entitled to, that is to say, so long as three masters were looking for two men to do three men's work, the men were entitled to an extra wage. And that was in reality the origin of the unions.

9863. If there are only two puddlers to do the work of three men they would get the best price they could, and that price would naturally be a higher one?—Quite so.

9864. And that without any imputation upon the unions of dealing unfairly?—Certainly up to that period.

9865. On the other hand, if there are now three puddlers seeking after two masters, you would naturally infer that the masters would say, "We cannot "afford to give you more than a certain rate of wages, "we must revert back to the old relations?"—That is the natural result.

9866. There is no tyranny in that is there?—It is the law of supply and demand.

9867. You have had some experience, I think, of foreign countries; I think there was a book published some time ago by yourself and Mr. Creed on an investigation which you made into the iron trade in Belgium and Prussia. I believe that you found there that the rate of wages were very much lower than it was in England?—I think I stated that they were from 20 to 30 per cent. lower in those countries.

9868. If the wages of ironworkers in a foreign country were 30 per cent. lower than in England, and it came to a battle for the iron trade between Great Britain and that foreign country it would be absolutely requisite, would it not, that that battle should be fought in the interest of all parties, not only in the interest of the masters but in the interest of the men, too?—Undoubtedly.

9869. The men would be compelled, in point of fact, to accept a reduction of wages without any desire on the part of the masters to act oppressively towards them?—Certainly; they are participators in the advantage or disadvantage of circumstances as they arise.

9870. I believe we have it in evidence from Mr. Jones that a very large proportion of the pig iron made in the Middlesborough district is exported to Belgium and Prussia?—There was some previously, but during the last 12 months it very much exceeded what it had been previously.

9871. And that, when manufactured, has been exported to other countries?—Yes.

9872. That is to say a reduction in the price of iron has stimulated exportation?—It has stimulated them to undersell the English.

9873. And they interfere with the large demand for iron here from Russia and other countries?—Yes, to the extent of their power of production.

9874. So that putting aside the operation of unions, whether any offensive action was charged upon the union by the masters, or any defensive action was alleged by the union on the part of the masters, the circumstances of the trade are such that the masters are compelled to reduce the men's wages in order to fight the battle in some degree with other districts in this country, or with foreign countries, where cheaper labour is employed?—Decidedly. I maintain that the interest of the masters and the men are identical in the advance or reduction of iron. No master will reduce the price of iron if he can help it or reduce wages if he can help it.

9875. The operation of reducing wages is a very unpalatable one to an ironmaster?—It is an unprofitable as well as an unpalatable one.

9876. That is to say that generally the fall in iron is more than commensurate with the fall in the rate of wages?—Yes.

9877. If iron falls 20 per cent., a master cannot recoup himself by any reduction in wages?—No.

9878. The interest of the master therefore is to guard himself as much as possible against any reduction

Mr. W. Williams.

27 Nov. 1867.

in iron and in wages, and to avail himself as much as possible of a rise in the price of iron and wages?—Decidedly.

9879. But the action of these unions tends I suppose to a certain extent to interfere with that process?—It has done so.

9880. By some artificial contrivance the unions have in some degree prevented, or aimed to prevent, the natural result?—Yes. I look upon it that there was an unnatural demand for the labour of iron-workers, and that demand was so stimulated that they were enabled to get an increased rate of wage. That position of things as long as it continued was all in their favour.

9881. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You say "an unnatural demand," what do you mean by that expression?—I mean that there were more employers than there were men. There were only 1,000 puddlers and there were 1,100 or 1,300 puddling furnances.

9882. You mean an increased demand?—Yes, I meant to say an increased demand.

9883. (*Mr. Mathews.*) That being the case I suppose the operation would always be some reasonable expectation on the part of the men under the circumstances of an increased demand for their labour, and they look for a certain advantage from it?—Yes.

9884. On the other hand if there is a fall in the price of iron there is the absolute and inevitable result of a reduction of wages?—Either reduction of wages must follow or ruin for the master.

9885. Do you think that any contrivance either in the way of unions or anything can materially influence that inevitable result which you have been describing?—I do not think that it has been invented yet.

9886. No operations of unions will prevent a reduction of wages in bad times, and no contrivance of masters will prevent a rise of wages in good times?—I think not.

9887. It is a social necessity that those results must follow?—An actual necessity.

9888. From what you see on the continent, do you think that any contrivances on the part of the masters here to prevent a reduction in wages or any contrivance on the part of the men to keep up the price of wages after a reduction has taken place, would have the slightest effect in the long run?—I think not the slightest. If it were continued it would naturally have a detrimental influence upon the iron trade in this kingdom as against the iron trade in other kingdoms; because if we maintain a high rate of wages while they maintain a low rate of wages there is a margin of profit left for them on the continent in which we cannot possibly participate.

9889. I think that Mr. Harrison as well as myself will be glad to have from you a little practical information on a point which seems to have somewhat puzzled him, namely, as to the actual cost of labour on a ton of bar iron. I will take your establishment as an example. You have your own mineral properties, you raise your own coals, you raise your own iron ore, you make your own pig iron in the blast furnaces, and you make that pig iron into bar iron. Now, taking the price of your marked bar iron at 7*l.* 10*s.*, can you tell us how much of that in the rough is comprised of wages, and how much of fixed charges like royalties, (under leases, or under some arrangement) which you could not move either one way or the other?—At the present moment I should say that labour was nearly 90 per cent. on the whole.

9890. If that be the case and a fall occurs of 20*s.* a ton upon bar iron, then in your works, where perhaps you produce 700 tons of manufactured iron a week, that fall in the price of bar iron might involve to you a difference of 700*l.* a week?—The fact of a reduction of wages goes a great way towards a reduction in the price, though it does not go the whole way.

9891. But seeing that the 1*l.* a ton would make a difference of 700*l.* a week to you, it would be absolutely necessary for you to reduce wages in some degree proportionate to that?—Yes, but we must draw back to the fact that at the present moment we are only doing half work.

9892. Whatever the extent of work may be, it is in that proportion that the fall in the price of iron would affect you?—Yes, in our capacity in relation to manufactured iron. It is not 700 tons a week, it is not 300 tons a week; indeed our actual make is now little more than 100 tons a week.

9893. You do not make more than that in the whole of your two forges?—No.

9894. A reduction of the wages is not so much a matter of choice on your part as an absolute and inevitable necessity?—An absolute necessity.

9895. However unpalatable it may be to you, and however unpalatable it may be to your men, the necessity exists and you are obliged to bow to it?—Yes.

9896. What is the effect that the unions have had in respect to the relations between yourself and your workmen in endeavouring to settle these questions without the necessity of a strike?—For a time during the height of the union action it was certainly a most unpleasant period; but I am happy to say that I think all that feeling has died away.

9897. Has it died away from the want of influence of the unions do you think, or from any other cause?—I do not think that there is any union now, at any rate that I am personally connected with. I personally have nothing against the unions, because when I have had to do with them they have acted straightforwardly, honestly, and as far as I could judge truthfully. But that the effect of unions upon the kingdom and the trade of the kingdom has been disastrous I certainly believe.

9898. (*Chairman.*) Do you speak of unions generally or unions in the iron manufacture?—Of unions generally.

9899. I understand you to say that as far as the iron trade has been concerned you can speak with considerable respect both for the judgment and for the feeling of the unions which you have had personal intercourse with?—Yes.

9900. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Personally you have never come into any hostile collision either with the unions themselves or with their officers?—No. I have never come into hostile collision with them or with their officers, but I must tell you that as far as I am personally concerned I have entirely ignored unions. They are as much at liberty to have unions on the part of the men as we, among the masters, but if any men inform me that they are under the rules of the union, I inform them that they must look to the union to protect them, that we admit no union rules to interfere with us.

9901. That is to say, you give your men to understand that they are at perfect liberty to enter into any union they please, but that if their rules conflict with the regulations of your works, and thereby one of the two must give way, you do not intend to give way?—Yes.

9902. The inevitable inference is that if there is any giving way it must be on the part of the union and not on your part?—Yes.

9903. Standing upon that doctrine and knowing your position in the iron trade in South Staffordshire, you have never come into any objectionable contact with the unions?—Never.

9904. They have not given you any personal annoyance?—No.

9905. Are you at all aware what proportion of the men in your employ are in union and what are out?—I do not think that there is a single union man in our employ at the present moment.

9906. Do you imagine that your works are less advantageously and less amicably conducted than they would be if you had a great many union men?—I do not consider that it makes any difference to us; we go on one way as well as the other.

9907. Supposing these unions to be objectionable, looking at the weekly contribution which the men have to pay for the expenses, the liability to levies and various other things out of their weekly earnings, do

you admit that the men are better off under the influence of the unions than they would be if left to settle matters with their employers without unions?—Under existing circumstances I think that they would be quite as well off without them. Unions have been beneficial, but their general influence is to handicap men; the worst workman they say are entitled to as high wages as the best workmen. They consider that a bad workman should receive, if he does the work that a good man would do, the same wage. We do not agree to that, and I maintain that that is the one disastrous operation connected with unionism.

9908. If this handicapping system were generally adopted throughout the South Staffordshire district, or any other district, what would be the result as to a really beneficial effect or otherwise upon the ironworks?—I consider that it would be disastrous.

9909. It would place the ironworks where such a system existed at considerable disadvantage in comparison with the ironworks where no such system existed?—Yes. During the time that the union was in active operation, we were paying men who certainly were worth less by 10*s.* a week the same as we were paying to better men who would have had the extra 10*s.* but for the fact that unionism prevented our picking them out.

9910. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Were they not paid by the ton?—Yes.

9911. Then I cannot understand what you have just said?—One puddler is able to do his work so much better than another that he may save in yield and in the quality of his workmanship so much in favour of his master that he can afford to pay him a higher price. Another man will work to a bad yield, and you will lose the difference. For instance, we will take it that the ordinary rule is that the yield of a ton of good iron for 20 cwt. would be 18½ cwt. of puddled of iron. Now a bad puddler would only bring out 17¼ or 17½ cwt., so that we should not only have the loss of the pig iron, but the loss of the coal and the labour on that quantity.

9912. Is it not the case that the amount of the pig iron supplied to the puddler is a fixed quantity, and that he is bound out of that to produce a certain quantity of puddled iron?—I am not aware of that.

9913. (*Mr. Mathews.*) If a fixed quantity is given to the puddler, he is bound to produce as much as his abilities will enable him to do?—Yes.

9913*a*. And if it is found that he does not produce a certain average quantity, he is put down as a bad workman?—Yes.

9914. Is it the practice among these bad workmen to steal "puff," and to do certain other things that have been alluded to?—Yes.

9915. What means has the master of preventing that?—Punishing him by fine if he can, or sending him to gaol.

9916. Therefore it is perfectly consistent on the part of the Ironworkers Union to establish a rule discouraging this sort of predatory operation?—Yes.

9917. And the ironmasters as well as the officers of the union would be perfectly willing to encourage any scheme to prevent such a practice going on?—Delighted.

9918. In the event of its being discovered, the master fines the puddler or discharges him?—Yes.

9919. If he fines him, and if the puddler objects to pay the fine (which he can do by law), he is dismissed?—Yes.

9920. The masters do not go to the union to enforce the fine?—I believe that some masters have done it.

9921. That is to say, some masters have co-operated with the officers of the union in endeavouring to put a stop to that practice?—Yes, I believe that at one time the union had a good effect in preventing that pilfering going on.

9922. So that one of the advantages of the union is that it has really been beneficially operative in preventing this disreputable practice on the part of the bad puddlers of stealing iron to make up their yield?—It has for a time.

9923. That sort of thing has existed for years I suppose, and the masters have always discouraged the practice?—Yes, certainly.

9924. (*Mr. Harrison.*) It is not the practice to allow each separate puddler a different quantity of pig iron to work up, is it, but each man has his fixed amount?—There are distinctions of what are called five and six heat turns; those heats vary in different districts and for different qualities of iron.

9925. I mean in the same works, taking precisely the same work and the same kind of iron A, B, and C, would each have the same measured quantity of pig iron given them to puddle?—Yes.

9926. And each of those men is expected in the turn to produce the same amount, is not he?—Yes, he is expected to do so.

9927. He cannot make the difference up, except by stealing more pig iron, more puff, can he?—No, but each man does not bring out the same quantity from it; the expectation is very natural, but the fact never arrives. A good workman will bring out a great deal more in the course of the week out of the same given quantity than a bad workman. A neglectful workman will always waste his iron, and therefore the neglectful workman, although working at the same rate per ton, receives less money actually on the Saturday night, and is worth very much less per ton on the ton of iron when finished, because he has not brought out the same quality. If he brings out an inferior quality it is worth less to his master than the good workman's iron.

9928. That is a matter of quality not of quantity?—It is a matter of money, it comes to the same thing. One man may bring out more of very bad iron than another man would bring out of really good iron.

9929. (*Mr. Mathews.*) That is to say there is a degree of excellence in the capacity of the puddler which enables a good workman to bring out as great a quantity of good iron as another man would bring out of bad iron?—Yes.

9930. (*Mr. Harrison.*) At your own work are the men paid different rates per ton on precisely the same class of iron?—No, the same.

9931. There is no union to produce that uniformity, but you do that without a union?—Yes.

9932. How do you show then that it is the union which has produced the uniformity, which in the absence of any union you yourself do not attempt to prevent?—I say that the action was that.

9933. The action no longer subsisting, and you not having any union men now, you still (for other reasons we may suppose) maintain a uniformity.

9934. I do not know if you have heard Mr. Hewitt's evidence that the uniformity in the rates of payment was even greater at the works at Creusot than it is in England. I should like to know whether that would accord with your experience. He told us that there was still greater variation in the rate of payment according to the skill of the workman in England than there was in France where there is no union?—I do not understand you. Do you mean that taking work of the same quality and material to be executed by men in this country as by men there, the uniformity would be greater on the part of the Frenchmen than on the part of the Englishmen?

9935. His evidence is to the effect that men are paid in England with variations in proportion to their individual skill more completely than they are in France?—That I imagine.

9936. Then if in your own case and also in the case of Creusot where there is no union, there is an uniformity in the rate of payment, how do you show that the uniformity which you complain of as being very detrimental to the trade, is caused by the operation of unions, because there you have two great instances in which in the total absence of unions the same uniformity obtains?—It would arise in this way. There are various descriptions of iron worked in England, and they vary much more than they do abroad. For instance, grey iron is paid for at a different price from common iron. In some instances the men are paid

Mr. W. Williams.

27 Nov. 1867.

for working 20 cwt. of iron the same as we should pay them for 24 cwt. If they are making wide iron they are paid allowances; if they are working double iron they are paid allowances, and so on.

9937. In this series of letters published by yourself and Mr. Creed which I have been reading, there is given in the appendix a useful tabular statement from the Avonside Engine Company Limited, of the rates of wages paid there. That I suppose, you can give as an average specimen of the rate of wages paid in England?—I think that Mr. Slaughter's letter, to which you are now referring explains what his object is.

9938. There are a few things about that which I will direct your attention to. These are the rates of wages paid to upwards of 900 men and boys in those particular works, and I have been at the pains to count them up, and I have ascertained that there are 262 different classes under which the wages are arranged?—Yes, I daresay that is so.

9939. For instance take it in this way. Among the smiths there are 49 smiths employed, and they are paid at 13 different classes of rates. There are eight men paid at 36*s.*; six men at 35*s.*; seven men at 34*s.*; four men at 32*s.*; five men at 30*s.*; three men at 29*s.*; three men at 28*s.*; three men at 26*s.*; two men at 25*s.*; three men at 24*s.*; two men at 22*s.*; one man at 12*s.*, and three men at 10*s.* Now it would hardly be possible to carry the proportionate payment of wages to a greater extent?—To save you time I may say I am not prepared to go into that paper of Mr. Slaughters' at all. It is there on its own merits.

9940. But you print that at the end of your volume as a very good specimen of the rates in England, and I presume that it is a fair specimen. I will take another case, that of the machine fitters employed by the same company. There are 68 men employed in the machine fitting shops, and they are paid at 16 different scales, beginning at 36*s.* and going down to 4*s.* In the erecting shops there are 18 different scales for 56 men, beginning at 35*s.* and going down to 5*s.* And throughout the whole of the works for 900 and odd men and boys there are 262 classes of wages. Now something of the same kind, I suppose, I mean some analogous system of payment, holds good in similar works, and in ironworks generally throughout the country?—Yes.

9941. So that the classification of the earnings of each man according to his skill is carried to a very high point indeed in England in the iron trade?—Naturally.

9942. So that in dealing with the question of the effect of unionism upon the iron trade in England, we must altogether discard from our consideration its alleged tendency to produce an uniform rate of earnings per man, without reference to skill?—Uniformily of the class of labour and uniformity of men carrying on that class of labour will apply equally. For instance, puddlers are puddlers everywhere, and whether or not they may be doing exactly the same work at one work as at another, the uniformity would be the same. For instance, I will say that we have 100 men who are puddling; 60 of those shall be good men and 40 of them shall be bad; the 40 men would have the same rate per ton as the 60 good men if they were doing similar work.

9943. You think then that it is possible to carry the classification further than the 262 classes out of the 900 men?—I do not go into that paper of Mr. Slaughter's at all.

9944. You print it in your book as evidence?—And there it is on its own merits.

9945. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) I understand you that comparing a bad workman with a good workman, supposing that there was not this uniformity, you could afford to pay the higher class workman 10*s.* per week more than you do because he produces more valuable results?—Yes.

9946. And therefore the system of handicapping, whether you are paying per day or per ton, does not work well for the man or for the master?—Certainly not.

9947. (*Mr. Harrison.*) But you do handicap them in your works; you do not pay according to this selection?—We handicap them by making a selection and getting rid of those that are bad.

9948. Then it is quite possible to pay men at an uniform rate per ton in the operation of piece-work, and not to be at all hampered in putting the proper workmen to the proper work?—Quite so, when there are sufficient men to do it.

9949. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Would it not be impossible to carry on the operation of puddling without handicapping in that way?—Quite. Years ago men had a premium upon the amount of iron produced. I believe the modern term is co-operation. If they produced a certain quantity and certain results, they were allowed to co-operate in certain benefits, and that was done.

9950. (*Mr. Harrison.*) If it is impossible not to handicap men in this way as you say, why do you charge unionism with handicapping them, and producing an uniformity which as a fact does not appear in the iron trade?—Times are changed as compared with the time when the effect of the union was so strong upon the iron trade. The effect of the union is not so strong as it was simply because there are three men looking for two men's work, and many of those discrepancies which then arose are wiped off again.

9951. (*Mr. Mathews.*) If these puddlers were not controlled by machinery which obliges them to co-operate, and if you could take them separately, each puddler on his own account without any co-operation with other men, would you think it advisable to handicap them, or would you let each puddler get what he could?—Yes, we would let each puddler get what he could.

9952. But this system of handicapping is one incidental to the particular process?—Yes.

9953. (*Mr. Harrison.*) It is not in consequence of the operation of unionism?—Not entirely.

9954. Is it at all?—We get back again to the time when the union was in strong force, which we all admit it is not now.

9955. You told us just now, and we have heard it before, that many years ago, say 20 years ago, the sliding scale was established in Staffordshire by which the wages of the puddlers were regulated in accordance with the price of the bar, and that that has been maintained, with the exception of a certain break which occurred in 1863. Do you consider that that is a desirable system, that the wages of a puddler should be regulated by the price at which the bar is selling?—Yes, I think it is desirable.

9956. That is quite contrary to the rule of allowing wages to be fixed by supply and demand, is it not?—No.

9957. It does not take into consideration the supply of the labour of the puddlers, or even the demand for their labour?—Yes it does, in this way, that if the price of iron advances so does the price of wages, and then the price of wages advancing is an inducement for fresh labour to take to that particular trade.

9958. But supposing that from certain circumstances there is a very great fall in the demand for iron, and that the price falls to meet it, and at the same time there is a great fall in the supply of the men's labour?—You mean, I presume, to say that if the demand for iron decreased and the demand for men increased (by emigration or their taking to some other trade) this system of regulating the price of wages by the price of iron should not exist. If I understand you right, I think that that answers itself. It is the law of supply and demand.

9959. But it cannot take into consideration the number of men who are in the market, can it?—Decidedly.

9960. How can it?—If three men want two men's jobs, if those two are to retain them they must take less money.

9961. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) But I suppose it operates in

the other way also. A low price of iron means a small make, and a high price of iron means a large make?—Yes.

9962. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Did you not hear Mr. Jones tell us the contrary just now, namely, that there were small contracts made at large prices and large contracts made at low prices?—That is to say that a beneficial state of trade does not last very long.

9963. But the fluctuation of wages in accordance with the price of the manufactured article necessarily leaves out of consideration the number of men at that moment in the market, the price of provisions, and a variety of other things by which wages are frequently supposed to be regulated?—I do not quite catch your meaning. I understand you to say that the supply of labour on the market has nothing to do with the price of iron, and that the price of food enters into any question of the rate of wages which men should be paid.

9964. I am not laying down any statement in political economy. I only say that regulating the wages by the price of the manufactured article necessarily leaves out of consideration the number of men at that moment in the market?—As a matter of course the state of demand regulates everything. We do not inquire whether there are many men or few men. If we have to sell our iron at a reduced rate we must reduce the cost of production, and as a matter of course as labour enters so heavily into the cost of production, that reduction in some measure falls upon every grade of labour.

9965. You said just now that the wages paid would be something like 90 per cent. upon the total cost of the manufactured bar?—Yes.

9966. In that 90 per cent. do you include the wages of the foremen, the overseers, and the clerks?—Everything.

9967. But the wages of the clerks in your establishment would not vary according to the wages of the puddlers, would they?—Not entirely.

9968. (*Chairman.*) Is the 1*l.* that does not go in wages the masters' profit?—No, it would be for bad debts and for various other circumstances over which we have no actual control. For instance, we may have a colliery, and then we have to pay the pumping and all those things. There is probably 10 per cent. difference between the amount positively paid out for labour and the amount we can receive, profits included, and all those points.

9969. (*Mr. Harrison.*) But would the 10 per cent. include as well as profits the cost of management and overseeing?—No, the 10 per cent. includes no management.

9970. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Does the 10 per cent. include interest upon the capital and upon the whole expense of maintaining a large works?—Yes.

9971. (*Mr. Harrison.*) The 10 per cent. includes the plant and the wear and tear—all those fixed matters come into the 10 per cent. in your calculation?—The fixed matters would be interest of capital alone.

9972–3. Take the case of your own firm reducing the price of the bar 1*l.* What proportion of that 90 per cent. which is paid in wages is governed by the reduction of the puddlers' wages?—I really cannot tell you off-hand; I cannot tell you to 1 or even to 5 per cent. We will say, for instance, taking 6*l.* 10*s.* as the selling price, and taking for argument's sake 5*l.* 10*s.* to represent the labour on a ton of iron, that a reduction of 10 per cent. takes place, 5*l.* 10*s.* would be 110*s.*, and it would be about 10*s.* off on labour.

9974. If the price of a bar of iron falls 1*l.*, it is necessary at once to reduce the wages of the workmen whom I employ at the manufactory 10 per cent. That is the argument, I think?—Yes.

9975. The reason stated for that being that a very large proportion of the amount expended in manufacturing that bar of iron represents the wages of those men. Now, I ask what proportion?—I have heard today that 5*l.* 10*s.* is taken as the amount spent on labour. If you reduce 10 per cent. on 110*s.*, you take off 11*s.*

9976. Then you have said that 90 per cent. of this is expended in wages, or in payment of men's services; but a portion of those are not that class of men whose wages are reduced according to the puddlers, and I want to know, excluding that portion, what you reduce the 90 per cent. down to?—Really, I have not taken those matters into my consideration. I did not know that that was the object of this inquiry.

9977. The argument to show the necessity of reducing the wages of the men employed, in accordance with the selling price of the ton, entirely rests upon that calculation being made out, does it not?—Upon my word I do not know; I cannot go into that. If you assume the figure of 90 per cent. as the amount of wages paid, and you reduce the selling price 10 per cent., it is evident that you will be producing your article for nothing, unless you reduced wages also. If you reduce the price by taking off 10 per cent., and you sell the article at 90 per cent. of the former cost, without reducing wages at the same time, then it represents the positive fact that you are working at a loss.

9978. But the reduction does not go upon the whole 90 per cent., you told us?—It does pretty nearly.

9979. The calculation requires that everything should be discarded out of that sum except the wages of those workmen whose wages are governed by the puddlers?—I have no means of calculating these things in my head.

9980. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is it not a self-evident proposition that, given that the royalties and the other fixed charges are so much upon the ton of iron, all the rest must be labour?—Yes.

9981. And will not that vary from 80 to 90 per cent.?—Yes.

9982. It may be 80, 85, or 90 per cent., but betwixt 80 and 100 the fixed charges constitute a certain proportion, and all the rest is labour?—Yes.

9983. And no ironmaster could give the actual amount?—No. To reduce it to plain English it means this: at the present time we are making iron at a nominal price; we are not making salt, and if we did not reduce wages, it would be a dead loss to us of 1*l.* a ton.

9984. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) What proportion of the 90 per cent. which you say is paid in wages is not affected by a rise or fall in the puddlers' wages, the puddlers' wages ruling the others; that, I think, is what Mr. Harrison asks for?—Mr. Harrison wants to get what I am not able to give him.

9985. Cannot you tell us about what proportion of the wages which you include in that 90 per cent. are not affected by a rise or fall in the rate of wages paid to the men who actually manufacture the iron?—No.

9986. Could you tell us in rough figures, as to your own establishment, about what would be the cost of your permanent staff of paid managers and persons whose wages would not vary with the price of iron?—I should have to answer that question by asking another. Supposing that we make 300 tons of iron per week and divide the dead charges over that 300 tons (and we will say, for the sake of argument, that it is 5*s.* a ton, that being 10 per cent. on the whole), if the state of trade reduces our make from 300 tons a week down to 100 tons a week, what ratio of dead charge will it be upon the 100 tons as against the 300 tons? That is the answer that Mr. Harrison wants, and I cannot give it.

9987. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Then in point of fact it would be impossible to say what proportion of the total cost of manufacturing the bar represents precisely the wages of those men whose wages are regulated by the puddlers' wages?—It would.

9988. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is it not the fact that when a notice is given in a works like yours for a 10 per cent. reduction it extends to all classes of labour?—Yes.

9989. And if there is any departure from that practice it is because the special cases are brought before you and you do not think right to reduce them so much as 10 per cent., but then you would reduce the others more?—Yes; but if the price of the bar is

Mr. W. Williams.

27 Nov. 1867.

reduced 10 per cent., then 10 per cent. is the figure, and we should not take more than 10 per cent., if we had agreed to that.

9990. If you did it by special bargain with the men you mean?—Yes, I should. We will take it for instance that 5*s.* shall be the common charge—that, on a make of 300 tons, will be 10 per cent.—but if you put the common charges on 100 tons instead of 300, it makes it 30 per cent. And, therefore, for you to do a small quantity of work is simply ruin; you must carry on your works, and you must reduce your cost in order to be able to carry on your works when a depression takes place.

9991. Is it not the case that you must have the conditions of any two works exactly the same for any calculation to be made?—Yes.

9992. And is it not impossible to have the circumstances of any two works exactly the same?—It is impossible.

9993. Do not you think that any other ironmaster might differ in opinion from you as to the exact percentage, his works differing from yours?—Yes.

9994. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Supposing your works are in full employment with 300 tons, out of the 90 per cent. would there be as much as 10 per cent. for clerks and fixed charges?—I should say that about 10 per cent. would represent it.

9995. (*Mr. Harrison.*) But that does not rest on any actual calculations which you have made?—No.

9996. You would not, I suppose, go so far as to say in accordance with some who have spoken or written about this matter, that in the iron trade within the last five years, the unions have systematically forced up the current rate of wages, but rather that they have been engaged in resisting a gradual fall?—Well, I cannot say that. The effect of the unions was to support the advance, and if I may use the word, it was a high pressure on the advance that was being made by the aid of the unions. I do not find fault with the action of the unions. Seeing that labour was scarce, they had a perfect right to get what they could for their labour—they have as much right to get for their labour a higher price, because it is scarce, as we have to get for iron a higher price because iron is scarce.

9997. Speaking generally, do you attribute in any appreciable degree the injury to the iron trade which is supposed to have resulted from foreign competition, to the pressure of the unions for a higher rate of wages?—I do certainly. I consider that the effect of unionism has been to maintain a higher average rate of wages than would have been maintained had the iron trade taken its natural course, that is to say, had they gone into competition with foreign countries to win those orders which foreign countries have won.

9998. Do you think that the wages of the iron-workers would have been lower than they are but for the unions?—I certainly think they would.

9999. They have now fallen 30 per cent. within three years, have they not?—I am not aware of that.

10,000. What were they in 1863?—They have been reduced 20 per cent. since 1863.

10,001. What are puddlers' wages now?—8*s.* 6*d.*

10,002. (*Mr. Mathews.*) There have been two reductions since 1863?—There have been two reductions in Staffordshire.

(*Mr. Kane.*) And three reductions in the North.

10,003. (*Earl of Lichfield to the witness.*) Is the rate of wages lower in North than it is in South Staffordshire now?—I really am unable to say.

10,004. (*Mr. Harrison.*) It comes to this, does it not, that the prejudicial action of the unions has been their unsuccessful attempt to withstand a reduction of wages which has varied from 20 to 30 per cent. within the last four years?—I do not see if it is unsuccessful how it could be prejudicial. If you mean that the reduction in the price of iron has not taken place in the way it would have taken place had it not been for the rate of wages, I think that it has been prejudicial to the iron to the iron trade.

10,005. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Do you think that there would be a better trade and more employment at this moment if it had not been for the action of the unions. Do I rightly understand that to be your opinion?—I think that the North of England would have been better able to compete with France and Belgium than it has been if the price of iron had been lower and the rates of wages lower to meet it.

10,006. And therefore there would have been more iron trade at this moment in the country?—To some extent.

10,007. (*Mr. Booth.*) That the wages would have been lower, but that the employment would have been more extensive?—It would have been in some cases greater. I think it only fair to say that the present most exceptional times are not at all a fit criterion of what the iron trade is. I do not think that we can speak of the depression in the iron trade at the present moment as being effected by unionism alone when so many other things have contributed to make it bad. It must not be understood that the whole blame is laid to unionism.

10,008. (*Chairman.*) Can you state the leading causes of depression?—The commercial panic for one thing has been universal in its effects. Then there has been the railway depression, and the shipbuilding depression.

10,009. What has stopped shipbuilding?—The disturbed state of the money market.

10,010. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) That is only a question of degree. As I understand you, you give it as your opinion that whatever the degree of those other influences may be there would be more employment at this moment in the iron trade if it had not been for the competition that has previously been encouraged on the part of manufacturers abroad?—Yes, that is my impression.

10,011. (*Mr. Harrison.*) In your very interesting letters upon the iron trade written during your visit to Belgium I see that you contrast favourably the position of the Belgium iron trade with respect to the state of the law and the regulation of the Government with the position to which the trade is exposed in this country. What are the particular points upon as to which you think that the Belgium iron trade is under more favourable legislation whether through government intervention, or through the absence of government interference, than it is in the country?—I think that that alluded to a question beside this Commission. I do not think that it was at all intended to allude to anything that this Commission is connected with.

10,012. We are sitting here to see what alterations in the law may be desirable with respect to combinations, and the interests of workmen and employers in association generally. Now, no doubt the laws in England may be very usefully contrasted with those in Belgium, and I ask what is that species of legislation which is best for the trade for all persons concerned?—I must observe that that is a wide question, and that I entered further on political economy in that book than I can possibly do here. I made remarks there that have no possible interest for this Commission, as for instance, in the case you speak of now; If you put it in this way, "Have the laws, as "existing between master and workman any distinct "operation there different from what they have here, "then I shall be able to answer you."

10,013. Then I will put it in that way?—I am not aware that there is any difference, but unions were not in existence there to the same extent that they are here.

10,014. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Did you compare the position of the Belgian workmen with the position of the workmen in the country?—Yes.

10,015. What was the result?—I considered that the workmen there were as well off, or better off than the workmen in this country. I went on to say, to follow out the argument, that they were free to take

their labour where they liked, at what rates they liked, and to whom they liked; that they were regulated by no laws amongst themselves; that they were not prevented from working at high rates or low rates; and not prevented from working six days or five days a week. In fact, as to the last point, they work sometimes on Saturdays and Sundays, and every day except high days and holidays, according to the demand. Whilst they received a lower wage per ton than the men here, I stated that they were in receipt of a general average of wages satisfactory to them, and that the Government does not interfere with them either by inspection or by any interference whatever.

10,016. (*Chairman.*) Cannot a workman take his labour to any part of our kingdom he chooses?—He could not sometime previous to this when there was a rule of the union that union men could not work with non-union men.

10,017. That would not be the law of the land?—Certainly not. I did not allude to the law of the land.

10,018. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You found in several of the works abroad a great deal of women's labour current, and I think you even found them working underground in coal mines, did you not?—Yes.

10,019. Did you find that that as a system was spoken of in the country as very unsatisfactory or injurious?—No, it was not spoken of as a system as being injurious. In certain districts it is not approved of, but in other districts they are very willing to let it exist. I think you will find in that pamphlet a passage saying that for a certain distance round the Liège district they did not allow the services of women to be employed underground, but that round the Mons district and the Charleroi district they did allow them to be employed.

10,020. (*Chairman.*) I suppose that it depends in great measure upon the physical capacity of the women whether it is an evil or not?—I think so. I am not a defender of women's labour, but I must say that where I see women labouring, they are generally a stout healthy lot of women.

10,021. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Do you employ women in Staffordshire?—Yes, there are some employed, and they are stout able women; there are a great many of them that I should not like to have a passage of arms with.

10,022. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) What is the difference between the rates of wages in Belgium and in England in the same departments of labour?—I think it varies from 20 to 30 per cent.

10,023. Are you able in any way to account for that difference in the rate of wages between Belgium and this country?—In the first place, they live in Belgium in a much more meagre way than our people do, and they work more continuously. Then, too, they have not the same habits of spending money in public houses and elsewhere.

10,024. Did you perceive that they had any advantage in Belgium over the advantages possessed by the workmen in this country, which enabled them to live upon a lower rate of wages?—I say in that pamphlet that they worked six and seven days a week where our men work four or five. When the trade with us is good, men will only work four or five days, so that we never put the utmost ability and strength we can find into the producing power of our establishments, whereas in Belgium they continue working through the other days of the week. Their fixed charges are less. Taking repairs, for instance, if a furnace is lighted for three weeks, and never put out, there are no repairs, but with us that is a matter of weekly occurrence, because they must be repaired after being once let out.

10,025. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Did you ascertain to what extent the practice of workpeople owning bits of land was carried in Belgium?—No. In some districts the men had their cot and their piece of land or garden, and that they have with us.

10,026. (*Chairman.*) Do they rent them in Belgium, or are they freeholders, and have they them in perpetuity?—They have them in perpetuity.

10,027. (*Mr. Mathews.*) How did they acquire them?—The land is very cheap, and the houses and pieces of land are sold by the different proprietors. The laws there making land cheap, it changes hands frequently.

10,028. Is land cheaper in Belgium than in England?—No.

10,029. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Can you draw any comparison for us between the price of land in Belgium and its price in this country?—No; but the difference is just this, that on the one hand I could not afford to sell any land near the works on any consideration, because of the mines; whereas in the sale of land to the men in Belgium they let them have their houses at what appear low rents. Suppose that the land is worth 100*l.* an acre, they take 100*l.* an acre for it, and that is a very small sum to the puddlers when you consider the small number of square yards attached to his house.

10,030. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is not the price of land in Belgium affected by proximity to the works, as with us?—Not in exactly the same way as with us, because it is the interest of the masters there to collect round them a population, and in many instances they give it as a sort of bonus to the men that they shall possess the fee simple, and so become the residents.

10,031. At all events there is no greater facility in obtaining land in Belgium than in South Staffordshire?—Certainly not, except that where there are no mining rights they can afford to sell the land cheaper.

10,032. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You mean that there is no difference beyond the immense difference in the laws relating to property?—Yes.

10,033. (*Chairman.*) Supposing that you sell a quantity of surplus land and work the mines under, you do not want more than a couple of acres for 100 acres, do you, to put the refuse upon?—We do in Staffordshire.

10,034. How much?—I think that out of, say 100 acres, we pay for damaged land to the extent of about 30.

10,035. (*Mr. Mathews.*) With regard to the intimidation of the men, in the case of strike, when the men in one district are all out, do the unions exercise any intimidation upon men from any other districts who come in to take their duties. I am not particularly speaking of puddlers, but of puddlers, colliers, or other ironworkers. Is there any fear of violence deterring men from coming to take their duties?—There has been undoubtedly.

10,036. Generally speaking, would that result from the case by the organization of the unions?—It has been so undoubtedly.

10,037. And would be so now I suppose if there was a strike?—If the unions existed in strength probably it would be so.

10,038. If there was not so it would be owing to the attenuated condition of the strength of the unions?—Yes.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to to-morrow at 11 o'clock.

1, Park Prospect, Westminster, Thursday, 28th November 1867.

PRESENT:

The Right Hon. Sir WILLIAM ERLE.
The Right Hon. the EARL of LICHFIELD.
Sir DANIEL GOOCH, Bart., M.P.
HERMAN MERIVALE, Esq., C.B.
JAMES BOOTH, Esq., C.B.
JOHN ARTHUR ROEBUCK, Esq., M.P.
THOMAS HUGHES, Esq., M.P.
FREDERIC HARRISON, Esq.
WILLIAM MATHEWS, Esq.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR WILLIAM ERLE IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. G. T. Clark. 28 Nov. 1867.

Mr. GEORGE THOMAS CLARK examined.

10,039. (*Chairman.*) Are you connected with the Dowlais Ironworks?—I am the trustee of the Dowlais works.

10,040. It is a private property, not a company?—It is a strictly private property. I am a trustee under the will of the late Sir John Guest.

10,041. How many men are there in the employ of the Dowlais works? How many are paid on the pay night?—There are between 8,000 and 9,000 persons in our employment.

10,042. Does that include men to raise coal and iron ore, and canal men, and men in the furnace works?—That includes all the persons who are employed by the Dowlais Iron Company at Dowlais for all purposes.

10,043. Have they mines of iron or of coal on their works?—They have mines of iron and coal, and works for the production of iron.

10,044. And a canal?—No.

10,045. Have you considered at all the proportion between the price of bar iron at Dowlais, and the price of the brand bar iron of South Staffordshire?—No, I have not considered that, for the simple reason that I am utterly unacquainted with the South Staffordshire manufacture, therefore I have not the means of making a comparison.

10,046. Is there any meeting among the proprietors of the South Wales works from time to time for fixing the current rate of prices for bar iron?—No, there is no meeting of that sort. Perhaps you will allow me in answer to the question, to state that there is or was what is called a South Wales Iron Masters Society. I have been the chairman of that society for about 10 or 11 years, and we have met I think on an average about once every 15 months. We met once to consider some bills before Parliament, but we have met generally upon the question of wages. We met upon the question as to whether the state of the trade does or does not justify an alteration in the rate of wages; but it has not worked particularly well, and of late we have not met, and whether we shall ever meet again I know not; but that we do very little business may be best proved by the fact that there is no paid officer. I think it right to mention that there is such a body, but it does not rule or govern us in any shape except now and then as to the question of an alteration of wages.

10,047. It is a voluntary meeting for the purpose of information?—It is a voluntary meeting, the decisions of which do not bind the minority, to decide upon what we are going to do with respect to the question of wages, but not as to the question of price. The question of price is never discussed; I conceive that it would be utterly impossible to fix the price.

10,048. According to your experience is the price settled by the bargaining between the buyer and the seller, between the party proposing the contract and the party who is about to accept it?—Yes. I recognize no other power.

10,049. Upon each occasion as it arises, you the parties settle the price according to the circumstances?—We settle without the slightest reference to any other man, I do not think that I ever asked any other ironmaster in my life what price I should sell at. Now and then two iron masters take a contract together, and of course they agree upon the price, but as a rule we are each and all perfectly independent.

10,050. We have been told, and probably the fact is so that you have no unions among the working men?—We have no trades unions at all. Some little time ago when the Commissioners wrote to me, I thought that the more convenient plan would be to put my general opinions in the form of a letter which I addressed to the Commission, and which is now on the table.*

---

* The following is the letter referred to:

Dowlais House, Merthyr Tydfil,
8th April 1867.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your circular, enclosing a paper of questions on the subject of trades unions. These questions I now return annexed with such answers as I am in a position to render.

I have been resident trustee of the Dowlais ironworks for above 11 years, during which period there have been employed here about 8,500 persons, a mixed population, chiefly of Welsh Dissenters and Irish Roman Catholics, of both sexes and various ages, either colliers, miners, or those engaged in the various branches of the iron manufacture. To the works are attached schools, on the unsectarian principle, in which are taught, under Government inspection, about 2,400 children; there is also a savings' bank and a reading-room, and there are sick funds, administered by the workmen, amounting to 3,000*l.* per annum.

There are therefore here existing all the usual incidents of a large manufacture, with the addition of a peculiar language and two very distinct races of persons. Also in the colliers and ironworkers we have two classes of workpeople who have played a very prominent part in the operations of trades unions and of strikes during late years in England.

Among the people exist about 50 benefit societies, numbering about 5,000 members; and there are in Dowlais 18 chapels, built and supported by voluntary contributions among the workpeople. The Welsh especially have great capacity for organization and self-government, as shown in these societies, and in their ecclesiastical arrangements. Combination, therefore, is well known among all classes, and for certain purposes largely had recourse to.

It, however, is a fact that for many years past we have had neither trades unions nor strikes, and although we have passed through very serious fluctuations in our trade, including periods of great depression, and wages have been both raised and lowered sometimes by considerable jumps, these occurrences have never produced a breach of harmony between employers and employed, nor have the works nor the collieries been brought to a stand. This remark applies to all the larger ironworks in the district.

I have therefore no personal experience of the working of trades unions, but my attention as an iron and coal master has for many years been much and anxiously directed to their proceedings elsewhere, and this is my reply to the questions as to my "position," and as to the "sources" of my information.

I. (1.) I am sure that the action of trades unions, as at present directed, does not tend to "improve the dealings and relations between workmen and their employers." They are opposed to the interests of the employers directly, and I think they tend to diminish trade, and on the whole and as now conducted are injurious to the general interest of the employed.

(2.) I can conceive no question between the employer and employed in the decision of which the union would operate beneficially for the general and permanent interests of the latter.

(3.) No direct experience.

Mr. G. T. Clark.

28 Nov. 1867.

10,051. Is there any class of workmen in your works whose wages are in a manner applied to the wages of all the other workmen. As to Staffordshire, we have heard for instance that when bar-iron is, say 7*l.* 10*s.* a ton, 1*s.* a pound in the ton goes for the puddlers' wages, and that the wages of all the other workmen rise and fall in proportion to the puddlers. Is there any such ratio as that with you?—There is an old custom which regulates the proportionate rate of wages, but which is not and cannot be strictly adhered to. I may say that I have had two papers drawn out which I thought possibly might answer the questions which the Commissioners were likely to put on the subject. One states the rates of wages in different classes of labour in 1866, which I have taken as an average year and this gives the wages of colliers, furnacemen, puddlers, and so on, up to those who produce the finished iron. The other paper represents the proportionate rate of wages. Assuming that the rate of wages in 1848 is represented by the figure 100, then I have calculated the rate of wages for every year down to 1867. Taking it in 1848 as 100, in the next year it is 90, the next 83, the next 75, the next 79, the next 83, the next 91, the next 100, the next 90, the next 100, the next 80, the next 72, the next 79, the next 87, the next 78, and the next 71. In the former paper the wages are taken for 1866 as representing the average of the later years.

10,052. (*Mr. Mathews.*) The chairman means to ask whether in fixing the rate of wages either for a reduction or a rise, you do not take the puddlers' wages as the standard upon which the other wages are to be regulated. When you give notice for a reduction of wages, you reduce your puddlers' in the first instance, do you not?—I do not see that it operates in that way. There is generally a certain proportion observed all through, but we do not begin with one class. The reductions apply regularly over the whole, either practically or theoretically, and we do not begin with one class.

10,053. (*Chairman.*) And I presume that the reduction over the whole is a per-centage reduction?—Yes, it is a per-centage reduction. You give notice that on such and such a day wages will be reduced so much per cent., and then that is easily adjusted. I

(4.) and (9.) In the South Wales iron trade, in which there are no unions, the workmen for many years past through some good and more bad times have received constant employment at wages as high as the trade would bear; whereas in England there have been in those years many strikes, much suffering, and a great destruction of those intimate relations which still subsist in South Wales between masters and men, very much to the advantage to both.

(5.) None personally.

(10.) and (11.) An amalgamation of unions necessarily increases their power, while it diminishes their knowledge of the circumstances of each particular district, or even Work, upon a thorough appreciation of which a settlement satisfactory to both parties can only be brought about. Where the amalgamation includes many different trades, or even the same trade in different countries, the power exercised is still greater, and the chance of discrimination or of considering each case upon its own merits still less.

(12.) I do not know, technically, what is meant by a trades council. If it be a council of selected employers and employed to hear complaints and regulate wages, I think this would be fatal to the great industries of the country, such as iron, coal, and cotton.

(16.) and (17.) I am not aware that the present law is defective upon any material point. It certainly in no way checks combination either of employers or employed, and it secures, so far as law can do, free action to both parties.

The great objection to a trades union is the moral and social intimidation which it invariably exercises over the workmen not in union. This it is beyond the reach of law to prevent, and the only remedy is in the general increase of knowledge, and of the principles of toleration and free trade.

II. (1.) Trades unions were for the most part established for mutual aid understood in the sense of a benefit society. Upon this has very generally been grafted the regulation of wages and hours of labour, the support of men on strike, and an interference with the freedom both of the individual members of the union and of the non-unionists. The ordinary casualties of a large manufactory have been observed over long periods and can safely be made the subject of a benefit or assurance society, but the statistics of strikes have not been so studied, and may or may not admit of being reduced to the same safe average, so that the employments of funds raised to meet a known demand to meet the contingency of a very different and unknown demand is a great injury to the interests of the subscribers. Societies for the support of workmen on strike, if formed, should be independent of benefit societies in the ordinary acceptation of the term.

(2.) Their effect has, I think, been to raise the rate of wages, but also to check the development of trade, and thereby proportionally diminish the wealth of the country and the total earnings of the working class.

(3) and (4.) It would be a poor compliment to the common sense of the Commission to suppose that there could be more than one rational answer to these questions.

It is the tendency and aim of trades unions to render equal the wages of those employed in the several branches of each trade, and in proportion as they succeed in this do they reduce the standard of skill, and place the less gifted man on a level with the greater. Piecework or payment by merit is the means by which the possessor of natural or acquired ability surpasses the man who is less gifted or less industrious, and by which all improvements are brought about. Beyond everything its tendency is to raise the character of the workman, giving him a strong stimulus to improve himself, and it removes the necessity for watching that he works his full time and does not idle. To pay all equally is to place all on the same dead level, and to remove any tendency to progress.

The limitation of apprentices and the attempts to check competition are of the same character and open to the same objections. Competition, though it often, perhaps necessarily, produces distress, is essential to progress.

III. (1.) I have, happily, and from the absence of trades unions here, no experience under this head.

V. (1.) At this time, in the Dowlais Works, when disputes arise they are most commonly settled by the head of the department. Should this fail, every workman is aware that he can see the general manager at any time, and have a full investigation of his grievance, and so well does this system work that these investigations are remarkably few, not over 30 in the year, and perhaps the best evidence of its success is, that out of 8,500 people employed, not two per annum find it necessary to seek the ultimate remedy of a decision in open court by the stipendiary magistrate. No court of arbitration could work better than this most natural and obvious method, and the existence of such a court would offer an encouragement to discontent on either side. Of all the devices of modern times I think this of courts of arbitrators the least practical, and likely to be the most mischievous.

(12.) I have no personal experience of large partnerships, but the practice of the last few years has been very favourable to their free operation, and has shown their weaknesses, and not, I think, any strength. Whatever may be the promise at starting, their direct tendency is always towards a numerous and individually irresponsible governing body, and this is about the most unfavourable condition for the management of any large commercial concern.

Speaking generally, it appears to me that the tendencies of trades unions are opposed to the principles of free trade and to personal freedom of action, and attempt to fix by artificial rules certain relations which long and bitter experience has shown to lie, happily, beyond human control. A strike, however injurious to both parties, is, like war, sometimes a necessity, and the fear of it has a wholesome and moderating effect upon all.

If any branch of trade be unduly harassed by the workmen it will fall off, and if the masters attempt to reduce wages below a certain point the men will leave them. In either case there is suffering, but the suffering has a tendency to work the cure.

It seems to me that masters and men should be left to take their course within the present legal bounds, to combine or not to combine at their pleasure. If the tendency of the unions be, as I think it is, to cripple trade and produce misery, their power will in time cease. Meanwhile the conflicting parties should be left to settle their own affairs, with as little interference as possible from without with natural laws.

I have the honour to be, sir,
your obedient servant,
GEO. T. CLARK.

J. H. Patteson, Esq., Secretary,
Trades Union Commission.

Mr. G. T. Clark.

28 Nov. 1867.

never heard of a dispute on that subject, but it is a question that an actual manager would be able to answer better than I can. I never heard the question raised, so that I presume that it is not a practically important one.

10,054. (*Mr. Mathews.*) In Staffordshire whenever we reduce wages, we fix upon the puddlers' wages as the standard, and we raise them 1*s.* according to the 20*s.* rise in the price of iron, or lower them 1*s.* according to the 20*s.* reduction on iron. You take, I presume, something like a money proportion or actual per-centage?—I think that I had better not answer a question which I am not able to follow out in all its consequences, but if the Commission should wish for information on that subject, I think I had better put the manager of the works before them. When notice is stuck up to the effect that wages will be altered, I believe that every skilled workman in the works knows at once how it will affect him.

10,055. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) How long have you been connected with the iron trade in Wales?—I think about 12 years.

10,056. During the time that you have been connected with it, has there ever been any combination among the men?—Not to my knowledge. No strike.

10,057. Have they ever taken action together to secure a rise of wages, or to resist a reduction?—No, there has been no strike, and I believe no combination that we know of, which I suppose is a sufficient answer to your question. I do not believe that there has been any combination whatever.

10,058. Have they taken any action at all in the matter?—Yes.

10,059. In what shape?—You hear a general voice when the men think that wages ought to be raised, and when the different gaffers walk through the works they are perfectly aware that the men think that the wages ought to be raised.

10,060, But it has never assumed the form of combined action on their part?—No.

10,061. (*Mr Roebuck.*) They have never waited upon you as representing anybody else?—Yes, once or twice I have had as many as 40 colliers coming to me to say that they really thought something ought to be done.

10,062. But did they state that they represented the rest of the colliers?—I dare say they would have done so. I pointed out to them that I really could not talk to 40 men, but that if one or two of them would come to me I would attend to them.

10,063 (*Sir D. Gooch.*) I suppose those are your own men?—Our own men.

10,064. You do not receive men from other works, say from Mr. Fothergill's works?—No. What would they say if I interfered with them? They would turn me out. Surely it is a question between the workman and his employer. We do not employ Mr. Fothergill's men.

10,065. (*Mr. Hughes.*) But you say that you have told the 40 men that they had better appoint one or two to come to you. You thought that that would be the best way, I suppose?—Certainly, you cannot well talk with 40 men.

10,066. Therefore you think that any arrangement which would enable them to be so represented to the master would be a good one?—If 40 men come to me and tell me that they have a grievance, I tell them that they had better appoint two or three men to come and talk to me about it.

10,067. And you think that a better arrangement both for master and for men?—I do.

10,068. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Assuming that you would receive these 40 men if they were wholly in your employ, you would decline to receive any men not in your employ, I suppose?—I could not decline to receive any workman who came to me and told me that he wanted to speak to me, but if he came to speak to me about what I paid my men, I should say, "My good friend, that is not your business."

10,069. You have nothing to do with any other men but your own on any question relating to wages or the details of your work?—No.

10,070. (*Mr. Hughes.*) But supposing that these men who came to you as representatives, not only represented the men on your own premises, but also happened to represent the men employed at half a dozen neighbouring places, and supposing that you came to terms with them, would it be a disadvantage that their actions should bind also the men in the neighbourhood?—If I went on (which I probably should not do) with the affair at all, I should endeavour to eliminate the representative element outside the works from the representative element inside the works.

10,071. Then though you think that it would work well for the men to be represented as a body in each particular work, you do not think that it would work well for them to be represented as a general body in the neighbourhood?—That is an inference of yours I think, and not a statement of mine.

10,072. You have told us that you think it would be a beneficial thing, if instead of 40 men coming into your room to consult you on a question of wages they would appoint one or two who would confer with you upon the subject?—Certainly, because the 40 would all want to speak at once, whereas one or two men are easier to talk with.

10,073. And that I understand to be the objection of all representative institutions to prevent the whole mass of the world talking. You think, as I gather from you, that you can draw the line sharply between the men of any one particular establishment in a district, and the others and you think that it might be, (I will only say that it "might be") beneficial that the men of one establishment should be represented by one or two, but that it would be certainly harmful that the whole district should be represented in that way?—I think that it would be equally injurious that the workmen in any one district should be represented by one or two, or by one or two dozen. If the colliers in a district have a grievance they can come to the coal agent and discuss the matter with him and settle it, but if the colliers, and firemen, and puddlers were all to come together, they would be mixing up very different things.

10,074. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Have you always been ready and willing to receive deputations of your own men, to talk over with them the subject of wages?—Certainly. My own men are like my own children, and I should as soon think of refusing to listen to my own child as of refusing to listen to any man who came from the works to talk to me on any matter, because I think it of equal importance that my men and I should be on good terms as that I should be on good terms with my own family.

10,075. We have heard that there is a considerable difference between the price of iron in Wales and the price of iron in the north of the country, and in Staffordshire, are you aware what that difference is?—No, I am not. I happen to have had lately brought under my knowledge the fact that we cannot compete with Middlesbro' for ship plates, a manufacture which we have lately introduced into our part of Wales, because they have the advantage of the sea. The Commission will hardly follow me, perhaps, when I point out how completely isolated in manufactures we are from England.

10,076. But in the case of ship plates I understand you that they can be produced cheaper at Middlesbro' than in Wales?—Middlesbro' plates can be sold cheaper in London than Welsh plates, because Middlesbro' is on the sea. I can only tell you the fact that Middlesbro' people can undersell us in ship plates on the Thames.

10,077. That applies also to the foreign trade, I suppose?—Taking London as a point of departure, it applies, of course, to a large part of the world.

10,078. We have been told that you can produce iron (I think rails have been more particularly referred to) at a considerably cheaper rate than they

can be produced in Staffordshire, or elsewhere?—I do not know that that is the case.

10,079. Has not a large contract for rails been taken at a very low price by some Welsh houses?—I do not know that, but I know that we have taken, and are taking, contracts at low prices, and I know that some of our neighbours are occasionally taking contracts at low prices, because they are willing to lose money upon those contracts. I mean that the fact of a house taking a large order at a low price must not be looked at alone; there are other questions which are to be taken into consideration in determining what that means. It means, generally, that the trade is very bad.

10,080. But we have been told that you can produce iron in Wales at a lower rate than in Staffordshire and the North, and the reason assigned for that has been partly that the wages in Wales are considerably less, and by other witnesses it has been stated that that is in consequence of your employing in Wales a considerable number of women and children?—We do employ in Wales a considerable number of women and children. I suppose we shall cease to employ them soon, and as I think, happily. The great difficulty is in the people themselves, they wish to be employed, and they object not to be employed. I believe that the Act now about to come into operation will affect that question materially, and I am very glad of it.

10,081. Your own opinion is against their employment?—I think it a monstrous thing that a woman should be working out on the hillside, and exposed, on a wet day.

10,082. Do you think that the employment of women and children in your part of the country has a very sensible effect upon the cost of the production of the iron?—I have no doubt it has, because there is a certain labour that women and children do, and if you had not women and children to do it, you would have to employ full-grown men, no doubt.

10,083. With regard to the wages paid to the men, we have been told that they are considerably less than the wages paid in Middlesbro' and in Staffordshire, are you aware that that is so?—I am not acquainted with the Staffordshire wages, but I am with the Welsh wages. I have had a careful list made out, which is now on the table.

10,084. I suppose we may conclude that if more women and children are employed in Wales about the ironworks the wages for men would, as a matter of course, be lower than they would be in other districts where women and children are not employed to the same extent?—I do not see, myself, that it has that effect upon the other descriptions of labour. It has an effect upon the cost of producing, but I do not think that it affects anything else. It is a matter of opinion, however, and probably any one else could form as good an opinion as I could. It will soon be removed.

10,085. Have you found that the Belgian iron trade has interfered with your trade at all?—Yes.

10,086. To what extent?—To this extent,—that every now and then we hear that an order goes to Belgium. We apply for an order, and tender as low as we can, and then we find that it has gone to Belgium. That does not very often happen, but it does happen, and it has a tendency to check prices in England.

10,087. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) I presume that in employing women in this work and similar work there is not the great economy to the master as against employing men that might be supposed, inasmuch as though a woman is paid less money she does not yield the same amount as a man?—No; but in making bolts, and screwing nuts, and those small matters, there are many things that a woman or a boy can do (like a door boy in a colliery) as well as a man. It will be a blow to us, no doubt, to have a check put upon the labour of women and children, but I suppose we shall survive it somehow.

10,088. (*Chairman.*) Do the women so employed become prematurely old?—Strange to say, they do not. If you were to see on Sunday those Welsh women who work out in the open air you would find that they look as healthy as possible. We have, or had until the last few months, a large industrial school, where 80 or 90 of the women came in the evening to sew. They come in their working dresses, and all we require is that they shall wash their hands and faces, and if you were to see them sitting round the table and singing as they work (the Welsh are very musical), I think you would feel convinced that they were in a very respectable state of health.

10,089. Take an Englishwoman at 30, and a Welshwoman employed in this work at 30. Have you ever cast your eye over their countenances with a view to that test of the effect of the work?—I have, but I certainly have come to the conclusion that the Welsh women look uncommonly well. But I am not exactly unprejudiced on that point. Seriously, I do not think that it either shortens life or affects their looks, but I think it wrong on moral grounds.

10,090. I will put the question with reference to the Irish women, because the notion is that they come to premature old age in consequence of their hardships; have you ever made a comparison of your Welsh women with the Irish?—I think that field labour, which is generally accompanied by low wages, and probably insufficient wages, affects women very much. You see it in Italy, and you see it in England, in the case of the women employed in field labour, but the Welsh women employed in out-of-door labour do not age nearly so much as I should have expected.

10,021. (*Mr. Booth.*) Do you attribute that circumstance to the higher rate of wages that they are receiving than the ordinary wages of women employed in field labour?—It must be remembered that they are not women alone in the world, they are for the most part either the wives, or more generally still the daughters of the men employed, and the whole family earnings go together, and in that way the family do very well. The Welsh in the immediate neighbourhood of the ironworks live in a state of very considerable comfort. I can appeal, I think, to Sir D. Gooch, who knows the country. If you go up the main street of a Merthyr Ironwork you see the fire, the chest of drawers, and the clock, and other signs of a great deal of comfort.

10,092. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) You have told us that there are no unions among the men in your district; are there any provident societies established among them?—A great many. The Welsh are very remarkable for their power of combining, and their power of self-government. Their power of self-government is something marvellous. For instance, in our schools, which are large, nine-tenths of the people are Dissenters; they go to their own chapels, they build their own chapels, they pay their own ministers, and they manage the matter entirely themselves. There are, I think, 18 chapels in Dowlais alone, erected by voluntary subscriptions, and supported entirely by the voluntary subscriptions of the people. With respect to benefit societies, I think there are about 50 benefit societies, and they are supported by about 5,000 members.

10,093. Can you give us any particulars as to any of those societies connected with the men in your own employ?—They are very jealous of interference, and I never interfered in any shape (and they would resent it I think if I did), except that they used to meet in public-houses, and ten years ago we remonstrated, and said to them, "If "you will meet in our schoolhouse you shall have a "fire and light, and a room to meet in," and many took advantage of that. We have a fund in the works independently of these.

10,094. These societies are benefit societies that hold out great advantages?—They are pure benefit societies that hold out great advantages.

10,095. And they are well supported by the men in your employ?—Yes, very well supported. I am chairman of the Board of Guardians, and therefore I

Mr. G. T. Clark.

28 Nov. 1867.

have the means of knowing a good deal about the condition of the poor.

10,096. In short in that district they must be of very provident habits?—Well, these facts which I tell you are true, but there is a great deal of drunkenness in the district I am sorry to say. The facts being as I tell you, they are certainly provident as a mass, but one's eye is struck with the amount of drunkenness, though there is much less than there used to be.

10,097. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) You say that you have a benefit fund in your works?—At the request of the men we stop 2*d.* in the pound of the wages, and we pay that over to a treasurer, and it is divided among the firemen, colliers, and miners funds. Each class of workmen elect a committee. We give them a room to meet in, and they distribute the allowances to the sick according to their own fashion. We do not interfere at all except to this extent; when I first came to Dowlais the chairman of each committee was a Dowlais agent; I thought it better to leave them to manage the thing themselves, and therefore abolished that arrangement; but four years ago I found that the funds were getting into a bad state, and that there was a good deal of mismanagement, and I suggested to them that as we did them the kindness of stopping the 2*d.* at our pay-table (which we would rather not do), we had a right to see that it should be properly administered, and the Dowlais cashier suggested a certain check system. That has been followed, but there has been no further interference, and the fund is now flourishing.

10,098. Does that include the medical fund?—No, besides that there are two funds for which 2*d.* more is stopped; one is for the provision of doctors, and the other of schools. Out of the medical fund we pay the staff of doctors and find the drugs. Out of the school funds we support the schools. We have 2,400 children in our schools. We get a vast deal more money out of the Government than we should do, indeed we are the largest recipients of the public money, but we fulfil all the conditions, and if we get the money we have a right to do so. The company find the school buildings and playgrounds. We are out of pocket upon those items, and upon those items alone, about 500*l.* a year, but everything else is supported either by Government or by the 2*d.* in the pound stopped, or by 1*d.*, and in the first class 2*d.*, which is paid week by week by each child. Last year when the cholera was raging there was a great excitement in the place, and I may say that the people went almost mad (as people do sometimes on such occasions), and they came to me about some matters that were ordered by the Board of Health; but they also said, "We really think that we ought to manage our own affairs entirely." "Well," I said, "10 years ago I wished it; we did not wish to under-"take schools or doctors, and if you think that you "ought to manage these matters yourselves be it so, "and I will give the notices." We did so, and notices went out to all our numerous staff of teachers and doctors that in three months they were to leave. Before the three months were over the current set the other way and we had all sorts of applications, and at last there was a very large meeting convened by the men which I attended, at which they asked us to go on with the present state of things. I took some trouble to explain to them that we got no money advantage out of it.

10,099. The Board of Health is very much composed of the men themselves I suppose?—No, it represents the entire district of Merthyr, and there are no workmen in the Board of Health; it would be a great deal better if there were some. The members are tradesmen chiefly.

10,100. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) The schools are mainly supported by the contributions of the men employed at the works?—The schools are not voluntary, they are mainly supported by the forced contributions of the men at the works. We do not give any individual workman the option of refusing to pay to the school. I wish it was otherwise, but we should get no schools if we did give that option.

10,101. Do you find cottages for the men employed in your works?—No, we are cottage owners in common with a great number of other persons, but we do not find cottages for them. The ambition of a Welshman, like that of a Cornishman, is to possess a cottage, and when he has saved 50*l.* he builds half a cottage and mortgages it for the other 50*l.*

10,102. (*Mr. Mathews.*) How does he procure the land?—He gets the land on lease from anybody. We are always ready to give a leasehold.

10,103. It is leasehold not freehold?—It is 99 years. We try to make him as independent as possible. We want to dissever politics from ironmaking, with which we think it has nothing to do.

10,104. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Have they any difficulty in obtaining freehold if they choose to purchase it, and if they have put by sufficient money?—No, only that the place is getting rather crowded, and they do not like to build on the outskirts, they would rather build in the centre.

10,105. The whole of that is a mining district I suppose?—Yes, and it is on the edge of mountains, so that if a man were to live a mile off from the centre of Dowlais it would be a different thing from living a mile off from the centre of Westminster.

10,106. If a man purchased a plot of ground there for a freehold would he not have to pay for the mines as well as the surface?—No, Dowlais is a mining district, but we are on the northern crop of the minerals, and the houses for the most part are built on ground which is outside the basin, and the few houses which have been built upon ground that is mined are in a most dreadful state, and we should be most happy to get rid of them, but the people cling to them. That, however, does not apply to above 50 or 60 cottages. The cottages are on solid ground for the most part.

10,107. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) They cannot get freehold there at all?—A 99 years' lease. We give freeholds for other purposes, for instance, for burial ground, and we also give ground on easy terms to a chapel.

10,108. Yours is only a lease is it not. It is partly freehold. The minerals are leased on a very long lease, it is the second lease we are working on now.

10,109. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Have they generally gardens let to them with their cottages?—We have tried that, but we are 1,000 feet above the sea, and 1,000 feet above the sea, with a certain amount of smoke such as you get there, does not improve vegetation. I have a garden of my own, but I cannot grow green peas in it. We tried letting out a market garden, but vegetables can be brought so much more cheaply from the vale of Glamorgan than they can be grown on the spot, that the garden amounts to nothing.

10,110. (*Mr. Booth.*) In the answers that you have been kind enough to send to the printed questions, you say that in South Wales where there are no trades unions, the workmen have for a number of years had constant employment, do you attribute that circumstance in some degree to the absence of trade unions?—When the men have any difference with the master the question is settled then and there within the circuit of the works, and I conceive that that is a very easy way of settling a dispute. Every man who comes there has an interest in getting it settled; they are all workmen, and there is no man who lives upon a strike, or would live upon a strike in the event of its occurring. They wish to get it settled, and they do get it settled. There is this curious fact, which I have mentioned in my letter, that there being in the works the large number of people I have spoken of, when there are disputes the men go to their immediate superior, the agent who is immediately in charge of the department; if they cannot settle it with him or the gaffer they go to the manager, if they cannot settle it with the manager, they go to the stipendiary magistrate of the district who is a barrister, a very competent person, and a very just man. The manager tells me that he has had 30 cases per annum that have come to him,

and the stipendiary magistrate tells me that on an average about two cases per annum have been before him. Therefore I think that I have a right to say that our system works well. The men are an exceedingly sensible race of men.

10,111. I presume you think that a master is a better judge what wages he can afford to pay so as to keep his works going, than any trades union can be?—I think that the masters and men together are the best judges.

10,112. The best judges of what the master can afford to pay?—It is like a double hammer; you meet in the middle, and the heaviest shoves the other a little one way or a little the other. Now, at this present moment, everybody knows that in Wales we are earning no money by iron making, and that there are a great many losses. If the thing were settled theoretically wages ought to go down, but for various reasons they do not go down. The fact is, that beyond anything it is important to be on pleasant terms with your men, and it does not do to be on the look out to screw them down. You deal liberally with them, and then if they know that you have a heavy contract they will not throw you over.

10,113. Do you think that in places where trades unions prevail the attempts of unions to force up wages when circumstances do not admit of a rise are, in the long run, productive of injury, or of benefit, to the men?—Well, I have had no experience of trades unions, I am happy to say, but as I tell you the question is settled by us between parties who are deeply interested in its speedy settlement, and I conceive that any question, whatever it may be, whether of wages or not, is more likely to be settled if it is confined to two parties who are most deeply interested in its speedy settlement than if you import into it other people who are not.

10,114. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Then I understand you to say that you think it right that the men should have a voice in the settlement?—Am I to call the man to me and tell him what I am to pay him?

10,115. You were asked just now whether the master was the best judge of the matter; you say the master and the men together are the best judges?—Yes.

10,116. And you think that the men therefore ought to have a voice?—And they do have a very substantial voice.

10,117. (*Mr. Booth.*) The question was, whether a master was not the better judge of what he could afford to pay so as to keep the works going than a trades union could be?—Yes, I think he is. But then I am a master. If the men came to me and pressed me at a time when I was making no profits for a rise of wages, I should say, "Come now, really this is "absurd, this won't do. You all read the papers, I "know, and you can see there what is going on in "the world."

10,118. The master who has to pay the wages must judge whether he can afford to pay more?—Yes. Sometimes it his interest, however, to give way, and to pay more than he thinks right.

10,119. I said with reference to keeping his works going?—Yes, or keeping the men together.

10,120. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Is it a constant practice of the ironmasters in Wales to keep their works going for the men, though at a loss to themselves?—At this very time it is being done. The owner of a very large Work and a wealthy man told me that he was paying a large number of his men from something short of 21*s.* up to 26*s.* a week in order to keep them together, in the hopes that times would mend. That master has at the present time a perfect village of puddle bars in stock.

10,121. Do you think that unions tend to introduce a different feeling on the part of the masters?—I need not tell you that under those circumstances a strike would be, to a certain extent, a gain. But the master in question looks further than that. He says, "I should "be glad if I could be saved the trouble of supporting "these men, but if I let them go I may lose them "altogether, and, moreover, these are men that worked "for my predecessors, and where would the good feel-"ing be?"

10,122. (*Mr. Booth.*) He could not so well afford to go on thus supporting the men if there were a trades union in the neighbourhood, which as soon as trade became brisk again would insist on a rise of wages?—I suppose that if there were a trades union at his place even the trades union would say, "Really we cannot expect you to pay the men for doing nothing."

10,123. But as soon as a rise came would they not say, "We must have a rise of wages without reference to bygones"?—Really I do not know, not having had any experience of trades unions.

10,124. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Is it your experience that the good feeling that exists between masters and men in South Wales is productive of comfort to the men in the way you describe, namely, that they are kept on at times when there is no profit to the master?—It is productive of a very good feeling. A very kindly feeling has always subsisted, I believe, between masters and men there. The masters live among the men, and the men have access to them at all times, their difficulties come to the surface, and I conceive that that is not only a good thing socially, but also, speaking as a manufacturer, I conceive it to be an excellent thing, and I think that if I could not meet my own men, and if a person who represented, not my men alone, but the whole district, came to me to discuss questions, that feeling would be broken into, and I do not think that we should settle matters so advantageously to both parties.

10,125. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Anything that would disturb that genial feeling between master and men would not only be a misfortune to the particular works, but would be a general and social evil?—Yes; I think so.

10,126. (*Chairman.*) Is any of that good feeling attributable to the Welsh quickness of temper, which shows itself in a moment when they are out of sorts, and makes them very soon recover again?—The Welsh temper is no doubt warm. They are peculiar in many respects. They are very musical, they are fond (there is no accounting for taste) of hearing lectures, and there is hardly a week that they do not come and ask for the schoolroom, and sometimes they have a concert, and do me the honour of asking me to preside. One is exceedingly glad, of course, to meet them on those occasions, and when I meet them publicly, which I do many times a year, we are very good friends indeed.

10,127. Have you an admixture to a great extent of Saxons, because when we in Somersetshire found that any uncomfortable man was gone away we always thought that he was gone to Merthyr?—I have heard eminent Judges say that they were wonderfully struck at the small amount of crime committed in the Welsh districts; and we attribute that amount of crime which is committed to the English who come over.

10,128. It is not a sufficient number to disturb the good feeling which you have described?—The number of English employed in the works is small, but there is another element far more important, that is the Irish. The Irish are for the most part not skilled workmen, but labourers. The Welshman does not like them. I do not think that he keeps them down, he would if he could, no doubt, but other circumstances prevent that. We have a very large number of Irish. I do not know how many, but we treat them in all respects as we do the Welshmen, in fact so far better that they have a school for themselves, which of course is a Roman Catholic school. There is a Roman Catholic priest, with whom I am on excellent terms. We have never had an Irish row. I believe that they are one and all Fenian sympathisers, and I daresay they all subscribe, but I can only say that they are perfectly orderly.

10,129. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is the Roman Catholic priest a better educated man than sectarian ministers?—We have some admirable Dissenting ministers in our district, but we have some who are tradesmen,

Mr. G. T. Clark.

28 Nov. 1867.

and I confess that I do not like a minister of the gospel to be in a position to be accused of dealing out sanded sugar.

10,130. (*Chairman.*) Dissenting ministers have been always reported as having very great influence indeed with the population, quite as much or more so than Roman Catholic clergymen in the Roman Catholic part of our kingdom. When for instance the men in Wales meet about schools or otherwise, do they meet from a spontaneous movement on their own part or from the influence of the Dissenting minister?—My observation goes precisely to what you say; I believe the Dissenting minister to have more influence with the Welshmen than any man living, far more than his master, and far more than the Roman Catholic priest has with the Roman Catholics in Wales, because the Roman Catholic is unhappily often so ill-educated that he is below those influences which the Dissenting minister exercises. The Dissenting minister does not interfere about the question of wages at all, at least I never heard of a Dissenting minister interfering about the question of wages; but on any question such as an outburst of cholera or anything of that sort, you are perfectly certain that you will have their support in doing the thing that is right. They (not the Wesleyans) are a little given to interfere in politics.

10,131. With regard to these ministers, have they followed the teaching of Whitfield?—Yes, far more than that of Wesley. Wesleyans, though they are a highly respectable body, are a small body there. Dissenters are mostly Calvinistic Methodists, Baptists, and Independents, and there are a good many Presbyterians.

10,132. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Everything appears to go on very smoothly and comfortably between you and the persons whom you employ. Are you aware whether the same comfortable state of things exists between the masters and the men at other works in your district?—It does at Cyfartha, Aberdare, and Plymouth, which, with Dowlais, form the "Merthyr Works." Penydaran, which belonged to Mr. Forman, was unprofitable, and has been shut up. Over the hill we have many other works where I never heard of any differences. I believe they get on very well. I believe that as a general rule the masters and the men in the hilly country of South Wales draw well together.

10,133. You are probably aware of some cases then in which they do not get on together as comfortably as one would wish?—Round Pontypool there is a strong Staffordshire element, and they do not get on so well there certainly as they do in the pure Welsh district.

10,134. What do you mean by saying "a strong Staffordshire element?"—I mean that there are masters there who have imported men and managers from Staffordshire, and they follow, I am told, the Staffordshire customs rather more than the Welsh customs. They have few Welsh and a good many English, while we on the other hand have but few English and a good many Welsh.

10,135. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Are you aware of any delegates being sent from South Staffordshire into the Welsh districts to exhort the people to form unions?—I have heard of it. I did not know it personally. They came, I believe, asking the Welshmen to subscribe. Now your Welshman is (like the Scotch Highlander) penurious, and you may be sure that he will not pay towards putting money into the pocket of the English.

10,136. Supposing that delegates did go from South Staffordshire to ask the Welsh at Pontypool to contribute to that payment, their success was not great?—I do not know what was done at Pontypool. We were in a little alarm about it in our valley, but nothing was done.

10,137. When you say "alarm" you mean that you very much deprecate the interference of unions?—I very much wish to settle any difference with my own men myself, and not to have any stranger imported.

10,138. When you speak of the Staffordshire element in Wales do you refer to the masters who have gone into the district, or to the men who have shifted their employment?—I am speaking of what I do not of my own knowledge know, but it is a well-known fact that some of the masters of the works at the Monmouthshire end of the iron range have imported Staffordshire agents, who have employed Staffordshire men, so that there is frequently a clashing of the customs of the two districts.

10,139. Does it originate with the masters or with the men?—I do not know at all.

10,140. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Still as a fact, you know that in some instances there is an uncomfortable state of things existing between the employers and the employed?—The works down there belong, some of them, to joint stock companies I believe, and that does not tend to produce harmony. The manager of a joint stock company, or the chairman of a joint stock company, has not the power that a man who stands alone has, and that creates a difficulty.

10,141. Can you give us any information upon a point which has been raised before us as to the proportion of the total cost of the production of a ton of iron that is represented by wages?—That is not a very easy question to answer. Of course there is the royalty, which goes in as an element, there are rates and taxes, and there is the cost of selling, which is partly labour, namely, the labour of the persons employed to sell, but beyond that I should say it was all labour.

10,142. Would you consider five-sixths an over estimate for labour?—No; it is a question that does not admit of any other than a general answer, but speaking roughly, I should say that all those rates and taxes and elements of that sort, may amount perhaps to 10*s.* a ton, and over the last eight or nine years the profits of iron in South Wales have been certainly not ever 10*s.* a ton, and I conceive that all the rest is labour; that, with bars at 6*l.*, would be about five-sixths going to pay labour.

10,143. (*Mr. Mathews.*) I think you stated that there is very little profit in the iron trade now?—No profit on iron now; a little on steel.

10,144. Putting out the element of profit, the labour, exclusive of royalty and other little incidental charges which would not be much on a ton of iron, would be five-sixths, you say?—Yes.

10,145. (*Mr. Hughes.*) When you say there is no profit, do you calculate the profit after deducting interest on capital or before? Is there no deduction made before you reckon profits, for interest on the capital invested in the works?—No, we make no such deduction. We recognize two descriptions of capital. One is the floating capital which is invested in bills, in money at your bankers, largely in stocks, in iron made, and so on; that is to say, which is turned over in the course of the year. Another description of capital is that which is invested in steam engines, railways, coalpits, and so on. Now that description of capital, which of course is an enormous one, we utterly ignore, and I believe that the reason that we have done well whereas railways have not done well is, that we have stoutly resisted a capital account. We at Dowlais have to pay everything as we go, and I believe that to be the only healthy system for either railways or ironworks to be conducted upon.

10,146. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You have closed the capital account for some time?—Yes, we know nothing about it; we once paid Mr. Stephenson a large sum for valuing it.

10,147. (*Mr. Hughes.*) The simplest production of iron is pig iron, I take it?—Yes, we make about 3,000 tons of pig iron in the week.

10,148. What you want for that is ironstone, limestone, and coals?—Yes.

10,149. What is the present price of pig iron per ton?—I cannot answer questions of price; we do not buy pig iron, we make pig iron and we sell it. I cannot tell offhand what it is, because our pig iron varies so much. For instance, we are selling it for tin-plates, that is a high description of it.

10,150. How much per ton for wages is paid on pig iron?—That I cannot tell you further than you

have it before you. I looked upon those as trade questions, which I conceived the Commission would hardly press me upon.

10,151. We are very anxious to ascertain if we can the proportionate amount paid for labour and for materials, that is to say for all the minerals used in pig-iron and for wages?—The question with us is very much complicated. We buy a great deal of iron ore from distant places.

10,152. (*Mr. Harrison.*) In your answer just now you said that five-sixths of the cost were expended in wages; you include in that I suppose the wages of clerks and managers and so on?—Yes.

10,153. But that is a portion of the cost which does not vary along with the reductions of the workmen's wages?—The amounts paid to your coal agent, your general manager, and so on, do not vary, but a reduction affects every man who is paid weekly. The proportion paid in management is very small.

10,154. Could you give us any calculation to show what proportion of the cost of a ton of bar iron represents those wages which are paid weekly, and which fluctuate upon a reduction or a rise in the price of iron?—I have no doubt that with a good deal of trouble I could get all that out, but speaking candidly these are times when ironmasters are set upon pretty heavily on all sides, times in which we can hardly hold our own, and therefore times when one must be exceedingly careful what one says.

10,155. I am asking for the average roughly?—I cannot say what it is.

10,156. You think it would be very difficult to make such a calculation?—Yes, to make it minutely; but to get an opinion, which on the whole should be pretty true, would not be very difficult; it would involve some little trouble, that is all.

10,157. The question arises in this way. The argument has been put thus: When the selling price of a ton of bar iron falls it is absolutely necessary to reduce the wages immediately, because the wages represent nearly the whole of the cost?—We do not do that.

10,158. If you reduce the price of your bar iron 1*l.*, do you find it absolutely necessary to reduce the wages of every man on the works 10 per cent.?—No, because we draw upon our capital. If you moved always up or down with the selling price you would be in a state of perpetual hot water. You must bear it; that is both your gain and your loss. You must bear the loss in one case, and take the profit in the other.

10,159. (*Mr. Hughes.*) And on an average of years that system, I suppose, pays?—Yes. The profits in iron making are as nearly as we calculate them 10*s.* When I say that Welsh ironmasters are not making anything by making iron, I should add that we are making steel, and that there is a profit made on that, but not much. Then again we are making money by selling coal. I do not say that we are coming upon the poorhouse, but as regards iron we are making no profit.

10,160. (*Mr. Harrison.*) I suppose that the payment of the greater part of the manufacture of iron, puddling, and so on, is by the ton; that it is piecework in fact?—Yes.

10,161. The men consequently will receive at the end of the week a proportionate amount of that which they have produced, and their earnings will differ man by man according to that which they have produced, will they not?—Yes.

10,162. Is each puddler paid the same price for the puddling of a ton of precisely the same quality?—Yes, he is.

10,163. I am speaking of a case where the iron is precisely the same. Supposing that the same quality is taken off the same heap, and there are two puddlers side by side at two different furnaces, are those men paid the same price for the ton?—Yes, they would be, but puddling is an eminently skilful occupation, and I am sorry to say that the old race of puddlers are dying out. There are, however, a few remaining, and an old puddler, though he does not get a higher rate, would certainly earn more, because he turns out more.

10,164. As a rule the pig iron supplied, being precisely identical in quality, puddling is at a certain rate per ton through the works?—Yes.

10,165. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Is there much difference in the skill of one puddler and another?—A great deal.

10,166. I do not mean as to the quantity, but taking one piece of iron that he puddles, will one man make it better than another man?—Certainly.

10,167. So that different puddlers will produce different qualities?—Yes.

10,168. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You make no attempt to pay them differently for the same quantity of the same iron?—No. But the good puddler would make it quicker.

10,169. (*Mr. Booth.*) And so he would gain more wages?—Yes; if it were a question of parting with puddlers, you would not part with him. If it were a question of supplying some one with a cottage, of course you would let the skilled puddler have it before the unskilled one.

10,170. (*Mr. Harrison.*) It has been suggested, and we have had it in fact in evidence before us, that the operation of the union is to produce an uniformity of earnings, so that the value of individual skill is lost and that it would be better if each man were paid simply with respect to his special individual skill. Now, what I ask you is, in the total absence of anything like unionism or any combined pressure in the matter, do you at your works pay each man according to his individual skill, or do you meet him in this way, "We pay for a certain distinct class of iron a certain "price for puddling per ton, and the better workman "gets the advantage in every way"?—I will undertake to say that if you were to compare the skill of the workmen with the money received at the paytable, you would find that the skilful man, if he was also prudent, would earn most wages.

10,171. That of course is the case in all ironworks throughout the kingdom, but the question is this, whether throughout your works in the case of two men puddling each a ton of precisely the same iron, the one receives a different sum for that ton from that which the other receives?—No. The same rate.

10,172. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Would any defect be easily detected when the iron comes away from the puddlers' furnace?—No.

10,173. Then would you have an opportunity of judging of the quality of the iron so as to enable you to give a sum in wages in proportion to the quality when it came from the puddlers' furnace?—Yes. There is only one way of judging of the quality of iron, that is to test it, and you could not test it in the shape of a puddle ball; you must roll it into a bar and then test it. There is an inspector who looks at the bars as they come out, and he cuts off a little bit now and then to see if it is right, and in that way you know accurately enough what they are doing.

10,174. In point of fact, it would be very difficult to pay a puddler according to the quality of the iron he produces?—Within certain limits it would, but if he sent out a very bad lot, and if it was obvious that there had been considerable neglect, you would come down upon him.

10,175. (*Mr. Harrison.*) But you are not aware that there is at your works greater discrimination in the different rates which men are paid in the same works than in Staffordshire?—No, I am not.

10,176. (*Chairman.*) Are your colliers bound to carry out quite the same rule that is adopted elsewhere, of limiting the coal that each collier sends to bank?—They do as much as they can; they send what they please. Our great difficulty is in getting enough.

10,177. That is the case elsewhere, but each man is limited as to the amount which he may get by his fellow-workmen?—The vice of the collier is to be idle; he will stay away on Monday and Tuesday, and then he comes in and makes the most of the

Mr. G. T. Clark.

28 Nov. 1867.

remaining four days, and he sends out as much as he can.

10,178. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) What is the difference between the cost of skilled and unskilled labour in your district?—Very considerable; it ranges in the list I have given in from 12*s.* and 15*s.* to 65*s.* 9*d.* a week.

10,179. I think I rightly understand from you that the wages of the men in your employ have remained pretty stationary during the last few years?—No, they have ranged during the last few years in the ratio to 100 of 71, 88, 79, 82, 80, and so on.

10,180. But there has been nothing like the same fluctuation in the price of wages in your district that there has been in Staffordshire?—I do not know. It may seem strange to the Commission that I should be ignorant of what goes on in Staffordshire, but it is so. Those figures in the paper which I have handed in, are the average payments of all classes.

10,181. Could you tell me the highest rate of wages that a puddler has earned during the last three or four years?—The highest that an average puddler has earned is given in the paper put in.

10,182. Could he have earned during the last three or four years as high a rate of wages as 10*s.* 6*d.* a ton?—I do not know. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the detail to answer that.

10,183. The highest rate in Staffordshire has been about 10*s.* 6*d.*, and the lowest rate has been 7*s.* 6*d.*; are you aware of that?—Perhaps the Commission will allow me to say that I came in a state of complete ignorance of the iron manufacture into the trust of the Dowlais works. It was an enormous affair, and I had to conduct its local management alone, and I found myself much better able to attend to finance than to the mechanical details.

10,184. Still it appears to me to follow as a matter of course that there has not been the same fluctuation of wages in your district that there has been in Staffordshire, seeing that in Staffordshire the wages have been dependent upon the price of iron, and that whenever iron has risen 1*l.* a ton in price, wages have been raised 10 per cent., and have fallen in the same proportion when iron has fallen?—Nothing surprises me more than to read in the papers that there has been a meeting of Staffordshire ironmasters, and that they have fixed the price of iron. We could no more do that than we could fly. In the first place we seldom turn out two batches of rails made to the same specification. The Great Western people, for instance, come and say, "We will pay you the highest price "and you must give us the highest description of "iron." Others will send and say virtually, "We want rails, we do not much care what they are." So that we seldom sell two batches of the same price, and nothing puzzles me more than to be asked what the price of rails is.

10,185. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You spoke of having had some meetings, which were not continued, for considering what should be the rates of wages, whether wages should be reduced or raised, and so forth. Now in considering the rates of wages do you take into consideration the supply of labour or any other matter than the selling price per ton of the iron?—At this present time if America were closed I have not the smallest doubt that wages would go down, because we know perfectly well that the collier has America under his lee and he can go there. He may come back again if he goes it is true, but still he may go. That is a great check upon the price of labour in England.

10,186. You do not think that wages in ironworks can be absolutely determined by the selling price of a ton of iron?—With regard to wages over a long period, I suppose it is a question of political economy to what extent the selling price of iron will affect wages; but if, for instance, I get an order for 20,000 tons of rails, the price at which I take that order will not affect my wages at all.

10,187. You do not think that it would be a satisfactory system if your wages went up and down by a sliding scale according to the price at which you sold your bar?—No, because the men would always be in a state of ebullition and always dissatisfied. We look upon the question of wages as one of those questions which had better not be agitated, and it is our interest to bear a vast deal before we attempt to alter the rate of wages. Our alterations have been very few, sometimes they have been serious, but they have been very few, and we bear a vast deal, and are at this present time bearing a vast deal, because we do not wish to raise unpleasant questions.

10,188. (*Mr. Hughes.*) In that association of which you spoke, where the masters endeavoured to a certain extent to fix the question as to the reduction or increase of wages, did you bind yourself in any way one to another, or was it simply voluntary?—Yes. When we have acted together we have come to this sort of understanding: "The time has arrived when wages ought to go down, or when wages ought to go up;" (we have met for both purposes), "what shall it be?" One man says one thing and another man says another thing; then having discussed it, we say, "Is "it the understanding of those present that wages "shall be reduced, five per cent.?" it may be. Then there are some masters who want to point out how it shall be carried out, but we object to that, and I have always myself objected to it; we leave it that each master shall carry out the reduction in his own way, it being an honourable understanding that the reduction will be carried out.

10,189. You never carried it beyond an honourable understanding?—No.

10,190. Of course, without any remedy therefore against the person who broke it?—Not the least remedy.

10,191. As regards the Belgian trade, have you paid any attention to that?—No.

10,192. Do you happen to know what the amount of the Belgian iron trade is in the year?—No, not at all; I know that it interferes with us to a certain extent, but I am not much alarmed at it.

10,193. Do you think that foreign competition has seriously interfered with the iron trade of Great Britain in the last few years?—Whether actual foreign competition has I do not know, but the fear of it has, I am sure.

10,194. Are you aware what the returns of the Board of Trade for the years 1865 and 1866 were?—No; I do not attempt to put my observations any higher than a matter of opinion. I know that Belgium does undersell us occasionally.

10,195. Do you know whether it is or not the fact that the export of iron from England in 1866, according to the returns of the Board of Trade, was 2,000,000*l.* more than in 1865?—No, I do not happen to know that.

10,196. Do you know at all the system of the Belgian iron trade; do you know, for instance, whether the minerals belong to the state or not?—No. I have not been in Belgium since I was an ironmaster, and I have not had occasion to work the subject up.

10,197. With respect to your benefit societies, I think you say that they are now in a very flourishing state generally?—Well, I did not say that. I say that our workmen's funds are in a prosperous state, and I believe the benefit societies to be so, but I do not know it of my own knowledge.

10,198. Those in your works are supported simply by deductions of 2*d.* in the pound, are they not?—The workmen having settled that there shall be a stoppage of 2*d.* in the pound for the purposes of the benefit societies, authorize us to stop it, and, therefore, we stop it; and if any man refused to be stopped, we should say to him, "You shall not work here." That would be because the men wish it; but with respect to the stoppage for doctors and schools we do it because we wish it.

10,199. What benefits do you, as a benefit society, give to the men?—When they are sick they get an allowance.

10,200. Do they get any funeral allowance?—Yes, from general benefit societies. The Welshman like the Irishman likes to be buried decently.

10,201. Is there any allowance for accidents?—Yes, for any accident that disables a man from labour.

10,202. How long have these societies existed?—A long time, but they have developed of late years.

10,203. Is there any other subscription than the 2*d.* in the pound to the Dowlais fund?—No.

10,204. We have been told here both by actuaries and by other witnesses, that the subscriptions to the trades unions are utterly inadequate to carry out the objects for which they are established, which are exactly the objects which have been mentioned by you. Therefore, I wish to ask as to your benefit societies, which are not connected with trades unions at all, whether you have formed a subscription which is smaller than that of any of these trades unions, sufficient to fulfil those objects which are the purpose of your benefit societies as of theirs?—In the first place with us the relief given out of the fund ceases after a certain time. I cannot tell you at what time, but it does cease after a certain time. And it very often goes not to support a man wholly, but to support the man in aid of parish relief. There come before me at the Board of Guardians every week a certain number of men, and the relieving officer says, "I want so and so for that man temporarily. He is on the Dowlais fund." The Dowlais fund is given once a fortnight, and when a man who seeks parish relief is on the Dowlais fund the fund supports him practically one week and the parish another.

10,205. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Are we not proceeding somewhat in the dark in this matter, because before we can draw any comparison we must ascertain what are the benefits provided by your society and this information we have not got before us?—Simply an allowance in the case of a man being out of work from illness or accident.

10,206. Everything depends upon the amount of that allowance?—That varies, not with what the man pays, but according to the condition of the fund.

10,207. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You have in your works two distinct funds. You have a school and medical fund, for which 2*d.* in the 1*l.* is stopped compulsorily, the accounts of which are kept entirely by themselves, and are never mixed up with the pure benefit society, for which also 2*d.* in the 1*l.* is stopped on the wages for certain benefits, funeral benefits, sick benefits, and accident benefits?—Funeral benefits belong to the benefit societies, but that is a sick fund only and not a funeral fund.

10,208. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Will you explain to us a little more clearly what that arrangement is with regard to the payment from the parish, and under what circumstances that payment is made by the parish, whether the parish pays to your workmen an allowance when they are out of work?—When a man has claims upon the parish (the usual claims I mean, of course, they are the same with us as in any other parish), and comes before the board and tells us that he has a certain number of children, and has broken his leg, or is ill, we proceed to apply the usual rule to him. But the relieving officer says, "Instead of "giving the amount to him weekly, order it once a "fortnight, as he will be upon the Dowlais fund "next week."

10,209. (*Chairman.*) Outside of that 2*d.* fund you have the other benefit societies amongst you as well?—Yes, of which we know nothing, and of this we know very little, because we are particularly careful not to interfere. All we look to is to prevent it from being bankrupt.

10,210. (*Mr. Hughes.*) With respect to those two tables you have put in, I presume that the rate of wages there calculated is calculated upon six days a week?—Yes.

10,211. (*Mr. Mathews.*) I think you say that you make iron ore into pig iron?—Yes.

10,212. What are the quantities of iron you make?—We make 2,000 tons of rails and bars, and 200 tons of steel a week.

10,213. Do you know, speaking roughly, the amount of wages which you pay weekly?—About 7,700*l.* a week; at Dowlais that is.

10,214. You were asked a question about the Belgian iron; you believe a little in the actual result, but a good deal more in the apprehension as to the Belgian iron being against you in the market. They have superseded you in some cases, I think, in the large contracts on the continent, have they not?—Every now and then they crop up and cut us out.

10,215. They interfere with you in the Russian market?—I believe they do.

10,216. It has been before us frequently that there is a comparatively low rate of wages in Belgium as compared with the rate of wages in this country. Is that operation likely to decrease or increase, do you think?—I cannot tell you. There may be circumstances there that I know nothing about that may enable them to make cheaper iron.

10,217. You cannot speak as to what would be the operation of the Belgian ironmasters with a lower rate of wages, competing against the English ironmasters with a higher rate of wages?—You have to look at the physical circumstances.

10,218. At all events the fact exists that the Belgians are powerful competitors on the continent?—I can only say that the Belgians do interfere with us in the iron market, and now and then undersell us.

10,219. That used not to be the case?—No.

10,220. You were asked some questions about the relation that subsisted between the rise of wages and the price of iron. It was stated to us that in South Staffordshire when the price of iron fell, there was a necessity for reducing wages, and when the price of iron rose, the men demanded, and successfully, a rise in wages. That does not rule you in Wales?—It rules us of course, but not from moment to moment or from week to week in the sense in which I gather from what has been said, that it rules Staffordshire. But of course the price of rails, or the price of iron, for instance, over a whole year, in affecting all the Works will affect the rate of wages. But if I happen to get an order, what I receive for the order does not affect my rate of wages, because I cannot move alone.

10,221. Your business is generally founded upon large contracts from time to time for rails, is it not?—I am sorry to say that it is not so now.

10,222. You have taken, for instance, contracts occasionally for 40,000 tons at a time?—Yes; we are very happy to do so.

10,223. If the price in other districts were to fall during the course of the execution of that contract, if it were a beneficial contract, you would not feel it right and fair to immediately reduce your men?—If our men came to us and said, "Our neighbours are "getting higher wages—we really do not care what "you are getting for the contract—that is merely "profit and loss," we could not answer it, and it has happened not unfrequently that we have had heavy contracts and have lost because the rate of wages have gone up.

10,224. That is to say, though the contract was an unfavourable one, yet, if the wages were being advanced in other districts, the men would demand an advance from you?—I should not care to plead to the men the fact of a contract having been taken at a low price.

10,225. On the other hand, if wages in other districts were reduced while you had a favourable contract, would you not reduce your wages?—After a rise or a fall has continued for some time, of course it has a tendency to produce, and may produce an alteration in the rate of wages; but the alteration in the rate of wages does not follow immediately upon it either one way or the other.

10,226. But there being a variation in your wages of nearly 30 per cent. in the years mentioned in your table, would that indicate that the fluctuation of the rate of wages in the Dowlais works is pretty nearly

Mr. G. T. Clark.

8 Nov. 1867.

analogous to the fluctuation in Staffordshire?—I should think so, ultimately.

10,227. (*Mr. Harrison.*) But the fluctuations are not so frequent with you?—I should think not.

10,228. (*Mr. Mathews.*) There is a general vibration of wages with the price of iron all over England?—Yes.

10,229. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you mean a fluctuation in wages immediately consequent upon price?—No, not immediately.

10,230. Not three times in six months would wages be altered perhaps with you?—No. I think that that list which I have furnished gives the number of times that wages have been altered in the last 10 or 12 years.

10,231. (*Mr. Mathews.*) The only difference betwixt the operation of the rising and falling of wages in your works and in Staffordshire, is that they are not quite so frequent and sudden in your works?—I began by saying that I had not sufficient knowledge of Staffordshire to say that.

10,232. As to the employment of women, does the employment of women form a material element in the economy of your works?—Yes, I think it does.

10,233. What rate of pay do you give the women?—The women do a great deal of piling, and piling requires a good deal of skill, especially now. You put the ordinary quality of iron for the vertical part of the rail, but you put a superior quality of iron for the parts where the wheel is to come, and the women have to put in bars of a superior quality in particular places, and there is a certain amount of skill in that. I daresay a clever woman would get on in that work better than another.

10,234. Would a woman do as much as a man at the lower rate of wages that she receives?—No, you put a woman or a child to do work upon which a man would be thrown away.

10,235. The man's labour would not be usefully employed on that particular department?—No. The case of a door boy in a colliery is a very good instance; a boy can do that work, and if you were to put a man to do it the labour would be wasted.

10,236. You were asked about the health of the women labouring in the ironworks and upon the coal-pit bank. In point of health are they not the healthiest class of women you have got in Merthyr?—I must know something of the other classes of women to be able to answer that.

10,237. At all events are they a very healthy class?—I think so. We have had lately a great number of sanitary inquiries into the condition of Merthyr, and the Government have been doing us the honour of reporting upon us, and we happen to have a medical man in the district who is very great indeed upon the subject of statistics, and I have been assured by him, and by a very eminent medical man, the late surgeon of the Dowlais works, that strange as it may appear, the work done by the women did not shorten life, and did not affect health.

10,238. Do you think that if any legislative enactment were to operate in discharging these women from employment it would be considered a great hardship by them?—By them it would.

10,239. Is there any other occupation which they could take themselves to?—They must look after their houses and breed up their children.

10,240. If they were compelled to leave their present employment without any equivalent being found for them they would deem it a hardship?—It would be a most unpopular measure.

10,241. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) But I believe that excluding women from mines was unpopular among the very women excluded?—Yes I think so, and I think generally speaking that reforms of this character are most unpopular amongst those who are the subjects of them.

10,242. (*Mr. Mathews.*) As to emigration, is there much emigration going on from South Wales?—From time to time a good deal, at the present time not much.

10,243. In the event of skilled workmen emigrating to America, what means do you adopt of supplying their place?—Very often we do not adopt any means of supplying their place. We import an ignorant man, and he gives us a great deal of trouble.

10,244. Until he is educated?—And then he goes also.

10,245. The tendency of emigration is to cause abourers to be brought into the place of skilled workmen?—The tendency of emigration is to lower the class of labour and to limit the number of labourers.

10,246. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Is not that gap which is made in emigration very much supplied by Irish immigration?—No; the place of the Irish emigrant is filled, no doubt, by an Irish immigrant, but the place of the skilled Welshman cannot be filled by an Irishman. The men we get for that purpose are men who have been bred up in the rural districts; they speak Welsh only, and they are not well informed men, whereas an ordinary Merthyr or Dowlais workman has his three or four copies of the "Times" in his reading room, and there is as much desire on their part to get the papers of the day as there would be in an ordinary club.

10,247. (*Chairman.*) Do these men speak Welsh in their own families?—Yes, they think in Welsh.

10,248. They use the two languages?—Yes, and that does not hurt them. We petitioned Mr. Lowe, I think, to give us a little advantage at the school examinations on the plea that our children had two languages to contend with, and the answer we got was in substance, "I have looked into the subject, and consulted "the inspectors and they say that the Welsh children "are quicker than the English." The double language brings them forward, in fact.

10,249. Has there been any attempt in your neighbourhood to extirpate the Welsh language, and to force the people in their own homes to speak in English?—No; but in our schools we never employ a master who does not speak English. We go for men to the best training schools, and take them without reference to their being Welshmen or Englishmen, all we stipulate is that they must speak English. But the consequence is that of a large number of school teachers I do not think we have half a dozen who can speak Welsh.

10,250. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Has not the tendency of late years been that the speaking of Welsh has diminished and the speaking of English increased?—The speaking of English has increased, but I should rather doubt whether the speaking of Welsh has diminished. I have had occasion lately to look at some of the registers in the rural parishes in the Vale of Glamorgan, and I find that the Welsh element there has increased, and the Welsh are very frequently having their Eisteddfodau.

10,251. The increase of English is connected with an increase of persons reading English literature, I presume?—There is an enormous increase in the amount of English literature imported into Wales.

10,252. There is no Welsh literature to speak of, is there?—The modern Welsh literature is composed chiefly of translations from the English.

10,253. (*Mr. Booth.*) Do they at your schools teach English exclusively?—Yes.

13,254. (*Chairman.*) Do the dissenting ministers who have that great influence which you spoke of, worship in English or Welsh?—There are three small English chapels in the place, and all the rest are Welsh.

10,255. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) You say that a great number go out to America. Do you know many instances in which they have returned?—Yes, some few have returned greatly disgusted. But the large proportion remain.

10,256. Generally speaking, what class of labourers go out?—It is rather a skilled class that go out.

10,257. Have they remained?—I should say on the whole that probably there are more of the skilled class who return. I take it that the labourer who goes out,

if he finds that he does not like it, has not money to come back again.

10,258. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Have you any Mormons in Merthyr?—No, but I believe we have sent a good many out to America.

10,259. Do they ever come back?—No; or if they do it is with more civilized opinions.

The following tables were handed in by Mr. Clark:

WAGES IN 1866, AS AN AVERAGE YEAR.

Colliers		30*s.*	per week.
Miners		20*s.* to 25*s.*	„
Blast furnaces	Fillers	34*s.*	„
	Founders	40*s.* 3*d.*	„
Forges	Puddlers, 1st hand	33*s.* 7*d.*	„
	Do. underhand	16*s.* 10*d.*	„
	Shinglers	25*s.* 6*d.*	„
	Rougher	30*s.* 3*d.*	„
	Roller	33*s.*	„
Rail mills	Ballers, 1st heating	36*s.*	„
	Bloomers	36*s.* 6*d.*	„
	Baller, 2nd heating	51*s.* 9*d.*	„
	Rougher	56*s.*	„
	Roller	65*s.* 9*d.*	„
Labourers		12*s.* to 15*s.*	„

RISE AND FALL OF WAGES (See "Answers" given below.)

Fluctuations in Rate of Wages from the year 1848, putting the year 1848 at 100.

1848, November	100		
„ December	90	10 per cent.	reduction.
1850, January	85	7½ per cent.	do.
„ October	75	10 per cent.	do.
1852, do.	79	5 per cent.	advance.
„ December	83	5 per cent.	do.
1853, April	91	10 per cent.	do.
„ August	100	10 per cent.	do.
1855, April	90	10 per cent.	reduction.
„ October	100	11⅑ per cent.	advance.
1857, November	80	20 per cent.	reduction.
1861, August	72	10 per cent.	do.
1863, November	79	10 per cent.	advance. Puddlers advanced 15 per cent.
1864, March	87	10 per cent.	do. Puddlers advanced 10 per cent.
1865, January	78	10 per cent.	reduction.
1867, do.	71	10 per cent.	do. Colliers and Miners not reduced.

The witness withdrew.

The following questions were put to the witness in writing by Mr. Harrison. The answers are subjoined.

(1.) In Staffordshire a meeting of ironmasters is held quarterly, at which the selling price of iron is declared, and by a local rule introduced by Mr. Thorneycroft, the wages of the men throughout the works rise or fall thereon according to the selling price of the puddled bar *per ton* in the proportion of 1*s.* to 1*l.*; thus, (saving some trifling difference) when the puddled bar is at 10*l.* per ton the puddler's wages are 10*s.* per ton; when iron falls to 9*l.* per ton the wages are *ipso facto* reduced to 9*s.*; when the bar falls to 8*l.*, wages are 8*s.*; and so on, a reduction of 10 per cent. following throughout the works.

It is now stated that this is *absolutely* unavoidable, since the wages which so fluctuate form nearly the whole of the cost of the bar.

(*a.*) Is this a good system of regulating wages?

(*b.*) Is it essential that wages instantly fall on a reduction of selling price?

(*c.*) What proportion of the cost of the bar goes in payment of *weekly* wages paid *by the manufacturer?*

(2.) It is stated that the unions have paralyzed the iron manufacture by enforcing *uniformity* of wages irrespective of skill. Throughout the trade, unionism or not, puddling is paid per ton—the pig iron to be puddled being a measured quantity, and the yield measured.

In the Dowlais works, where there is no unionism, are puddlers working *identical* qualities of iron under identical circumstances paid one rate or different rates *per ton?*

ANSWERS.

Question I.—The Welsh iron trade has been conducted for many years without any attempt on the part of the masters to regulate the price of iron. The system has been one of free competition for business, each master being guided by his own judgment and necessities as to the iron he makes and the price he quotes. On the whole, the system has worked well, and in bad times like the present, the masters submit to heavy losses for the purpose of keeping their workpeople together, trusting to make up for these losses in better times.

Of the losses thus indicated the amount depends upon the spirit and wealth of the individual master, and those who carry on the largest trade suffer necessarily in bad times the heaviest amount of immediate loss.

Under this system the men have generally more regular work throughout bad times than in districts where a different system prevails.

The price of iron regulates the price of labour, because when trade is profitable labour is more in demand and therefore relatively scarce, but no attempt has ever been made in South Wales to regulate the price of labour by the actual selling price of finished iron at the time.

Question 'a.'—No. The system described in the question is not a good system for regulating wages, because it assumes, first, that the masters can fix the market price of finished iron, which they cannot; and further, that supposing the price to be fixed and *ascertained*, it cannot be determined what is the workman's fair share of that price. Like the master's profits the workman's share must depend upon ever-varying circumstances, and I do not think there is any method by which the proportions could be so determined as to be fair towards master and men, and to give satisfaction to both. The result of the working, or rather of the attempt to work, the system described seems to prove this. It has not, I understand, brought satisfaction or profit to the employers, and to judge from the continual agitation among the workmen in the district referred to, neither has it brought content to the employed.

Supply and demand must always affect the rate of wages irrespective of the price of the finished article, excepting indeed when the masters, as at present in Wales, are content to work at a heavy loss, for the purpose of keeping their men together. By thus refusing to take full advantage of a time when the supply of labour is greater than the demand, and retaining his full staff of workmen through bad times, the Welsh master expects to be in a position to take full advantage of the first move in his trade towards higher prices.

Question 'b.'—This question has already been answered. It is sufficient to observe that there are circumstances when the Welsh master thinks it advisable to maintain wages at a higher rate than is warranted by the market price of iron; that is, he thinks it, on the whole, better to make a loss than to reduce wages below the point at which his men can support themselves and their families in moderate comfort, and thus be driven to seek a livelihood elsewhere.

Question 'c.'—This proportion is ever varying, and must do so. In good times the proportion borne by the cost of labour to the selling price of the article of production is lower than in bad times. At this present time the cost of labour alone absorbs nearly all if not quite all the price of the finished article of manufacture.

Question II.—Various schemes have been tried for rewarding specially skilled workmen, whether puddlers or ballers, by paying a premium upon good work. The question is, however, surrounded with so many difficulties in practice, that attempts to make a special difference in the rate of wages in the iron trade have for the most part been abandoned, and the advantages enjoyed by the good workman are exhibited in a different manner. He is sure of steady employment, he is valued by his employer, and has the choice of the best furnaces, and, where there is a difference, he has the most convenient place in the forge for work. Moreover, he earns generally more money than those less skilled. A good and careful workman will produce a ton of puddled bars from 21½ cwt. to 22 cwt. of pigs, while a bad or careless workman will produce only 19 cwt. from the same quantity. The good workman, therefore, thus earns more wages than the bad one in the proportion of say 20 to 19. This, indeed, is no adequate measure of his value to the master, but it is very difficult, not to say impracticable, to recognize this value in a direct money payment, because if you put a premium on a good yield, that is, on good work, the temptation to the bad and dishonest workman to make up weight by unfair means is found to be too great to be resisted, and is very difficult to check. In the case of men working by the day, or wherever it is practicable with men working by the ton, they are paid in proportion to their skill.

Dowlais, December 1867

Mr. J. Brogden.

28 Nov. 1867.

Mr. JAMES BROGDEN examined.

10,260. (*Chairman.*) Do you manage some considerable iron and coal works in South Wales?—The Tondu Iron and Coal Works.

10,261. How long have you had the management of them?—14 years.

10,262. Could you say about how many men you pay on the pay night at those works?—I cannot say, because we have a number of men working under others. Perhaps every man that we have on our register—that is to say, on our books—represents three or four others.

10,263. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Could you tell roughly what amount you pay weekly for wages?—About 10,000*l.* a month.

10,264. Have you any unions of workmen in your district?—We have had unions, but they have principally disappeared. There was a union that existed among the puddlers more particularly, but it was broken up at a time when some little disturbance arose amongst themselves on the question of a reduction of wages. The delegate, a man who was in the habit of attending the meetings of delegates in all parts of the country, was stationed at our works, and he was the secretary of that particular union. He, however, left the works, took the books with him, and never accounted for the monies, and there has been no return made of it. Since then the union has broken up.

10,265. Was he a Welshman?—I do not know. He was secretary to the Ballers' Union.

10,266. Was he a paid delegate?—Yes.

10,267. So that the union ended in the paid delegate running away with their funds?—Yes; I believe he is now in the employment of the Great Western Railway.

10,268. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) He is not puddling there, is he?—I do not know what he is doing.

10,269. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Since the secretary of the union skedaddled (if I may use the term) you have had no union organization in your works?—No.

10,270. Do you consider the effects of unions to be beneficial or otherwise?—I take it that they would be good as regards the management of the men themselves, provided they were not applied to the management of other trades and to men in other works.

10,271. That is to say, you would not object to unions being formed in your works provided they confined themselves strictly to themselves, and did not extend to men not in the union?—So long as they were confined to making terms with the masters, or conferring with them upon any subject, I think they would be beneficial.

10,272. That is to say, a union in each particular works?—Yes, or of any particular class of workmen.

10,273. But you would object to the importation of men from other districts or other unions into your own?—Yes.

10,274. In the event of a discussion on wages or any other subject you would object to any other men except those in your immediate employ forming part of a deputation to you?—Quite so.

10,275. You would not like to discuss wages and so on with any other men except those in your immediate employ?—Just so, or those with whom I have to deal.

10,276. What system do you adopt in regulating your wages? Do you adopt the same system as is prevalent in South Staffordshire of altering the rate of wages according to the rise and fall of the price of iron?—I think that Mr. Clark spoke very clearly on that subject when he told you that the ironmasters in South Wales have a conference on the rate of wages which they can afford to pay, and that then having come to a general resolution a reduction or rise in the wages would occur to the same extent, generally speaking.

10,277. That is to say, the principle which regulates wages with you is in the main the selling price of iron?—Yes.

10,278. If the price of iron were to rise in other districts, it would necessarily rise in Wales, would it not?—Yes.

10,279. And then you generally advance the rate of wages?—Yes.

10,280. If, on the other hand, the price of iron falls in other districts, it immediately influences the price of iron in Wales, and then you think it necessary to reduce wages?—We do. We have done it generally as a body of ironmasters in South Wales—that is to say, if one has given a rise the whole body has given it at the same time.

10,281. Although in Wales that operation is not so rapid and immediate as it may be in the other districts, yet in the main the rate of wages is regulated by the price of iron?—Yes.

10,282. Have you turned your attention to the question to what extent the cost of labour enters into the price of a ton of bar iron?—I must say that that is a very complicated question and requires a good deal of working out, though I will not say that it is impossible to get at it. In the first place you begin with the ironstone, which is got by labour. There are general charges and expenses upon that, in the way of timber and royalties, which form no item in the labour question. Then as to coal, when the coal is made into the produce of coke there is a certain amount of labour. Then in the manufacture of the ironstone into pig iron, there is a certain amount of loss of material, or as it is termed in ironworks, yield, so that the amount of the labour which has arisen upon the various items which I have mentioned is increased by the loss in the shape of yield. Then there will be the expense of the manufacturing of that iron again and the loss of the labour in the yield. It is a question which is complicated, but it could easily be worked out.

10,283. Taking a general view of the question, assuming the price of bar iron to be 6*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.* as a rough guess, what proportion of that would be constituted by dead charges that you could not alter either one way or the other, and what proportion by labour that you could alter either one way or the other?—To my mind five-sixths is a large average, and rather more than the actual figure. I have never worked it out, but I should take it to be so.

10,284. In the event of bar iron being reduced 20*s.* a ton, it is absolutely necessary, is it not, that the rate of wages in all the departments should be reduced in something like the same proportion?—Yes.

10,285. Your establishment consists of a simple estate. From that estate you raise a certain quantity of ore which you convert into pig iron, and that again you convert into rails or bar iron?—Yes.

10,286. So that in your case the whole of the cost of a ton of bar iron, exclusive of royalties and other small charges, on which no variation of price arises, consists of labour?—Yes.

10,287. And that you consider to be five-sixths of the cost of a ton of iron?—Yes, there or thereabouts.

10,288. Calling your attention again to the question of unions, whenever you have any dispute or discussion with your men, I suppose that if they are union questions you refer them to your agents, and that if they are material questions you take the charge of them yourself?—Yes.

10,289. You always prefer to deal with the men who work in your own employ, rather than with any other functionaries employed generally as what are called agents to unions?—For many reasons. In the first place, I take it that men who have anything to lay before you, understand the question which they come to speak about, whereas in nine cases out of ten the men who come to represent them do not. Besides the men themselves have a personal interest in settling the thing as well as the master, and as the result of my experience, during the time that I have been in my

present position, I find that when the men who are working for me have come to me in a reasonable way, and stated their case just as we do in making a bargain for buying or selling anything, we have been able to agree with them on some reasonable terms. We have some men who have been 24 years in the service of the firm, and indeed through the greater part of our works the men have been stationary; that shows, I think, that the operation of that system is successful.

10,290. So that in the event of any difference arising there is a friendly discussion between yourself and the men?—As a general rule it is so; but I may state a case which is occurring at this very moment, and is disturbing the peace in our own county. We have taken from the government a large tract of land belonging to the Duchy of Lancaster on the understanding that we should make a railway, and open a communication into a maiden part of Wales and with Porthcawl. There was no obligation with regard to the port, but the railway communication was obligatory. That we have opened, but in so doing of course the conveyance of material into a maiden district was exceedingly difficult and costly. Most of the materials had to be conveyed to the mines and the upper portion of the railway on mules' backs. For the labour we had to get people from all parts; we took any who would come and put them into huts and various dwelling houses, wherever we could locate them for the time being, and we were of course obliged to pay a very high rate of wages in order to induce them to live in an uncivilized part of the country. Now when the communication is complete of course a readjustment is necessary, and with reference to the readjusting of that state of things the question was brought before me how we should carry out the mines. I had laid before me several means of doing it, and amongst the rest those which are usually carried out in the Rhonda Valley, and in those works which are worked upon the north country system. My brother and myself had a very long discussion and an anxious one upon this subject, and we came to the conclusion that the system applied in the north country was a superior one to that which applies in South Wales, and that the coal could be worked upon it at a much less cost. With this view we put a mineral agent over one colliery at the head of the valley, who was to carry out the north country system, stopping the stone work or dead work in the headings. To make the horse height for working in the coal we are obliged to take up a portion of the stone, or else to take the roof down. This is a very costly operation, and in order to avoid the dead work for taking up this stone we made use of a kind of waggon which is not usually made use of in South Wales, but which is used in the north, (though this is of a smaller kind,) thereby giving the collier the advantage of getting his coal into the waggon immediately as he cuts it, without any further labour whatever; that is to say, instead of pushing the coal for 60 yards along the corridor of the mine, he had the opportunity of having the waggon taken to the place where he was working, so that he could put his coal without any further trouble into the waggon at once. That was a great advantage to him, and therefore the price paid for the same coal in another valley had no reference at all to the work which we required. We found some difficulty in dealing with the men, inasmuch as the moment we altered the system, those men who had been making large sums of money for cutting up the stone work refused to continue unless they had the headings or driftways carried in on the same terms and in the same way as before. I told them that it was unusual in colliery works for the master to have dictation from the men as to how he should carry on the work, so long as it was carried on safely. A deputation waited upon me, representing that the manner in which we were going to work the coal would be unsafe. My reply was that their places were safe, and that the system upon which we were going to work was one carried out and sanctioned by some of the best engineers; that it would take a little time to try, and that perhaps they would go to their work on the same terms and in the same way as before, with the exception of those men working upon the headings. The men immediately turned out, and there was a dictation as to the way in which they should work and whom I should employ. I declined to submit to this, and I said, "I wish to make a fair arrangement, and "in so doing I am perfectly willing to adopt the "agreement current in the north." I did so, and I got from the north of England, after some trouble, the terms upon which they hire their men, and gave my men the opportunity of hiring themselves for six months upon terms which we should agree upon. They agreed and signed a book for a six months' bond and went to work. Another colliery in the valley was to be placed upon the same terms, and some of the men signed the articles of the bond and went to work, some 14 of them. On Monday last, much to my astonishment, when the men were quietly at work, I was advised by telegraph that a thousand men were on the hills armed with sticks and staves, coming to prevent these men from working, and on Tuesday the multitude had increased to 1,500 men. I went up myself and told my men that I had nothing to do with such a disturbance, but that I should place their safety in the hands of the civil authorities (all our other portions of work are going on peaceably); that they were quietly to go to work and not submit to the dictation of these other men. I asked who they were and where they came from. They came, I found, from various collieries having no connexion with the matter, either with regard to the coal or with regard to the price, or anything else, and I believe myself that they are connected with various trades unions in the district. They had a meeting and summoned the men who were at work to attend. About 30 men came to their houses threatening that unless they accompanied them they would do something for them. The men replied that they would go or not as they chose. They went, however, and they were put into a club room with an organized company, and a chairman, and several speakers and witnesses, and they were examined as to the prices they were receiving. They were told that they were blacklegs and turncoats, and all the rest of it, but they said that they were not, that they were getting the same prices as the men at the other collieries, and that they were perfectly content with the wage which they were obtaining; they could obtain, they said, 5*s.* and more per day, and they had no quarrel with their masters, but were perfectly satisfied with them.

10,291. Then I suppose your workmen, of whom you are now speaking, were not in the union?—These men were not in the union.

10,292. And this circumstance was incident to the operation of the unions in the neighbourhood who chose to interfere?—Yes; I took down some notes from the statements of the men who were taken into the meeting, and it appears from what their deposition says that they had been connected with the union, or rather one of them had been connected with the union, for on the chairman saying to him that he was working under the price, he said, "No, I am not. I have been "with you long enough. I have had enough to do "with you. I have got my family to keep, and I "cannot afford to be idle." He said that to the chairman of this meeting, and I take it that that is a proof that there must be a union in the district. Those men, I believe, came from near Pont-y-prydd.

10,293. Can you tell me whether there were any paid agents of the unions among this assembly?—The time has been so short, and events so stirring, that I must say we have had no time to inquire into the thing for we have been surrounded by a thousand men armed with sticks and staves. The meeting was at night, and the chairman addressed the men at the meeting in the way that I have detailed. A sort of examination took place in which the men say that they had not a fair treatment, that they were not allowed to speak, and that the witness gave them the lie at once, without hearing their statement. There were several

Mr. J. Brogden.

28 Nov. 1867.

speakers who used threatening language, one of whom is said to have made the remark that it would be better for them not to go to work, as things might be serious afterwards, or something to that effect. The chairman holding in his hand a stick said, "Now, my "men, do you want to go to work or not?" They said, "We will please ourselves about it, we have "nothing to disagree about, and we shall please our- "selves." "Do you intend to go or not?" he said, and then holding his hand out in this way (*describing it*), he said, "We have brought a little rod this time, "but the next time we will bring a greater one," and he went on, "My good fellows, I advise you not to go "to work, or else it will be worse for you." The name of that chairman I have not yet ascertained, but I think that language such as he used would convict him.

10,294. He spoke as the chairman of the union, not as an individual, I suppose?—As the chairman of that meeting.

10,295. And that meeting, you said, consisted mainly of people belonging to unions in the neighbourhood?—I should say so. I cannot say that as a fact, because the time has been so short and the events so stirring that I have had no time for inquiry.

10,296. (*Mr. Booth.*) You see no reason to doubt that they were people belonging to several unions?—I think that their coming from various valleys shows that. For instance, they came from the South Wales mineral district in a body. I saw Mr. Baxter, of the firm of Messrs. Baxter, Rose, & Norton, last night, and he said, "I am astonished to find that our workmen "are all over your district." The men I have been speaking of were ordered to attend a meeting the next morning at 8 o'clock at the same place, the Blandy Arms. They declined to go, and while I was present three men armed with sticks came round to the cottages, telling them that they were to pick up their things and come with them in 20 minutes. Hearing of this I went down, met the three men and asked them what they wanted, what their names were, and so on. They gave me fictitious names, but while I was speaking to them the head of the police came up, and hearing what they had done took them into custody, but released them on bail. The moment that they were seized by the policeman the whole of the meeting came *en masse* to release them, running furiously, and I have no doubt that damage would have occurred if the head of the police had not let them out on bail or on their own recognizances to appear at Bridgend on Saturday. I heard by telegraph yesterday that matters remained much in the same way. But I have a letter from our people to-day which I will read if you will allow me. "All was "peaceable up the valley until about 12 o'clock to-day, "when a number of the men went to a house at "Blaenger, where a young man was lodging (who was "working at Tynewdd), and demanded to see him. "They said that he was a turncoat and that they "would rip his bloody heart out. They forced their "way into the house and ill-treated the man very much, "but fortunately by some means or other he made his "escape from them, or it is supposed they would have "killed him. Mr. Saddler" (the superintendent of police of whom I spoke) "and his staff appre- "hended a man who was there and brought him to "the public-house at Nantdyres, and Mr. Saddler "examined him, but in doing so the evidence broke "down, and he found that he could not legally detain "him, so he let him go. Since then we have got a "report that Vaughan Davis" (one of the leaders, it appears) "was the person who broke into the house "and ill-treated the man. I hope this will prove true, "as you are aware that he is one of the ringleaders, "and is still living in one of the Tynewdd cottages, "so there will not be much trouble in apprehending "him. There are not near so many strangers there "to-day as yesterday. All other places are going on "in their usual way." All our other works are as quiet as possible.

10,297. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You have been asked whether you have any reason to doubt that those men were union men; have you any reason to know that they were union men?—The time I say has been very short, but I have reason to believe that they were from this fact, that unless they were connected with some union they would scarcely have been able to muster such a force as appeared on those hills. Again, I am led to think so by an expression which fell from the chairman during the examination of those men, and which came to my knowledge, complaining of the men in one of the collieries working too much—working above the stint work.

10,298. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) What is stint work?—Stint work is the limitation of the work.

10,299. (*Mr. Mathews.*) What is called the stint constitutes a certain area that the men execute for a day's work?—Yes.

10,300. A man can do from one to two stints a day, according to his capacity, can he not?—Not in our district; the stint is the total day's work.

10,301. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) In cwts. of coal?—In cwts. of coal. In fact it was said that they were turning out 1 cwt. of coal more than they ought to do.

10,302. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You have a system of stints in your own works, have you not?—Do you refer to the colliers or miners?

10,303. I ask it in the broadest possible way?—No, I do not think that we have any limitation whatever in any part.

10,304. Do you say that there can be no system of stints except where there is a trade union?—I think not.

10,305. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) That is to say, the masters never stint or limit the men as to what they can do?—The masters never limit the men.

10,306. Then if there be any stint in your works it has not been your doing?—No.

10,307. If there be any stint in your works it must have been somebody else's doing?—Yes.

10,308. And you believe that that somebody else is the trades' union?—Yes.

10,309. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Have you any further reason than you have stated for believing that these men were union men?—No.

10,310. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Do you know much of the district of Pont-y-prydd?—Not much.

10,311. Do you know that trades unions exist there?—I have heard so.

10,312. And that that limitation prevails there?—It does, and I believe the chairman of that meeting to which I referred came from that district, and therefore it seems to me that anyone knowing that trades unions exist in that part, that the chairman came from that district, and that he mentioned such a circumstance as stint work, would be led to the conclusion that it must have had some connexion with trades unions.

10,313. (*Mr. Hughes.*) But there is no organization in your immediate neighbourhood in connexion with trades unions, as I understand you?—Not in my immediate neighbourhood, but in several of the valleys there is. The Ogmore Valley is one adjoining the Pont-y-prydd, therefore in that district we more nearly approach them

10,314. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Do you think that there would be any difficulty in identifying that chairman?—I think that by-and-by he will be found out. I think that it would be a very useful thing if an inquiry was made into this matter now while it is fresh.

10,315. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Will you ascertain whether this man who acted as chairman in the dispute belonged to any union in the district and let our secretary know?—I feel that the difficulties in making an inquiry under the present circumstances will be very great, inasmuch as everybody is guarded since these excesses have occurred, and that unless some one were commissioned with authority to compel them to give evidence it would be almost futile.

10,316. All you can say is that you have a strong impression that these men acted as the organ of a union in the neighbourhood?—I think so.

10,317. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Why should not the law

and the police of the district be put in operation to deal with this; is there anything to prevent that?—The police of course will do all they can, but the whole available force that could be assembled amongst the constabulary were, I think, eight policemen.

10,318. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Has the effect of this movement been to stop your works?—Entirely that portion of them.

10,319. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Was that club chiefly composed of Welshmen?—I believe that there were Englishmen there; I know of one Englishman concerned in it.

10,320. Were there any Irishmen?—I should say not, but I do not know.

10,321. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) The stint work means this, does it not, that probably nearly the lowest amount of coal that a man can raise to the surface is the amount that is fixed upon as the limit of the quantity for all men to raise?—I take it that it is scarcely regulated upon those terms. I think that it is regulated upon the question of how much will enable a man to keep himself and his family.

10,322. Upon the laziest man who lives from hand to mouth?—Yes.

10,323. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Do you know the area which a man cuts for his day's work?—I do not know that; it is the weight with us, generally speaking.

10,324. If a man were left unfettered, and exercised the amount of skill and strength that he was capable of exercising, he could do more than one day's work of this stint; he could do two stints probably?—If the men were left to themselves they would do more.

10,325. If controlled by the union, the union confines them to the stint and says that they shall not do more?—I think that is the case.

10,326. (*Mr. Harrison.*) But have you positive personal knowledge that the unions, and if so what unions, have laid down and enforced this rule as to the stint?—I do not think that in our district they have applied it to any extent. I think that we have been happily free from it. I take it that we are now beginning to suffer from the system of trades unions which is in force, I believe at Pont-y-prydd and in that valley.

10,327. What is the rule as to the stint, have you seen it stated anywhere?—I have not seen it in print, but I have heard it stated that a certain weight, according to the character of the vein of coal they work, shall be produced, or that if a man produces so much more than a certain weight one day the next day he shall produce so much less.

10,328. In what union have you heard of that rule?—That I cannot say.

10,329. Have you ever heard of workmen amongst themselves choosing to enforce such a rule quite apart from any regular organization or union?—Not in our part. I do not know that we have had the stint in our own works to any extent at all events.

10,330. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Do you know what is the generally alleged reason for the stint rule?—There are a great many. The object is of course that the usual rate of wages shall prevail, and that the good workman shall be no better off than his fellow men.

10,331. But is it not also the object of the men to limit the amount which the master can keep at the mouth of the pit in store?—That would not apply to our case.

10,332. Do you know whether or not it is the fact that the men believe that a large accumulation of coal at the mouth of the pit enables the master to control wages more than he otherwise would?—I believe that that is the general feeling, but with regard to ourselves (and I believe it is the case throughout South Wales) we cannot afford to stock our coal.

10,333. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is it not the fact that any attempt of that sort would be perfectly futile, inasmuch as the demand on your works is so large that it would be impossible to keep any large quantity on your pit banks?—The difficulty arises from the fact that the coal depreciates in value on being stocked, and that in such depreciation the profit is lost, and that consequently it would be much better for us to stop our colliery than work it in that way.

10,334. About the employment of women, have you any large number of women employed in your works?—We have not a large number, we have a few comparatively speaking.

10,335. In collieries or in ironworks?—We have none in collieries.

10,336. Of course you cannot employ them in the pits because that is prohibited by the law?—We have them employed in light work upon the pit banks.

10,337. What is the physical condition of those women that are employed on the pit bank?—They all appear to me to be very healthy and well to do and happy and smiling.

10,338. And generally speaking very good looking?—I cannot say that.

10,339. What is their rate of wages?—They have from 1*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* and even 2*s.* a day.

10,340. And they work six days a week?—Yes.

10,341. So that the average rate of wages is from 6*s.* to 9*s.* a week?—Yes, I should say so.

10,342. If any legislative arrangement were to take place to exclude those women from employment would they feel that a great hardship, or would they be able to go into service?—I think that they feel themselves much more free than if they went to service. It has come to my knowledge that they have declined service when offered to them.

10,343. Would it be possible to find domestic service for the large number of women who would be excluded from employment about the collieries?—I take it that wherever there is a healthy employment, and one not derogatory to the character of women, it is a positive benefit to society for women to be engaged in it.

10,344. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What sort of work do they do?—They pick out the rubbish from the coal, oil the trams and hook the trains, and so on.

10,345. Are they exposed to the weather in that work?—They are in some places.

10,346. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Are they dressed in boys' clothes?—No, they are dressed in ordinary petticoats, without crinoline.

10,347. They do not wear men's clothes in any case?—No, not in our district.

10,348. Are you aware that they do in many districts?—Yes. I do not mean to say that with us they do not wear breeches sometimes.

10,349. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You say that any work that is not derogatory to the character of women is advantageous for them; do you consider this work derogatory to the character of women?—I think that they are better off than those not employed at all.

10,350. (*Mr. Mathews.*) What is their comparative morality; do you think them less moral than other women in their class of life?—I do not think so.

10,351. (*Mr. Booth.*) They do not lose caste in their own neighbourhood by working in this way?—No.

10,352. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Have you seen women in England working in the turnip fields in England?—Yes.

10,353. Are they better or worse off than these women you speak of?—Not so well off. We have a large farm and frequently employ women in some of the classes of labour, and I should say that those employed on the pits bank are superior. The employment of women in ironworks becomes a very different question. I think where they are employed at night it is a different thing altogether.

10,354. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Women in Wales are much more frequently employed in all kinds of employments than they are in any part of this country, is not that so?—I do not think that Wales would at all compare with the Lancashire cotton districts in that respect.

10,355. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Do you think that the condition of the women employed at the collieries is a

Mr. J. Brogden.

28 Nov. 1867.

better condition than that of the women employed in cotton works at Manchester?—I do not think it is.

10,356. The women employed in the cotton works at Manchester are all employed under cover, are they not?—Yes.

10,357. And it is not hard labour?—I cannot say that the usual practice in Wales is to give the women hard labour. I do not think that we have a case where a woman has very hard labour.

10,358. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Have you had any opportunity of making any comparisons of the two classes of the women employed in the factories and those employed on collieries?—I had three years' experience in one of the largest cotton mills in England, which belonged to our family and was unfortunately burnt down, and I had experience with regard to that particular class, and I may say that of the two classes those employed on collieries, so far as my knowledge goes, are far more healthy than those employed in the cotton mills. At the same time I do not think that there is the same intelligence amongst those employed in the collieries as there is amongst those employed in the cotton mills.

10,359. You say that they are far more healthy; probably, therefore, they are more happy?—Probably.

10,360. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What rate of wages do those women get that work on the pit's bank?—From 1*s.* up to 1*s.* 6*d.*, and even 2*s.* a day.

10,361. Will you tell me from your own experience what women get at the cotton factories?—I have known them get from 8*s.* up to even 15*s.* a week.

10,362. Then the wages do not materially differ in the one case from the other?—I take it that they are much the same.

10,363. Excepting that the women employed in factory work are under cover and are always warm?—Yes, but I do not think it follows from that that they should be always healthy. I do not think that it is the fact.

10,364. But I suppose you know that one mode of estimating the civilization or barbarity of a people is the mode in which their women are treated?—I think that is so.

10,365. And one of the modes that are thought improper and bad is employing women in a manner that tends to degrade them and injure their health, and that entails on them hard labour?—Yes.

10,366. Is not that operation which you speak of on the pit's bank rather a man's work than a woman's work?—I say, to begin with, that we place no women to do work which involves hard labour and which is men's work, but we make a very clear distinction between the two. We place a woman to light work which alone she is capable of doing, and pay her accordingly.

10,367. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Do you let women pile?—Yes; but, as I said before, their employment in ironworks, where they are obliged to work at night, I should like to see altered.

10,368. Is piling in your judgment work for a man or for a woman?—If you ask me whether a woman is capable of working at that without injury to herself I should say that up to a certain extent she would be able to do better than a man. I think, generally speaking, we shall all give ladies the credit of having more aptitude, quickness, and neatness, and the system of piling is essentially that kind of work.

10,369. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is the occupation of women both on the pits bank and in the ironworks of that nature, that it would be thrown away if men's labour were applied to it?—I think it would.

10,370. The men's labour would cost more and would in a great measure be thrown away on work of that light nature?—I think to that extent; but with regard to ironworks where there are a number of people employed, and who can always get out of sight, and women are obliged to work at night, I certainly confess that I should rather see them not employed in that way.

10,371. Then the only objection which you have to the labour of women, would apply to women who are engaged in night work in the ironworks?—Yes, I feel that.

10,372. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Are women employed in the ironworks in Yorkshire?—I think they are.

10,373. Still there are some works that are carried on without the work of women there, are there not?—I do not know much of that district.

10,374. Do you believe that women are employed in all ironworks?—I could not answer that question.

10,375. Because if it be the case that in some works they manage without them, there can be no necessity for the employment of women?—I do not mean to say that they cannot be done without.

10,376. It is a question of cost I suppose?—I think beyond that it is a question of advisability. I take it as a principle, that whenever you can find employment for women, it is an advantage to the country and a boon to themselves.

10,377. Do you think then that this employment of women, if it does not exist in Staffordshire and Yorkshire, might be a benefit if introduced there?—So far as working on the pit's bank goes, I think so.

10,378. Do you know that the coal workers' unions have made systematic and organized efforts to abolish the working of women on the pit's bank in Lancashire?—Yes, I believe they have, but I have not much to do with that.

10,379. You know probably that they are in the habit of working there, and also in certain parts of Yorkshire, in men's clothes?—Yes, I have seen them. I cannot help thinking that the employment of women in the operations I speak of cannot be more derogatory to them than the working upon the mines and the timber as they do in Cornwall.

10,380. (*Chairman.*) I understand from you that there is a difficulty in finding employment for women, that there are a great many women who are capable of being usefully employed in the way you describe, and who cannot find other employment?—Clearly so.

10,381. I suppose that is within the observation of every looker on in human life?—It is the fact.

10,382. (*Mr. Booth.*) Do you think that, speaking of your neighbourhood and your own experience, the question as to what way women might be properly employed in might reasonably be left to the judgment of the employers?—I quite think so with regard to the working on the surface, not in the mines.

10,383. You do not think any new legislation necessary in that respect?—I do not at all.

10,384. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Have you any association of masters in your district?—We have no association of masters further than that which Mr. Clark described. The ironmasters in case of a reduction of the price of iron meet together and confer as to the advisability of reducing it a certain rate per cent., in accordance with the rates in other parts of the country.

10,385. And they act upon it?—They act upon it.

10,386. Each in his own works?—Each in his own works.

10,387. If you approve of that, how do you distinguish that from the supposed action of the men in unions, who meet from different works to settle what rate of wages they will take, and then in each works enforce it upon their masters if they can?—In the one case the way is perfectly free, that is to say, there is no compulsion upon the master that he shall reduce, and no penalty if he does not.

10,388. We heard something of a penalty of 500*l.*?—That was 20 years ago.

10,389. Still you think it perfectly fair that masters should meet to settle the rate of wages which shall be enforced at 20 different works, and that the men belonging to those 20 different works would only be doing mischief if they met to settle the rate of wages on their part?—I do not state it so. I say that it is advisable for the men to be perfectly free in the same way as the masters, but that what I do contend is wrong is that either men or masters should combine to oppress one another.

10,390. But combination to settle the rate of wages

is what I am speaking about and not oppression. 20 masters, say, meet and settle the rate of wages which each of them shall give, and they all feel bound in honour to enforce in their own works that rate of wages, and a master who does not enforce it is considered as having broken his promise?—No, I think you are taking the case rather as granted. In going to the meeting we only go to confer upon the advisability of such a step, and it is quite within the power of anyone of the meeting to say, "I will not agree to it."

10,391. Is it the fact, as Mr. Clark said, that in the association there was a case in this last year in which one master broke the agreement as to the rate of wages which Mr. Clark said was the reason why he did not wish the meeting continued?—I know the case alluded to, and I do not agree with Mr. Clark in his statement of it.

10,392. Do you mean to say that you do not endeavour to settle the rate of wages at those meetings?—Of course, I know we do. We try to settle on a principle; that is to say, supposing that the rate of wages has ruled throughout the district for certain prices, then in the case of a reduction of wages occurring throughout any other district, in Staffordshire, or in Scotland, or in Middlesbro', we find that it is advisable for our district also to reduce, we meet together to confer upon the advisibility of reducing wages or reducing our manufacture so as to reduce the quantity made, and thereby increase the price. If it is thought advisable that instead of reducing our manufacture we should give the workmen full employment, but a little lower rate of wages, so as to enable the masters to meet the times, then we try to carry that out upon the principle that so much per cent. shall be reduced. But we are not bound by anything that is determined upon.

10,393. Except for moral suasion or anything else you please to call it. You would think a fellow a shabby fellow if he did not keep to his agreement?—Of course, I should hold any man bound by his agreement, but as to what is agreed upon at this meeting I know it was said by one person, "I cannot do it because I have a certain contract that I cannot fulfil "if I do it;" therefore it is not binding.

10,394. (*Mr. Mathews.*) The ironmasters do not attempt to exercise any other than a social influence over one another?—It is not binding.

10,395. If a man does not act upon his compact they let him go his own way?—Yes, that is so.

10,396. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Would you remonstrate with him?—I do not know that we have ever done that.

10,397. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you think that to call a man a shabby fellow would bring a person within the combination laws and would be a case of intimidation?—I do not know.

10,398. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Do you know any instance in which one of the members of your association has been called a shabby fellow by another?—I do not know that I could put it exactly in that way, but I know that things of that sort can be said.

10,399. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Assuming for the moment that the men's unions stop short of physical violence in carrying out their resolutions as to wages which they arrive at in combination, how do you distinguish their union from yours?—I think that in the one case supposing all the ironmasters in South Wales came to a certain agreement and one individual was a delinquent, or supposed delinquent, and they went to his house for the purpose of conferring with him, or remonstrating with him, it would hardly be held by anyone that they went there for the purpose of intimidation, but in such a case as I have quoted to-day where men meet in such numbers armed in the way I have described, there is very strong evidence, I think, of intimidation.

10,400. (*Mr. Harrison.*) But you do not connect it with the union?—I do connect it with the union.

10,401. (*Chairman.*) I understand you to say that if masters meet together and get information and advise each other upon the terms upon which they can conduct their business you think that proper?—Yes.

10,402. If workmen meet together and advise each other upon the terms on which they can conduct their business you think that proper?—Yes.

10,403. If either tries to intimidate or hurt the other you do not think that right?—Just so. Perhaps I may be allowed to suggest that in dealing with the cases of the workmen in regard to the particular occasions of strikes and so on, it would be a great advantage if those cases were referred to the stipendiary magistrate so far as could be, because I think that with the practice he has, which is very much more extensive than the local magistrates have, he is more competent to deal with them.

10,404. (*Chairman.*) Are you in the Merthyr district?—No.

10,405. A reference has been made to-day to the stipendiary magistrate in the Merthyr district, do you know him?—Yes, that is Mr. Fowler.

10,406. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) What sort of cases do you refer to?—Cases of intimidation.

10,407. (*Mr. Booth.*) Would they not all be so referred if there were a stipendiary magistrate in the neighbourhood?—We are out of his district, therefore our cases would go to the local magistrate. I think if the law would extend so far as to permit us to take such cases to the nearest stipendiary magistrate it would be an advantage.

10,408. (*Mr. Harrison.*) As to that one particular class of case you think there should be an exception?—Yes, because the law upon the subject appears to be very indistinct.

10,409. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Have you attended to the question of the extent of the general iron trade throughout the country, and the question of foreign competition?—No, I have not with regard to the quantities of the iron. I am not conversant with the figures and statistics, but I know that foreign competition has interfered with the price of iron very much indeed, and I have found that the contracts which we have had offered to us have been taken up in the Belgian market for bar iron more particularly.

10,410. Have you known in your own case that contracts you have tendered for have gone to Belgium?—Yes, I can give time, and place, and everything.

10,411. (*Chairman.*) Of more than one case?—I can give more than one, I know that in one case we had a contract offered to us for bar iron delivered in London and the contract was taken by a Belgian house to supply bar iron delivered into London at a lower price than we could take it at. Before leaving I wish to add this—I do not know whether the Commissioners will permit a special inquiry into the case which I have brought before them to day to be made in the country. I believe the Trades Union Act gives them the power of appointing a special commission to inquire into the facts.

(*Chairman.*) We will take the matter into consideration.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. Frederick Smith examined.

10,412. (*Chairman.*) You are manager of Lord Dudley's works?—I am the general manager of all Lord Dudley's mining estates in Staffordshire and Worcestershire.

10,413. They are, as we know, very large works. I will ask you the number of men employed by the week, or the sum paid by the week?—According to good or bad times, they will range from 6,000 to 8,000 men.

10,414. Has the rate of wages borne a proportion to the price of iron in the South Staffordshire district, so that they shall be something in the nature of a sliding scale?—Yes. But I have to deal with not

Mr. F. Smith.
28 Nov. 1867.

only iron, but coal to a very much larger extent, and limestone, and fireclay also.

10,415. The proportion of wages to the price of iron is a thing which adjusts itself, but that does not apply, as I understand you, to coal and limestone?—Whenever iron goes up the price of wages goes up also; but during the last 10 years that sliding scale has altered very much in favour of the men. The men have gained two steps upon the masters, that is to say, the margin of profit on a ton of iron has been twice narrowed within the last few years by the price of iron having been reduced without a corresponding reduction in the price of the ironworkers' wages, so that the ironworker has gained two steps for his labour over the price that the master has sold his iron for.

10,416. Has the action of the unions had any bearing upon the proportion of wages to the price of iron?—Very much indeed.

10,417. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Since then have there been any unions in existence in the iron trade in your part of the country that you have been aware of?—It is difficult to say when combination ended and unionism began. There was always a combination amongst the colliers whenever there was a strike, but at what point it glided from a temporary combination into an organized union I can hardly say.

10,418. But I understand you to attribute the rise in wages in the district to the action of the unions; did you mean of organized unions, such as we call trades unions, or did you merely mean combinations of the men?—That march was stolen on the masters just about the time that the temporary combinations ended and unionism began.

10,419. Then we may date the existence of unions from that period. When was that?—I see that on August the 19th, 1863, the declared price of iron (for the actual price and the declared price are always very different in South Staffordshire) was 7*l.* I have a note to that effect in my note-book. It was not prepared in anticipation of this examination, but I have just discovered it. The price was advanced on that day to 7*l.* 10*s.*, whilst the wages, which had been 7*s.* 6*d.*, were advanced on that day to 8*s.* 6*d.*, so that the masters lost 6*d.* by that move.

10,420. That was in August 1863?—It was in August 1863.

10,421. Did that advance in wages follow immediately upon an advance in price?—The alteration in wages and the alteration in price took effect at the same moment.

10,422. It followed immediately?—They were simultaneous; the alteration in the wages and in the price of the produce of those wages took place at the same moment.

10,423. I thought you said that there was a gain to the men at that time; is that the time you now refer to, August 1863?—That was one gain of 6*d.* to the men. The puddler ought to have been advanced from 7*s.* 6*d.* to 8*s.*, instead of which he was advanced to 8*s.* 6*d.*, so that the masters lost 6*d.* by that fluctuation in the price of labour.

10,424. At that time was there any organized union existing in that part of the country?—I should hardly like to answer that, as to date. There was a combination; I make a difference between a combination of men for the time being and an organized union. I can hardly tell you at what time the combination ended and the union began.

10,425. But you know that there have been unions in existence since that time?—Certainly.

10,426. And they were established, as far as I understand you, at that time?—Somewhere about that time.

10,427. Was it in consequence of the action taken by the masters then, or had they been established before, and did they bring about that gain to the men; that is what I want to ascertain?—I can hardly answer that question.

10,428. Then I understand you to say that you are not in a position to attribute that rise in wages which took place in August 1863 to the action of the trades unions, as we now understand them?—There was a pressure put by the men on the masters, but whether that pressure was the result of a combination or of an organized union, I am unable now to remember.

10,429. What other rise has there been in the wages in that district?—In the following September (September 1863) iron was advanced 10*s.* a ton more, and the wages went up (when I say wages, I am speaking of puddlers' wages only, because that is a sort of datum line that all others are guided by) from 8*s.* 6*d.* to 9*s.* 6*d.*, so that the masters lost a second 6*d.*, and the men gained a second 6*d.* more there.

10,430. Do you attribute that to the action of the puddlers' union?—To the pressure of the men upon the masters as the result of combination, but really I am unable to say when the combination ended and the union began without referring to notes which I have not here.

10,431. Can you refer us to any instance in which the union has acted as a union for the purpose of raising wages or of resisting a reduction?—Yes. I can speak more particularly of the time since 1864, because, although for 21 years I have had the management of the colliery department, the ironworks have only within the last few years come into my management, and therefore I am not so familiar with the iron trade about the time that you are speaking of as I am with it since that time; but on each occasion, when there has been any difference between the masters and the men, the union has dealt with this matter, in my opinion at all events, not so much a question of what the masters could bear or the state of trade in the country would justify, but as a question of whether by putting the screw on the masters they could wring from those masters better terms than they then had, regardless of whether it was for the permanent interest of the master, or the permanent interest of the trade of the country, just as though the markets of England ruled the whole world instead of having, as they have now, to compete with Belgium, Prussia, Austria, and France.

10,432. Had the unions anything to do with the North Staffordshire strike; are you aware whether they took any part in it?—I know it by hearsay. I am more practically acquainted with the strikes in my own neighbourhood. Turning for a moment from iron to coal (in South Staffordshire are very much mixed up), I could give some facts which might be useful. On the 1st of July 1864 it was found necessary to reduce the price of coal in order to reduce the price of iron, and the moment the attempt was made by the masters to reduce coal the union stepped in and collected large sums of money (the particulars of which I have here), and, putting all reason aside, were determined to stand out to force the masters to keep to the old rate of wages. I myself met a very large number, perhaps 10,000 of the men, and had a long discussion with them, and used such practical arguments that the leaders were quite satisfied with the reason of the thing; but instead of that leading them to induce the men to accept the masters terms the whole conference ended in their saying, "It is very true, sir, but still unless we can get our extra 6*d.* a day we will not go to work." That was the result of our conference with the men, and although something like seven-tenths of the men were willing to go to work, and did their best to go to work, and ran the risk of all sorts of terrorism, yet they were so kept down and overawed by the few who were the leaders of the union that they dared not, and did not, go to work for a long time. In some instances (and I have a list here of four explosions) of cottages in which the men who were willing to work lived were attacked in the night-time by the union men, and they had various missiles of an explosive character thrown into them. All the details of those cases I have here, and I will give you one or two instances if you wish to hear them. At Musham, in the parish of Dudley, at a cottage belonging to Rowley, who with his wife and three children was asleep upstairs on the 13th of October

1864, about 2 o'clock in the night, two men appeared outside the house and were seen by J. Dymock, the father-in-law of Rowley, to throw a tin can through the kitchen window, which immediately exploded with a loud noise, blowing the front wall completely out, and part of the end wall. The bedroom floor was forced up and partially shattered, and the whole roof was more or less damaged, and a part of it was entirely blown away. Miraculously, the five persons who were asleep escaped injury, except Rowley, who was burnt a little. He had been working down a coalpit, and did not belong to the union. The next morning I visited his cottage, and immediately had it rebuilt, and put it into the best state of repair; and every cottage that was afterwards blown up I treated in the same way, so that the innocent party who was attacked by the unionist should not suffer from his good intention to work in the face of the union men.

10,433. (*Mr. Mathews.*) These cottages were on Lord Dudley's estate, I suppose?—Three were and one was not. A reward of 50*l.* was offered by the Crown and 25*l.* by the Dudley magistrates, and eventually a man named Parkes was convicted and sentenced to 10 years' penal servitude. The cost of Parkes's defence was, no doubt, borne by the union, as I can show you from a book which was presented to me a few days ago. Some of those who have been leaders of the union hearing that I was going to give evidence paid me the compliment of having this book (*producing it*) reprinted, and made me a present of it, that I might make use of it. It shows all the monies received during those 20 weeks and all the expenditure. In it I see various sums for Mr. Kenealy and other learned gentlemen at the county assizes. There is just enough in it to identify these various expenses, with the act of blowing up the cottages.

10,434. Can you put in that book?—I can put in a certified manuscript copy of it; I would rather not part with the book itself.

10,435. (*Mr. Hughes.*) They have probably printed other copies of it?—I believe that this is the only copy. Doubtless there were several copies of it struck off at the time, but it had gone out of print, and this was struck off for me a short time ago.

10,436. Was Parkes proved to belong to an union?—"Mr. Bennett to attend at Dudley in the case of Daniel Parkes;" there is the name.

10,437. That is the proof, as far as you have it of his membership?—It is difficult to answer that question at this moment. Inasmuch as they pride themselves on being the leaders of the union, of course I could not produce legal evidence as to whether they were or were not, but it was generally admitted at the time that Parkes not only belonged to it, but that he was one of the leading men of the union.

10,438. I do not know the fact one way or the other. I only ask whether you know it?—I cannot pretend to establish it in the way that a court of law would require; but the presumptive evidence is, that he not only belonged to it, but was one of the leading men of it. There is another curious case of explosion (this is near Dudley), in which the missile instead of going through the window into the house and exploding there, hit the bar of the window, fell back and exploded near the man who had thrown it, and blew the man's cap off his head. He ran away leaving his cap behind, and in consequence of that the police afterwards discovered him, and he was convicted by means of his own cap which had been blown off by his own act.

10,439. (*Mr. Booth.*) Have you anything to connect that man with the union?—Yes, he was a leading man of it. That book which I have already shown you contains evidence of the union defending him.

10,440. (*Mr. Merivale.*) Was he convicted?—Yes, and sentenced to 12 months' hard labour. Here are my notes of the case which I have just given. About 10 minutes to 4 o'clock on the morning of the 11th of October 1864, a can containing gunpowder was thrown at the window of the house of John Haywood, at Springs Mire, near Dudley. Fortunately the can struck the bar of the window and fell back on to the footpath, where it exploded, blowing off the cap of the man who threw it. Haywood and his wife and eight children were asleep in the house. Haywood was then working as collier in defiance of the union. The explosion blew the cap off the head of the perpetrator who sent it, who turned out to be Edward Wilkes, and he was sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment. Francis Jeavons was also convicted, and received the same punishment. A reward was offered by Government and by the local authorities of 60*l.* Jeavons and Wilkes were on strike. Those are my notes of that case. I have others, but it would merely be repeating the same sort of thing to read them.

10,441. (*Chairman.*) It is all the same strike, is it?—Yes, all the same strike.

10,442. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Perhaps you can give us these cases, if desired, in writing?—Yes. In one instance one of our agents who had the management of one of our collieries—his name is Thomas Sheen—was succeeding with the assistance of the police to get a number of our men to work, and they were met by an organized body of colliers from another district. They managed things so cleverly, that to intimidate the colliers of one district they would import the colliers of another district a long way off, so that they could not be known by any of the authorities in the district into which they were sent, and they could exercise a great deal more terrorism over men in that way than they could if they were influenced by the union men of their own district. In this case our agent was threatened, and, to the surprise of the mob, he drew a revolver and said that if the man who threatened him struck him (he had got a great bludgeon) he would at once use his revolver, and this struck such terror into the man who was nearest to Sheen that he drew back, and the whole mob drew back also.

10,443. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) What was the date of this?—This was in the autumn of 1864 when the great colliers strike took place. On another occasion we got one of our pits to work, where there was a great deal of ironstone on the bank, many thousand tons, and a mob (it is reported to me of 1,000 men, but it is difficult to calculate numbers) came and threatened that if the men who were ready to go down to work did not refrain from going down they would throw the engine driver down, and fill up the pit with the ironstone on the bank. That prevented the pit working, although the men were willing and desirous to go to work.

10,444. At that time the colliers marched about in large bodies along the roads, did they not?—Not only along the roads, but anywhere they chose. They came on to some of our collieries away from the roads, and this was an instance; I mention it to show that they did not confine their processions to the roads, but even came over private property, as though they had a right to do it; and, as I have already said, threatened to throw the ironstone down the pit. And in many instances they fastened up the doors of the houses in which the colliers lived who consented to go to work, so that when they got up of a morning they could not get out of their houses; they were literally nailed up in their own houses; and one of our charter-masters had one of his men thrown into the canal because he persisted in working. As I said by far the greater majority (seven-tenths I should say) of the men were willing and desirous to go to work, but were deterred from doing so by the action of the unionists.

10,445. Did that state of things last for a considerable time?—From Midsummer to about the 20th of November.

10,446. And at last the authorities interfered and put a stop to those proceedings?—Yes, but another fact which I will mention had also a great influence over the men. Finding that none of our own agents and people had anything to do during the strike, I sent them all over England, and employed all our engines and trucks, and so forth, in importing coal

Mr. F. Smith.
28 Nov. 1867.

from every part of England where coal was to be had. The colliers finding that this was going on, made an arrangement (these facts were given to me by one of the great leaders of the strike who was a party to giving me the book I have referred to) to blow up one of the railway bridges, so that no more coals should be brought. Well, the authorities took such care to prevent that that the coals still continued to come in, and I brought it in in such a wholesale way that I built up a large wall of coal nearly round one of our works.

10,447. Are you prepared to give the name of the man who gave you that information?—I think that it would require a little consideration; perhaps I ought to ask him whether I should mention his name.

10,448. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Could you ask him whether he would have any objection to come and state those facts himself?—I think he would be very willing to come and do so.

10,449. Or the other man Sheen?—Sheen would only speak about the bludgeon and the revolver.

10,450. He would speak to the fact of the violence?—Yes.

10,451. (*Chairman.*) Coal and iron, you say, are often intertwined?—In South Staffordshire they are more intertwined than anywhere else. To conclude my story, I built a wall many feet high and many yards wide, nearly round one of our large works. Then a procession of some thousands of colliers came to visit the works, and seeing this large store of coal said, "Well, it is no use our striking any more, the more we strike the more coal they get." That action on the Round Oak side of Dudley, simultaneously with the action of the police, on the other side of Dudley, in attacking and breaking up the band, brought the great coal strike of 1864 to a close.

10,452. Had that great importation of coal into the country an effect upon the coal trade of the district for a considerable time?—We have never recovered that; it brought in a great deal of foreign coal. I mean English coal which was not Staffordshire coal into the district on that occasion, and it has never ceased to come in since.

10,453. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Going back to the iron trade, you are aware of the existence of unions among the ironworkers latterly, I believe?—Yes.

10,454. Can you state any case in which they have taken an active part in resisting a reduction of wages or obtaining a rise beyond those which you have mentioned, and those you say you cannot positively state were owing to the interference of the union?—They are always on the alert to get a rise whenever they can.

10,455. Men are always looking out to get a rise of wages if they can, just in the same way as masters are. I suppose to get a rise of prices?—Yes. The unions have improved very much lately, but until lately the unions seemed to me to think that if they only put a certain pressure on the masters, they could force the master up with his prices and *pari passu* with their wages. That might have been so formerly, when the produce of England found its way into all parts of the world, but now we are being very much competed with by Belgium, Prussia, Austria, and France, and although we still continue to send a great deal of iron into other districts, yet those countries I have named send a great deal in also, where we formerly had the monopoly. If the unions force the masters up with wages in England, and consequently they are obliged to go up in their prices, the consequence is that we have to compete under that much greater disadvantage with the produce of Prussia, Austria, France, and Belgium.

10,456. But it occurs to me that with the exception of the strike referred to in 1863, there has been no strike of ironworkers in South Staffordshire at all. There was one in 1863 which you have already referred to, I think?—The one I have referred to was a coal strike in 1864.

10,457. But you have referred also to a strike in the iron trade in 1863?—I do not think I stated that there was a strike in August 1863.

10,458. (*Mr. Booth.*) You said that pressure was put upon the masters, and a rise followed?—There was pressure put upon the masters, but I have no record here that there was a strike.

10,459. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) In point of fact there has been no strike except that 1863 strike, and at that time you say you are not aware that the unions were in existence in South Staffordshire?—I should like it put in somewhat different phraseology; there was a combination of the men, but whether that was a temporary combination or an organized union, I am unable at this moment to say. The general lock-out began Monday, March 6th, 1865.

10,460. That 1863 strike is the only strike you know of that has taken place in South Staffordshire on the part of the ironworkers?—There must have been strikes before, but I am not prepared with evidence on that point.

10,461. We have been told that the rate of wages has always been governed by the price of iron in Staffordshire. That when the price of iron goes up, wages rise in proportion, and that they fall in proportion when the price of iron goes down. That is so, is it not?—That has been pretty nearly so. I find now from my notes that the facts are these: On December the 31st, 1864, we gave 14 days' notice to the puddlers to reduce their wages to 9*s.* 6*d.* and the millmen 10 per cent. All in South Staffordshire and the North of England accepted the notice, but the North Staffordshire men struck. The general lock-out began Monday March the 6th, 1865.

10,462. I did not refer to that. That was a lock-out, and was not a strike brought about by the ironworkers in South Staffordshire. I will come to that presently, because that is a different point. That arrangement which I spoke of with regard to wages has been in existence for a considerable time, has it not?—Yes, but it has not been adhered to. As I have shown you, the men have gained upon the masters.

10,463. I want to know whether whenever the price of iron has risen the rate of wages has risen in proportion for all those employed in the iron trade, or has it been only for the puddlers?—For all.

10,464. And in the same proportion. For instance we have been told that when there is a rise in the price of iron of 1*l.* a ton, there is a rise of 10 per cent. in the wages?—Of 10 per cent. in the millmen's wages, and of 1*s.* in the puddlers.

10,465. But is it always the case that the rise in the case of the millmen is the same as in the case of the puddlers?—Yes, it professes to go on these principles: for every 10*s.* rise or fall in the price of iron puddlers wages go up or down 6*d.* a ton. Millmen's wages go up or down in the same ratio, only that is calculated by per-centage and not by money. 10 per cent. to the millmen corresponds with 1*s.* per ton to the puddler.

10,466. The rise has always taken place upon that scale?—Yes, only that the men on two occasions have, if I may use the word, stolen a march on the masters and gained an advance, which the masters have not recovered, of two sixpences, making 1*s.* altogether.

10,467. Does that apply both to the puddlers and to the millmen?—It applies to the puddlers only.

10,468. I ask that question for this reason. We have been told that the proportion of wages to the cost of production is so large, that it makes it necessary for a fall in wages to take place with a fall in the price of iron. What I want to ascertain is, whether the fall that takes place in the wages applies to all the men employed in the trade, so that the millmen share it in the same proportion as the puddlers?—My impression is, that the millmen had not the same advantage as the puddlers over the masters on those two occasions. The masters have never recovered that lost ground with the puddlers. On one occasion they were actually three sixpences ahead; the masters have recovered the third sixpence, and now there is a difference of two sixpences between

the men and the masters. And for my part I do not wish ever to see a puddler working at a less rate of wages than he is at this present time, even though unfortunately the price of iron should have to be reduced, because the moment you bring a class of men like the puddlers, who are very hard worked, below a certain rate of wages, that moment you riddle the community of the best men. They are draughted off to other occupations, and they bring up their sons to other trades.

10,469. Still, if the price of iron will not permit the existing rate of wages to be continued, it is impossible to continue it without carrying on the works at a loss?—But I would rather have an ironmaster work for no profit at all for a short time, than I would for a short time reduce my puddlers to any price below what they are receiving now, because it would recoil upon myself.

10,470. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You would not wish to see them reduced below 8*s.* 6*d.* a ton?—Just so.

10,471. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Then you think the unions were right in making this claim for a rise; that they were acting for the benefit of the community in doing so?—My own feeling is such, that as a master I do all I possibly can to get the price of produce and the price of labour up to the highest point I can, consistently with the state of trade, without waiting to have any pressure put upon me.

10,472. And you think that the action of the union in this case has been beneficial, because you have stated it is in your opinion desirable that this rate of wages should be retained?—It should be retained when the condition of the trade and the condition of the country will admit of its being retained. But the union proceeds on another principle. "We will "have wages up to the highest point we can get "them to, regardless of anything else."

10,473. But the result of their action has been to keep wages at this point where they now stand which you think is an equitable and right point, and which you do not wish to see them depart from?—At the end of 1864 or 1865 they had forced up wages to such an inordinately high rate, that it reacted upon the country, and we have never recovered that. It drove the trade out of the country. We did very well for a few months with high prices for produce and high rates of wages, but it had such an effect upon the trade of the country that it drove it out into other countries, and we have never since been able to get it back. It has reacted upon us ever since, and we are now suffering in long periods of depression for the little prosperity that we had during those few months, when wages and prices were pushed up inordinately high by the operation of the union. They felt that at that particular moment the masters would bear a little pressure put upon them, and that pressure was put upon the masters, and up went labour and also produce, and that has reacted upon us most terribly since by permanently diverting our trade.

10,474. (*Mr Mathews.*) When you speak of your desire not to see the price of puddling go below 8*s.* 6*d.* I believe the understanding of the trade is now that it is never reduced below 7*s.* 6*d.*?—Yes.

10,475. Inasmuch as all other wages are regulated by the price of puddling does your remark as to puddlers wages remaining as they are apply to all other descriptions of wages?—No, because some other descriptions of wages are overpaid.

10,476. If wages rise and fall with the price of iron, how is it that you wish puddlers' wages to be on a different footing from other wages?—Because there is a disproportion between the wages paid to puddlers and the wages paid to some other classes of men.

10,477. That is the only exception; generally the relations exist very much as they have always done, so that that does not apply to the bulk of wages, does it?—No, but to certain departments of ironwork in which there is so much of the principle of farming out work, and then some few lucky men or ingenious men get hold of this work which is farmed to them and net very great profits which they themselves get out of the men whom they employ.

10,478. That is owing to their taking piece-work?—Yes.

10,479. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) To what departments do you refer, when you say that they are too highly paid?—Shearers, and millmen, and rollers, and stock takers; they are paid exceedingly high.

10,480. They are too highly paid in proportion to the amount of skill required in their trade as compared with the skill required in the case of puddlers, you think?—Yes. They have forced masters up by means of combination.

10,481. Then can you point to any instance in which the unions of the millmen have produced a rise in wages?—I can only point to the general effect of it. I cannot point to any one individual instance without working up evidence of that kind; but the practical effect of it on a period of years is that they are extravagantly highly paid.

10,482. But if you always paid your wages upon the same scale, according to the price of iron, there must have been something to interrupt that arrangement?—I presume that the improvements of machinery from time to time have facilitated the work of the millmen and the shearers, and those classes. Perhaps when the scale of wages was originally agreed upon it was fair and reasonable, but of late years (I can only account for it in this way at the moment) probably the improvement of machinery and so forth has enabled a man to do very much more of some classes of work in a given time now than he could do formerly, whilst the same scale of wages that he used to have he obtains now.

10,483. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is there any material improvement of machinery in mill work, except perhaps in the shears?—In the general carrying out of the works there is, so that a man can do more work in a given time than he could formerly.

10,484. Do you think that that applies generally to mill work?—I know what is being done now, but I must appeal to older witnesses as to what was done formerly.

10,485. (*Mr. Hughes.*) But when a profit is got in that way by the introduction of machinery do not you think it desirable that the men should share to some extent in it?—Yes, but the moment you introduce anything new of that kind the union is down upon you at once, and will not have anything new unless it lands the men in a better position than they were before.

10,486. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Taking puddling, there is no improvement in material machinery there, but the process is very much the same as it was?—Yes.

10,487. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) I understand it to be your opinion that while the scale of wages is the same as it used to be, machinery has not facilitated the work of puddlers as it has facilitated the work of millmen?—Yes.

10,488. I was going on to ask you this question, how is it, if that is your opinion, that when a reduction has taken place in the wages, you have not put a larger portion of that reduction upon the millmen when you thought they were getting too high wages?—It ought to have been done, but it has not been done. I must say this, that the millmen, on the whole, are a most orderly set of men, and in what I have had to do with their union they have acted in a way which has been very much to their credit. I must give the millmen credit for that. I have not known the millmen attempt to be extortionate; perhaps that may be attributable in part to their knowing that they have high remuneration for the work that they do.

10,489. But do you think that they would resist a reduction?—Yes.

10,490. And has that had anything to do with your not having carried out the arrangement which I just now suggested, that you should reduce their wages more in proportion to the puddlers; has the fact that they would resist a reduction influenced you in deciding not to reduce their wages in such a proportion as you think right?—Yes.

Mr. F. Smith.

28 Nov. 1867.

10,491. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Do you think that it would be possible to reduce millmen's wages if you did not reduce puddlers?—It would be difficult.

10,492. They would resist it upon this ground, that inasmuch as puddlers' wages and theirs always rose or fell *pari passu*, you have no right to reduce them alone?—Yes.

10,493. If you say that the existing wages of the puddler are fair and reasonable, with the high rate of wages that that would involve in Staffordshire and other districts, how is it possible for them to compete on the continent for the iron trade?—We cannot. We are losing ground daily by the present high rate of wages being paid—every day the country is suffering.

10,494. If the Staffordshire men were to adopt the principle that you laid down, that puddlers' wages ought not to be reduced below what they are, would it not be the destruction of the Staffordshire trade?—There may be circumstances that would absolutely necessitate it. When I gave that opinion I meant that I should be sorry to see it done. I did not intend to say that it must not be done.

10,495. It comes to this, then, that although it may be a matter of necessity that it should be done, you as well as others would be sorry for the necessity to exist?—Yes.

10,496. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) I understand you to say that if any further reduction were necessitated by the price of iron, you think that that reduction ought to come off other departments of the trade, and not the puddlers?—The puddlers last of all. I would take it off every other department before I came to the puddlers.

10,497. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Would it be possible to disturb one department without disturbing the others?—Almost impossible. I meant to say that I would submit to a great loss in my profits before I would consent to a further reduction in the puddlers' wages.

10,498. That is very magnanimous, but we have had evidence, I think, that there is no profit in the manufacture of iron on the existing rate of wages; that, in fact, the present price of iron is subversive of all profit, and therefore giving up profit is not giving up a great deal?—Yes, that may be so.

10,499. What I want you to explain to the Commission is this: that if the ironmasters, as well as anybody else engaged in any other occupation, do not like encountering the unpalatable operation of reducing wages, so far you sympathise with them, but that the existing price of iron, and the existing rate of wages on the continent, compel a reduction in this country and in Staffordshire if it is to hold its ground at all?—Yes.

10,500. That would apply to puddling as well as other departments, inasmuch as you must reduce puddling if you reduce other branches?—Only I would reduce puddling last of all.

10,501. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) If you had the option, that is?—If I had the option.

10,502. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is it not the practice to reduce the different departments simultaneously?—It always has been the practice until the last year or two to reduce not only the ironmen but the colliers, the limestone men, and the ironstone men. But the last year or two that simultaneous movement has not taken place; iron has sometimes gone up or down without coal going up or down with it.

10,503. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Perhaps you do not take such a doleful view as some of the witnesses, and think that there may be a little profit even now to be made out of the iron trade at present prices?—Judging by the number of bankruptcies and insolvencies that have lately taken place in South Staffordshire, people who have compounded with their creditors for something under 1*s.* in the 1*l.*, and failed for very large sums indeed, there must be a great many men who have been working upon their capital as long as they could, and then when they have spent the last pound almost of their capital, they have gone into the Court of Bankruptcy. During this great colliers' strike there was one ironmaster, with four blast furnaces, who employed an immense number of men, who was regularly driven into the Court of Bankruptcy, and failed for several hundred thousand pounds, through that strike, and those works have never started since. They were destroyed there and then by the strike, and they have never started since.

10,504. But I suppose that though individual ironmasters and other masters may lose in a year, the aggregate trade to the country must be done at a profit every year?—The reply to that is this: In the iron trade, when everybody is working at a loss, those who happen to have all their ironstone, and all their own coal, and all their own limestone, can of course hold out longer than those who have to buy those things, because though they lose on their iron they gain on their mineral and so save themselves from ruin.

10,505. Then in that case would not all the ironmasters reduce their works as far as possible, and make as little as possible?—Some men have embarked so far in the trade that they cannot afford to reduce their make. They have bills running and which they could not meet if they were to reduce their make. Many of them feel that as long as they can just tide on, keeping their works going and stave off the day of settlement when they must go into the court of bankruptcy, they have just snatched so much from ruin.

10,506. But they would not increase their production?—No, they could not very well increase their production, because they want more capital, and that is just what they are short of.

10,507. Are you aware of the fact that the last returns which we have of the Board of Trade show an increase of upwards of 1,500,000*l.* over the previous year; that is to say, that in 1866 the returns of the Board of Trade show that the export iron trade of England was 1,000,000 and a good many hundred thousand pounds greater for that year than it was in 1865; and how do you reconcile that fact with what you say is the state of the iron trade?—Under a state of things in which it appears that every ironmaster must be losing, in 1865 the exports are 17,950,000*l.* and in 1866 they rise to 19,063,000*l.*?—I can perhaps account for that in this way. After the peace which followed Waterloo, I know for a historical fact, that you could buy from the colonies many British products cheaper than you could purchase them at home; the fact being that trade had by some means got deranged. And I have lately bought very largely certain railway materials quite new for 60 per cent. less than I can make them for, trade has been so deranged; and stocks are being sold up owing to the great number of bankruptcies in the country — trustees, inspectors, and so forth realizing—they must sell at whatever the market will enable them to sell at, and if tney cannot get the price that they ought to get with a profit on it they will get the next best price they can—and in some instances, as I tell you, I have bought large railway stocks for 60 per cent. less than I can make them for.

10,508. (*Mr. Merivale.*) But I suppose that these small incidental causes, such as the glut of the market which caused the export to the colonies, will hardly account for so general a result as that shown by the Board of Trade returns—it wants some greater cause?—It wants thinking out, but I am mentioning practical points that come to my mind at this moment.

10,509. May I ask you this question—is it not the fact that independently both of unions and of foreign competition the trade of South Staffordshire in particular has had a good deal to fight against lately in the competition of other districts in the United Kingdom? Has not the production been increasing in other districts in the United Kingdom in a greater ratio than in the older districts, such as South Staffordshire?—Yes, I can explain that South Staffordshire makes two classes of iron, one very good, and one very bad. It has nearly a monopoly for the very good, but other districts have been competing with it in the very bad,

and the makers of very bad iron in South Staffordshire have been run very hard, so much so that they have been mostly broken up, the competition has been so great.

10,510. Then putting them together the credit of the district has suffered from the causes which I have referred to?—Yes, South Staffordshire has suffered from this fact, it contains a good deal of coal called the ten-yard coal, which makes very pure iron, the purest in the world perhaps, and whilst the iron trade has to compete with the iron trade of the world the coal trade of South Staffordshire is a local trade, and there is not the same relative proportion in the price of coal and iron in South Staffordshire that there is between coal and iron in every other district in England.

10,511. These causes which you clearly put come to this, that South Staffordshire has had rather a hard time of it, independently of foreign competition and unions?—Yes.

10,512. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Have the puddlers and millmen a separate union?—They have. With regard to the Board of Trade return that affects the trade of Scotland and Ireland too I understand, it is almost impossible in a large iron-making country like Great Britain and Ireland to prevent the works generally expanding, regardless of temporary profit or loss, and where they expanded generally of course the produce would be greater.

10,513. (*Mr. Hughes.*) They would not expand if they lost?—Well, we are getting to make steel now.

10,514. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is it not commonly the case that in proportion to the fall in the price of iron the exports increase, and that a rise in English iron stops the exports very materially?—Yes.

10,515. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Have you attended much to the Belgian question?—I have attended very much to the relative position at the Paris Exhibition of England and the other countries which I have mentioned. I have made it a special study, and the other day I addressed our men for an hour on that subject, and furnished them with facts of a most minute character on the practical merits of the iron productions of England, Sweden, Austria, Prussia, and France. I said less of the productions of Belgium than of the other countries, because there is little of the Bessimer steel made there.

Mr. F. Smith.

28 Nov. 1867

10,516. Are you aware what the total production of Belgium was as given by their returns last year?—No, but I have read it. I have taken less notice of Belgium than of other countries. The fact is that we used to supply certain markets, and they have been taken from us, and I find on investigation that they have been taken from us by countries which formerly made no iron. That has been in consequence of the unions forcing up our wages and our prices, and that has reacted on us, and we have lost our trade for ever.

10,517. It might be attributable to other causes than that?—I think that that is the main cause.

10,518. For instance, are you aware that in Belgium all minerals belong to the Crown?—No, I know nothing about Belgium.

10,519. If the leases of these are at merely nominal rates would not that be another cause?—I daresay. I shall be very happy to put in evidence about a column of a provincial newspaper, if it is so wished, containing a report or summary of what passed between me and our men at one of our works last week. It contains a number of facts of some interest.

10,520. (*Mr. Booth.*) Was that drawn up by yourself?—No, it is a local reporter's account of what I said.

10,521. (*Mr. Merivale.*) Do you agree in the report so given of your own sayings?—Yes.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 11 o'clock.

1, Park Prospect, Westminster, Friday, 29th November 1867.

PRESENT:

The Right Hon. Sir WILLIAM ERLE.	HERMAN MERIVALE, Esq., C.B.
The Right Hon. the EARL of LICHFIELD.	JAMES BOOTH, Esq., C.B.
The Right Hon. Sir EDMUND WALKER HEAD, Bart., K.C.B.	THOMAS HUGHES, Esq., M.P.
Sir DANIEL GOOCH, Bart., M.P.	FREDERIC HARRISON, Esq.
	WILLIAM MATHEWS, Esq.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR WILLIAM ERLE IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. WILLIAM SARGEANT RODEN examined.

Mr. W. S. Roden.

29 Nov. 1867.

10,522. (*Chairman.*) Are you the managing partner of Lord Granville's works in North Staffordshire?—Yes.

10,523. How long have you held that situation?—About 12 years.

10,524. Those, we know, are large works. What is the number of men employed, or what is the sum of wages paid weekly, to give us a criterion?—We pay altogether in the various departments, in collieries and ironstone works, furnaces and forges, I should think as nearly as possible 3,000 men. I think we pay 3,000*l.* a week in wages, as near as possible, on the whole of the concern.

10,525. Under the same firm, have you coal and ironstone and extensive works for the manufacture of iron?—Yes. Our firm is called the Shelton Bar Iron Company, and consists of Lord Granville and myself, and three other partners.

10,526. Is that a manufactory where you have bar iron of the high brand that has been spoken of here, or what character do you give to your brand?—It is the usual brand of Staffordshire iron that we make there.

10,527. In your works is there a given proportion between the published price or the ascertained current price per ton of bar iron and the rate of wages for any one class of the skilled workmen in the works?—Yes; our rate of wages is regulated by the declared price of iron. Up to the present time, with the differences which have been stated before, and of which you have the particulars, they are regulated by the declared selling price of manufactured iron. The declared selling price at present being 7*l.* 10*s.* a ton, we pay as wages 8*s.* 6*d.* a ton. Formerly we used to pay 1*s.* in the 1*l.* on the price, so that if iron was 8*l.* a ton we paid 8*s.* as wages in years gone by; but for various reasons now the difference in the rate of wages has increased by one-eighth in proportion to the declared selling prices of iron as compared with what it used to be. I might mention that this selling price is only received by very few firms in Staffordshire; all the others are at various prices under that

Mr. W. S. Roden.

29 Nov. 1867.

price, that being the maximum price, our wages are regulated by the maximum price.

10,258. How is the current price settled? is it by half-yearly meetings?—By meetings held quarterly at Birmingham. To the price as settled then a certain number of the ironmasters stick, and they do not sell under, but the greater portion of them get as nearly that price as they can, and are governed by the absolute market value of iron and competition.

10,529. Is there one brand indicating one value for several firms?—They have different brands, but they are understood in the trade to be of the same nature and the same quality; they are more known by the names of the firms as to the character of the iron that is produced.

10,530. As far as you know, all those firms stand in equal estimation by the buyers?—Yes; all who get what we term the list prices stand as nearly as possible on an equality.

10,531. Has there been much difficulty about the rate of wages during your time owing to the action of trades unions?—Yes, we had a strike in North Staffordshire in 1865, which lasted on the average about 20 weeks.

10,532. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Are the prices in North Staffordshire ruled by the prices in South Staffordshire; I understood you to say just now that they are?—Yes, to a certain extent, they are. We endeavour to get as near as possible to the South Staffordshire price, what is called the declared price, which is really the price of a few firms in South Staffordshire, all the others, in reality, selling under that price.

10,533. Those prices are fixed by the Ironmasters' Association in South Staffordshire?—Yes.

10,534. You have an association of ironmasters in North Staffordshire, I think?—Yes.

10,535. Then do they accept the prices fixed by the association of ironmasters in South Staffordshire; is that it?—Yes, that is it.

10,536. (*Mr. Mathews.*) The rate of wages is regulated by the declared price of iron in South Staffordshire?—Yes.

10,537. The price in South Staffordshire is declared upon certain marked brands applicable to a few houses?—Yes.

10,538. Those houses make a description of iron that is not generally made either in South Staffordshire or in North Staffordshire?—Yes.

10,539. The price of the marked brands being a more regularly uniform price than any other is considered the best basis on which to found the rate of puddlers' wages?—Yes.

10,540. Those houses who are not considered to come under the definition of marked brand houses get the nearest price to marked brand houses that they can?—Yes.

10,541. But the rate of puddlers' wages is fixed upon the declared price of marked brands in South Staffordshire?—Yes; the maximum price that is received by any maker.

10,542. And the parties who have no marked brands are not considered bound by the marked prices?—No; but they have to give the same rate of wages.

10,543. They get as near the prices as they can?—Yes, according to the quality of the iron and the circumstances of the case.

10,544. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) That being the case, some of the masters may be selling their iron at a lower rate, and yet giving the same rate of wages?—Yes; and they are doing that very thing at the present time.

10,545. (*Mr. Mathews.*) That is not an infraction of the understanding?—No.

10,546. They are free to do that if they like?—Yes.

10,547. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Is that supposed to be a satisfactory arrangement by those masters who get the low price for their iron?—They do it, but of course it is not satisfactory to them.

10,548. (*Mr Mathews.*) In a good state of trade the low-priced iron comes closer to the declared price than it does in a bad state of trade?—Yes.

10,549. (*Chairman.*) I believe that you have prepared a paper to read to us?—Yes. This is a statement of a strike; it does not give any opinions, but is merely a statement of the facts as they occurred. "In consequence of the reduction in the price of iron" (that is, in the selling price of iron) "during the last few months of the year 1864, there was a general conviction that a reduction of wages of millmen and puddlers was absolutely necessary, and in consequence a meeting of the whole iron trade of the kingdom and held at Birmingham on the day of December 1864. At that meeting it was decided that the wages of puddlers should be reduced from 10*s.* 6*d.* to 9*s.* 6*d.* a ton, millmen's wages 10 per cent., and other workmen in proportion; and that a notice of such reduction should be given simultaneously by every master; and that in case there was a strike in any one district, and it could be shown that the trades unions combined together to uphold such strike, such combination should be met by a general lock-out at the ironworks throughout the kingdom. In pursuance of the above resolution notices for a reduction of wages were given, expiring on the 14th day of January 1865. While the notices were pending meetings of the puddlers' trade unions of the several iron districts were held in South Staffordshire. The result of these meetings, as then communicated to the press and the public, was that the men should accept the reduction and no strike take place. The workmen, however, of North Staffordshire intimated to their masters that they should not be bound by the resolutions of the trade unions and should not accept the reduction of wages; and the result was the strike, commencing in January 1865 and lasting for from four to six months. The workmen of North Staffordshire had no separate union, but almost the whole of the puddlers belonged to the Brierley Hill (South Staffordshire) puddlers' union or to the Gateshead union, and it was soon discovered that the men on strike were receiving support from both these unions. Upon this inquiries were made, and it was found that although the delegates' meeting at Brierley Hill had stated to the newspapers that they had decided to accept the reduction, they had in fact secretly resolved that the ironworkers of North Staffordshire should go out on strike, and that the other districts should accept the reduction for the present in order to maintain the strike in North Staffordshire. Mr. Kane, the president of the Gateshead union, afterwards publicly stated that the North Staffordshire strike was dictated by the unions."

10,550. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) With regard to that, would you tell us where that public statement was made by Mr. Kane—what do you refer to? Was it a letter or something that Mr. Kane said at a meeting?—Merely a report in a newspaper.

10,551. (*Sir E. W. Head.*) What was the evidence on which it was found that an agreement was made that the ironworkers in North Staffordshire should go out, and that they should be secretly supported by the unions in the other districts?—The admission of the unions afterwards, and the fact that the money was being sent into the district and regularly distributed amongst the men.

10,552. That was ascertained beyond a doubt, was it?—Yes, it was quite public.

10,553. (*Mr. Booth.*) You say that this was a meeting of the whole ironmasters of the kingdom; did it include the ironmasters in Wales?—It did not include the ironmasters in Wales. That statement therefore is not quite correct, it should have been "the iron trade of the North of England, Staffordshire and the midland counties."

10,554. (*Mr. Merivale.*) Do you include Scotland in "all the kingdom"?—The quantity of manufacturers of iron in Scotland is very small.

10,555. (*Mr. Harrison.*) It did not include Low

Moor, did it?—No, the Low Moor works are not included.

10,556. They are important works, are they not?—They have no bearing on our trade. Theirs is a special quality of iron that is worked differently from ours.

10,557. Still this statement would look as if it included them; they come into "the iron trade" surely?—Yes, they do.

10,558. You say here that up to the meeting of 1864, it was decided to reduce the puddlers' wages, but the understanding of the sliding scale was already in force at that time was it not?—The price of iron had been reduced 1*l.* a ton previously, and the men's wages were not reduced at the time; this was a resolution some few months afterwards to reduce the wages according to the arrangement.

10,559. Without reducing the price at the same time?—But the price was reduced. I am not quite positive about the month, in June say, and this was in December.

10,560. There was not a second reduction in December?—No; we took off 1*l.* in the ton and 1*s.* in the wages a few months later, that is all.

10,561. At this meeting which was held in December 1864, it was decided to reduce the wages upon the puddlers 1*s.*, and upon the millmen 10 per cent., but it was not decided to reduce the price of iron 1*l.*?—The price of iron had been reduced, the one followed the other; it was merely a matter of time.

10,562. When was the price of iron reduced?—About June; but I am not positive as to the month. It was a few months later that we reduced wages, whereas previously they had been reduced simultaneously here. In this case we gave them a few months grace.

10,563. It was not at the preceding quarterly meeting, but at the preceding quarterly meeting but one that the reduction in price was made?—I am not certain of the month. Previously we were paying 1*s.* the ton for each pound. Then we lost that 6*d.*, the first 6*d.*, and then another 6*d.* afterwards. But these two, the reduction in the price and the reduction in the wages, were practically simultaneous—one was consequent on the other.

10,564. At a distance of six months?—Yes.

10,565. (*Chairman.*) Will you proceed with your statement?—"The masters of North Staffordshire, "on learning these facts, called upon the masters who "met at Birmingham in December 1864, to carry out "the arrangement then made, and, after several previous meetings, at a meeting held at Birmingham "on the 16th of February 1865, the following resolution was unanimously passed:—'It having been "'officially announced that the strike of the puddlers "'in North Staffordshire has been directed by the "'executive of the puddlers' union, and it having "'been ascertained that weekly contributions are "'regularly levied and paid by the men employed "'in other districts in support of the strike, we, the "'undersigned, do hereby agree that we will give 14 "'days' notice on Saturday next, the 18th instant, to "'close our works unless the men in North Staffordshire shall before the expiration of that notice "'have returned to work at the same reduction in "'wages as have been accepted by the men in other "'districts;' and a notice was given on the following "Saturday throughout South Staffordshire, setting "forth the resolution and stating that unless the "terms of it were complied with all the works would "close on the 4th of March, and a similar notice was "given in the North of England that the works in "that district would close on the 11th of March. "The trades unions refused to terminate the strike "in North Staffordshire, and the works in South Staffordshire and the North of England were therefore "closed in pursuance of the notices. The lock-out "in the North of England only continued a fortnight, "as the masters there re-opened their works at the "expiration of that time on the Gateshead workmen's "union by its president promising not to contribute "to the support of the men on strike. On the 22nd "March the London Trades Council passed a resolution in favour of arbitration, which Mr. Roden, the "chairman of the North Staffordshire Ironmasters' "Association at once accepted. The following is the "report in the 'Staffordshire Advertiser' published at "the time of what occurred: 'We learn from The "'Times that at a meeting of the London Trades "'Council on Thursday night (March 23rd) the following resolution was adopted by a small majority, "'Mr. Potter opposing it as vague—'that this meeting regrets exceedingly the great suffering and sad "'feeling which the cruel act of the employers in "'locking out so many thousands of the workmen "'has created, and hopes that the workmen in the "'iron trades will agree to submit the whole question to arbitration.' It was also agreed that 'in "'the event of the employers refusing to accept arbitration as a means of an amicable settlement of "'the question, the delegates present pledge themselves to use every means in their power to support the men on strike.' In the same paper the "following letter appeared which proves that if the "North Staffordshire puddlers are prepared to act "on the advice given them by the United Trades "Unions the dispute may soon be terminated: Sir, "In 'The Times' of this morning I observe that at a "meeting of the London Trades delegates held yesterday, Mr. Baker, a North Staffordshire delegate, "stated, 'If, however, the masters would consent to "'open their works to the men in South Staffordshire, then the men of North Staffordshire were "'willing to resume their work, and leave the question of wages to be settled by arbitration.' The "wide-spread distress caused by this unhappy dispute is regarded by no body of men more sincerely "than the ironmasters themselves, and assuming "that the delegate spoke with authority from the "puddlers I will, upon receivingan official intimation "to that effect, bring the proposal before the ironmasters, and use my influence to have it accepted. "I am, sir, your obedient servant, 'William S. "Roden, Chairman of the North Staffordshire Committee of Ironmasters. On this the North Staffordshire ironmasters met and agreed to arbitration. "At this time the Lord Lieutenant of Staffordshire "(the Earl of Lichfield) offered his services as arbitrator in the matter, and, after conferences separately with the masters and the men, he arranged a "meeting between them, which was held at Stoke, on "Wednesday the 29th of March. At that meeting, "after a long argument in which the men asserted "that this district laboured under disadvantages, and "that they were not getting sufficient wages to maintain them, and the masters replied that none of the "men present were getting less than 10*s.* a day, and "some of them as much as 16*s.* or 18*s.*, the masters "read a resolution they had come to to the effect that "they would allow the men to resume work at the "reduction, and leave the question of peculiar advantages and disadvantages to arbitration. The "men present, however, stated that they were not "prepared to treat at all, and they were sure the "ironworkers would never accept such terms. They "also stated that the statement of the recent meeting "of Trades Unions in London, that they were willing "to submit to arbitration, was made without their "authority or assent. On the following day (Thursday) Lord Lichfield submitted a proposal to both "masters and men that the men should resume work "and draw on account, leaving the amount of wages "to be settled by arbitration, and requested the masters to meet him at Stafford on the Friday (the 31st), "to consider his suggestion. At that meeting Lord "Lichfield submitted to the masters a formal agreement for reference to arbitration proposed by his "own solicitor in accordance with his proposal, and "after some discussion the whole of the masters

Mr. W. S. Roden.

29 Nov. 1867.

" signed the agreement, of which the following is a " copy* "

10,566. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) I think you need not read the agreement?—It is a copy of the original. " Immediately after the agreement was signed by " the masters, Lord Lichfield and his solicitor left " with it to attend a large meeting of the men then " being held at Hanley. Before his lordship arrived " the men had passed a resolution, of which the fol- " lowing is a copy: 'That if the South Stafford- " 'shire masters will open their works and let the " 'men resume work in South Staffordshire, and if " 'the masters in North Staffordshire will give the " 'men of North Staffordshire the old rate of wages, " 'they will submit the whole question to arbitra- " 'tion.' On his lordship's arrival he at once pro- " duced the agreement signed by the masters, and " explained that it agreed that the men should return " to work, and receive a draw of 40*s.* a week until " arbitrators, to be at once nominated by his lord- " ship, should decide upon the wages to be paid; and " his lordship strongly urged the men to adopt his " proposal, expressing his opinion that it was reason- " able and just, and that by their declining to enter- " tain it they would have the public verdict against " them."

10,567. You do not say that the arbitrators were to be approved by both parties?—That is in the body of the agreement. " The meeting deliberated upon " Lord Lichfield's proposal, but upon its being for- " mally submitted, not a single hand was held up in " its favour. Lord Lichfield thereupon returned to " Stafford, where the masters were waiting the " result of his visit to Hanley, and announced that " the men had altogether declined his proposal for " arbitration. During the following week the South " Staffordshire ironmasters represented to the masters " in North Staffordshire that the men in South Staf- " fordshire were most anxious to return to their work, " and would pledge themselves, if allowed to do so, " they would not in any way contribute to the sup- " port of the men on strike in North Staffordshire, " and the North Staffordshire masters being strongly " urged to give them permission to do so, the masters " of South Staffordshire declared the lock-out at an " end. In consequence of this the ironmasters of " South Staffordshire issued the notice declaring " their works open, of which the following is a copy: " —'Notice. At a meeting of the iron trade of " 'South Staffordshire, held at Wolverhampton on " 'on Wednesday, April 5th, 1865, it was resolved. " 'That the ironmasters of North Staffordshire " 'having by their trade resolution of April 3rd, 1865, " 'released this district from the undertaking entered " 'into with them on the 16th February 1865, " 'believing the assurance given by the men of South " 'Staffordshire that they disapprove the conduct of " 'the North Staffordshire men, and that they will " 'not assist them directly or indirectly during the " 'continuance of the present strike, it is hereby " 'resolved that the works in South Staffordshire " 'be re-opened this 5th day of April 1865. 5th " 'April 1865. Pursuant on the above resolution " 'these works are now declared open.' Notwith- " standing the pledges given both by the Gates- " head and the Brierley Hill unions, contributions " continued to be weekly received by the North " Staffordshire men from those districts, and towards " the end of the month of April communications " were received by the men from the executive " of the Brierley Hill union offering, in direct " violation of the assurances given by them to the " masters, to levy 2*s.* 6*d.* a week upon every member " of the union in aid of the North Staffordshire men " so long as the strike continued, and when the men " showed further symptoms of wishing to resume " work still higher offers of support were made by " the district secretary. In the beginning of May " the men made an offer to the masters to accept a " reduction of 6*d.*, which the masters at once de- " cidedly refused. From that time the men gradually " resumed work on the master's terms, and by the " beginning of June the strike may be considered to " have terminated, except at one or two works where " the men held out for some weeks longer, with the " view of inducing the masters to employ the men " who had made themselves conspicuous and ob- " noxious in preventing men who were desirous of " returning to their work from doing so. The

---

* The following is the form of agreement referred to:

Articles of agreement made this day of one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five between the several persons whose names are hereto signed on the first part of the schedule hereunder written, being ironmasters and smelters of iron in that part of the county of Stafford called the North Staffordshire iron district of the one part, and the persons whose names are hereto signed on the second part of the said schedule being puddlers lately working and employed at the ironworks in the said district of North Staffordshire of the other part.

Whereas disputes and differences have arisen and still subsist between the said several parties hereto respecting the amount of wages that should be paid by the said ironmasters to the said puddlers for each ton of iron puddled, and whereas in consequence of a reduction made in the wages the puddlers in the said district are and have been for some time on strike, and whereas since the commencement of such strike the said ironmasters have locked up their works, and whereas divers discussions have taken place between the said ironmasters and puddlers, at which the said puddlers have for various reasons assigned by them contended that no reduction of their wages should have been or ought to have been made, and at such discussions the said ironmasters have alleged their reasons for reducing the wages of the said puddlers, and whereas it has been agreed between the said ironmasters and puddlers to submit the matters in dispute as aforesaid to arbitration in manner herein-after mentioned, and it has been agreed that all the ironmasters in North Staffordshire shall re-open their works on the day of April instant, and that the said puddlers shall thenceforth discontinue their strike and resume their work at the said ironworks subject to the award of the arbitrators herein-after named as to the rate of wages per ton for puddling iron, and that the said ironmasters shall, until the said award shall be made, pay to the said puddlers weekly the sum of 40*s.* as a draw on account for puddled iron, and shall also pay any additional sum which the said arbitrators shall award within fourteen days after the said award shall be made: Now these presents witness, and it is hereby mutually agreed between the said several persons parties hereto, to refer and they do hereby refer all disputes and matters and things in difference between them respecting the said puddlers' rate of wages to the award, order, and determination of such persons as the Right Honorable the Earl of Lichfield shall name, with the consent of both parties hereto, or the major part of them, so that the award of the said arbitrators, or the major part of them, shall be published in writing signed by them ready to be delivered to the said parties on or before the day of next, or on or before any other day to which the said arbitrators, or the major part of them, shall by any writing signed by them from time to time enlarge the time for making the said award: And by the said award the said arbitrators, or the major part of them, shall determine the rate of wages per ton for puddled iron to which the said puddlers are and shall be justly entitled to receive from the said ironmasters, and the said parties hereto shall do all acts and things and produce all books, papers, and accounts as shall be necessary to enable the said arbitrators, or the major part of them, to make a just award between the said parties, and neither of them shall wilfully do or cause to be done any act to delay or prevent the said arbitrators in making their said award: And it is further agreed that the said parties hereto shall on their respective parts in all things stand to abide by and fulfil the said award. In witness whereof the said several parties to these presents have hereunto set their hands the day and year first herein written.

The schedule herein-before referred to.

First part.

William S. Roden (for Shelton Bar Iron Company and self).
Robert Heath Biddulph and Norton.
Joseph Bull and Son.
William Bates.
Stanier and Son (per William S. Nayler).

Second part.

(Men's names.)

" strike lasted about 20 weeks. The number of men " who were thrown out of work was more than four " times the number of the puddlers who were alone " the principals in the strike, and the loss to the dis- " trict was not less than a quarter of a million sterling, " so that each man on strike was the cause of de- " priving of employment at least four other persons, " and the distress caused throughout the neighbour- " hood may be inferred from the amount of the money " loss before mentioned."

10,568. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You say " each man on strike," does that refer to the men in North Staffordshire alone?—Yes, this is North Staffordshire alone.

10,569. And who were the four other persons?—The four other persons were people deprived of work in consequence of the puddlers not working.

10,570. In North Staffordshire?—In North Staffordshire.

10,571. This has nothing to do with South Staffordshire?—Nothing at all.

10,572. And does the quarter of a million refer to North Staffordshire?—Alone. And the injury to the district was much more than that, because having stopped our works practically for six months, we lost a great deal of the trade of the district, which of course went to other districts, and which we have never recovered.

10,573. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) With regard to the origin of this strike referred to at the beginning of your paper, you say, " In pursuance of the above " resolution notices for a reduction of wages were " given, expiring on the 14th day of January 1865. " While the notices were pending meetings of the " puddlers trades unions of the several iron districts " were held in South Staffordshire. The result of " their meetings as then communicated to the press " and the public was, that the men should accept the " reduction and no strike take place." I think we have been told, if I remember right, by the secretary of Brierley Hill executive that a decision against the strike was come to at the first meeting, but that another meeting was held immediately afterwards and that then they decided that the men in North Staffordshire should resist the reduction?—I believe that is the case. I heard that that was the case. I do not know how near the meetings were together, but the result was that the one meeting of course overruled the other. I do not know whether you like to hear opinions, but my firm conviction is that had it not been for the interference of the unions we should never have had a strike at all in North Staffordshire. I believe we are on as friendly terms with our men as the masters in any part of the kingdom, and they have told us since that it was purely owing to the interference of other districts with them, and that but for that they would never have dreamt of striking.

10,574. (*Chairman.*) Is there an amalgamation then of the unions of puddlers?—Yes.

10,575. And by reason of their belonging to an amalgamation of unions the other districts commanded the men in North Staffordshire to go out?—Yes.

10,576. And according to the best of your inquiry you mean to convey the idea that the majority of the North Staffordshire puddlers, if left to decide for themselves, would not have gone out?—In the first instance certainly they would not.

10,577. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) We have been told that the reason (at least the reason assigned by the Brierley Hill executive) for resisting the reduction was, that some of the masters in North Staffordshire had expressed their willingness to meet the men half way?—That was not true, they could not do so. It could not by any possibility be true, because we came to a resolution in connexion with that meeting at Birmingham, that we should reduce wages; therefore, we could not by any possibility have offered to meet the men half way.

10,578. (*Mr. Harrison.*) But what means had you of preventing a master from making any terms that he thought advantageous with his own people?—Simply the fact that we agreed on the terms.

10,579. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) The statement was made in answer to a question of mine. At No. 8790 in Mr. Hobson's evidence I say, " Will you explain " upon what grounds your association decided upon " supporting the resistance of the North Staffordshire " men to the reduction when they accepted it them- " selves in the South?" and his answer is, " They " were under the impression that the employers would " give way, in consequence of Mr. Bates, and a few " others, stating that they were willing to concede " the one-half to the men, while there were some of " the other employers who stated that another shilling " ought to be taken off; that, in fact, they were re- " ceiving a shilling more than they really ought to do, " and the members were under the impression that " the employers in North Staffordshire would allow " the men to commence working at only 6*d.* per ton " reduction, and the resolution went to say that it was " to test the masters in North Staffordshire whether " they would give way or not"?—There is not the slightest foundation for the statement that any of the masters in North Staffordshire expressed any opinion at all upon the question. It was agreed that a reduction of a shilling should take place throughout the country, and there was an end of the matter. There was no communication whatever with the men, and no master could communicate with the men after having agreed upon certain conditions.

10,580. (*Mr. Harrison.*) " No master could," you say?—It was not very likely that a man would agree to a thing one day and do the contrary the next.

10,581. That is precisely what the members of trades unions say, is it not?—How do you mean.

10,582. That the unions having agreed to strike for a certain rate, the individual members of the unions do not feel themselves at liberty to go in upon different terms?—Precisely. I consider trades unions in precisely the same condition as masters' associations.

10,583. (*Chairman.*) Only that the masters' associations are in defence?—The masters in this case were acting in defence.

10,584. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is there not a stronger reason than the mere agreement between the masters themselves why the North Staffordshire ironmasters could not give the advance, namely, the low price of iron?—Of course; otherwise, in the first instance, they would not have attempted to lower the rate of wages.

10,585. If they had attempted to give a higher rate of wages, what would have been the result?—Of course they must have closed their works.

10,586. Did not the operations of the unions in North Staffordshire influence very considerably the decision of Mr. Bates to close his works?—The operations of the unions in North Staffordshire closed Mr. Bates's works altogether.

10,587. His men so plagued him, what with their stipulations, and what with insisting upon an advanced rate, that Mr. Bates could not stand against the pressure, and was obliged to stop his works?—Yes, that is the case.

10,588. (*Chairman.*) Were any other large works stopped in consequence of the calamity of that strike?—None but that stopped finally. That was a very large work.

10,589. (*Mr. Mathews.*) The general impression at that time was, if I remember right, that the unions considered that if they could succeed in supporting the North Staffordshire men on strike until the North Staffordshire masters gave way, then all the other districts which had accepted the reduction would immediately give notice to have the wages raised?—Yes.

10,590. Can you state upon what authority that report was founded, whether on printed documents or otherwise?—We had it from the newspapers.

10,591. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Could the masters in North Staffordshire have continued to give a rate of

Mr. W. S. Roden.

29 Nov. 1867.

wages 10 per cent. higher than the rate of wages given in South Staffordshire?—Certainly not.

10,592. (*Chairman.*) That is to say, it was commercially impossible, if I may so say?—Practically impossible; we could not do it for long.

10,593. Unless you drew a cheque upon your bankers for the loss?—Yes, precisely. But then our make of iron is so heavy that it could very soon bring such a proceeding as that to an end.

10,594. (*Mr. Mathews.*) If the masters were in the habit of drawing cheques in the case of a loss, how long would the bankers continue to honour those cheques?—I should think that the funds would very soon come to an end.

10,595. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Were there any acts of intimidation or outrage during the strike of the men in North Staffordshire?—Certainly on the whole we could not say there were. The men conducted themselves well throughout. There were one or two small attempts, but I do not hold the men responsible for them; they might have been the acts of individuals. Some iron, for instance, was put in the machinery to break the wheels.

10,596. In one case do you mean?—One or two cases occurred of that kind. I cannot say that the men were responsible for it.

10,597. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Was the district well provided with police during the whole of this strike?—Yes.

10,598. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Was the machinery broken?—It was not broken. It was discovered before the works started.

10,599. Was not the strike prolonged in consequence of some of the masters refusing to take back men who had taken an active part in the strike?—The facts were these. After we had been out a certain length of time, about four months, we found that there were a certain number of men (not many) willing to go to work. We agreed that they should go to work, and the conditions they asked for were these, that if they were employed they should not be turned away again when the strike came to an end. We agreed that if they were employed they should have regular employment. At the time when the other men were willing to go to work, these men of course were being employed, and the first thing the other men did was to make a demand upon us to discharge these men. That we did not do. Then the whole of the men stayed out a week or two in consequence and prolonged the strike, but the result was that we kept our men on, and therefore there was so many of the other men who were not employed again.

10,600. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Was not it the fact that one of the firms in North Staffordshire was kept on by means of under-hands being substituted for puddlers?—Yes.

10,601. And was it not the case that towards the end of the strike the men said that they would not go to work unless all those under-hands were discharged?—Yes.

10,602. And the strike was prolonged for that reason?—Yes, that was another reason.

10,603. (*Mr. Harrison.*) What was the proportion of men in the union at the time?—It was understood that the whole of the puddlers were in union.

10,604. And of the other persons who were involved in the strike and lock-out, what proportion were in union?—A very small proportion. Some of the millmen were in another union, not the Brierley Hill union, but they had nothing to do with the strike. But that number is very small compared with the number thrown out of employment, because the majority of the men were in no union.

10,605. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Did not the millmen continue to work during part of the strike?—I think that at first they did; we had a little stock of what we call puddle bars and they worked them up.

10,606. (*Mr. Mathews.*) When they had worked up the puddle bars they could not go on any longer?—We had no means of keeping them on.

10,607. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) They continued working as long as there was material for them to work?—Yes.

10,608. And took no part in the strike?—I believe they did not, but I am not quite sure about that.

10,609. (*Mr. Harrison.*) The terms upon which the works were closed throughout the kingdom were, that they should remain closed until the men in a certain district accepted a given rate of wages, were they not?—The terms are stated in the paper before you exactly, because that contains a copy of the resolution.

10,610. Will you explain it a little further. The Yorkshire and the South Staffordshire works were closed, not because the men refused to work for a particular price, and not because there was no work, but because certain men in the North Staffordshire district did not accept a certain rate of wages. That was the ground upon which the other works throughout the kingdom were stopped, was it not?—No. The ground on which they were stopped was this, that they decided that the North Staffordshire men should strike, and that they would support them in that strike. That was the reason that they were locked out. The view we took of the whole question was this, that North Staffordshire having agreed with the other districts to reduce wages, or rather to bring their wages to the same as the other districts, North Staffordshire being a small district, and there being very few masters there, was fixed upon by the men to, in plain English, fight the question. We of course had then to defend ourselves. We called upon the other two districts in pursuance of that resolution, to stop their works so as to avoid any subscriptions coming from those two districts to keep our men out. They did so. On the men of the first district, the North of England, agreeing that they would not subscribe, we said that we had no objection to their works being continued. The South Staffordshire men came to us in the same way, and we said that we had no objection to their going on on those terms. The subscriptions that were coming in for the support of the men then concentrated entirely upon North Staffordshire. It then became a question with us whether we should give way to the men and be ruined or not. We fought the question out, because we came to the conclusion that it was otherwise a hopeless case for us, and that if we did not get our work done at the same price as other people we should be ruined, and we determined to close our works for ever rather than go on on the terms demanded.

10,611. (*Sir E. W. Head.*) I understand you to mean that contributions came in from the other districts to help the men on strike in North Staffordshire, after there had been an understanding that no further interference was to take place?—Yes, that was the case.

10,612. That you have no doubt of?—Not the slightest.

10,613. So that the action was an underhand one?—Quite so.

10,614. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) I understand that no support was given from the funds of the union after the 4th of March, and from that time until the masters refused to take back into their employ some men in North Staffordshire who had taken an active part in the strike. You have told us that other men were put in their places, and that you refused to discharge those men?—Yes.

10,615. Can you tell us at all what number of men were taken on in the place of the old hands, in your own case for instance?—I cannot tell that exactly.

10,616. Did you in your case refuse to take back any man in your employ upon the ground of their having taken part in the strike?—They all took part in the strike.

10,617. But did you refuse to take any back upon the ground of their having taken part in the strike?—No, not upon that ground, because the whole of the puddlers equally took part in the strike, and one was quite the same as the other in that respect. But we declined to discharge those men that were already at

work, and that, of course, necessitated a certain number of these men going.

10,618. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You mean that no men were refused employment really substantially on the ground that they had been active promoters of the strike?—Well, with regard to the men who were employed, speaking of my own ironworks, although I manage them myself, and fix all the rates of wages, and do everything practically, yet I never interfere in any way with the special agents appointed for the different departments as to what men they shall employ. If they like to discharge men or to take them on, they do it without asking me.

10,619. Do you think it possible, then, that the agents may have refused employment to men on the ground that they had been promoters of a strike?—Not on that ground alone. They might from any reason refuse them employment.

10,620. Did they, as a fact, refuse employment to those who had been prominent in the strike?—There were some of the men who had taken part in endeavouring to deter others from coming to work, and those men, I believe, were refused employment.

10,621. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Do you consider that the masters would have been justified, after the men had been on strike for this length of time, and after having been put to this very great loss in consequence, in refusing to take back to their employ men who had taken the lead in this strike?—I consider that the masters would have been justified in refusing anybody they pleased. Men are free to work where they like, and masters are free to take whom they like.

10,622. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you think that the puddlers, as a body, would have been justified in refusing to work on any terms for a master who had taken a prominent part in this lock-out?—They are perfectly justified in refusing to work or in agreeing to work anywhere they think proper with or without reason.

10,623. (*Mr. Mathews.*) If the workmen refused to work for a master under those circumstances, there would be no expostulation on the part of the master?—No.

10,624. In fact the contract between them would terminate then?—Yes.

10,625. Both parties are perfectly free to adopt what policy they like?—Quite so.

10,626. (*Chairman.*) Do I rightly understand you to say that there has not been the same good feeling between the men and the masters, not such a confidential relationship as there used to be?—There has not, since the interference of the trade unions, but I believe that that kindly feeling is coming back again into its old place.

10,627. I understood you to say that the men of the trades unions behaved in a manner that you see no reason to censure at all?—In the way of any acts of violence or anything of that kind, I meant.

10,628. Assuming that the masters have a right to hire whom they please, and that the men have a right to accept hire where they please, both parties met on those terms, and the man pursued the same course as the masters, each for their own interest?—I consider that, looking at the circumstances of the case, the long time that the men were out of work, and the great distress that was caused by their determination to stick to what they thought right, the peaceable state of the district was perfectly wonderful; there was not one single act of outrage.

10,629. In your opinion has that strike had any effect upon the amount of capital brought into the trade there; has there been an unwillingness on the part of capitalists to invest in the trade?—Most certainly, there has not been anything invested since.

10,630. And have foreign manufacturers had an advantage by reason of the check to investment in North Staffordshire?—Very great indeed. I might say that I am thoroughly well informed of the state of trade with regard to England and other countries. I happened to be one of the jurors at the Paris Exhibition representing England for mining and metallurgy; therefore, I had an opportunity of gaining information from every district and country, not only as to the cost of production, but as to the rate of wages and the quality of iron they produced, and everything else, and I know that it was entirely in consequence of the strike in North Staffordshire, and the consequent lock-out in the districts of England, that Belgium had such a lead of us. They went in immediately that the works were stopped in England and took orders for enormous quantities, far more than they could execute, and we have not yet succeeded in getting that back. Indeed, my works at present are working three days a week only, and have been working only three days or four days a week for months. I have no hesitation in saying that, had it not been for the North Staffordshire strike, we should have been practically in full work up to the present time.

10,631. You think that the change of terms between the masters and the men has really operated upon the prosperity of the district?—Very much indeed in the way of retarding it.

10,632. The majority of the men seem to me, from what you say, to have entitled themselves to respect and good feeling?—By their personal conduct, most certainly.

10,633. Were there men on this occasion who were fomenters of disturbance, as one would say?—Yes, no doubt of it.

10,634. Whether in reference to union men or an ordinary establishment, has it been your experience that in a very large number of men there are some that are, if I may use the term, ill-conditioned men?—Yes.

10,635. Making bad worse whenever there is an opportunity?—Yes.

10,636. Servants of the Power of Evil?—Yes.

10,637. And when you have an opportunity to weed does your eye rest upon those men as the first weeds to be pulled up?—Naturally it is so.

10,638. And that whether there is an union or an ordinary large establishment only?—Yes.

10,639. (*Mr. Booth.*) Did I rightly understand you in speaking of the conduct of the men on strike to represent that they interposed no obstacles to your getting labour from other sources?—Well, I could not say that.

10,640. Did they leave you perfectly free to engage such other men as you would?—I will not say that quite, but there was no actual violence or outrage.

16,641. (*Sir E. W. Head.*) Were there any attempts made by you to get men from other places?—Yes.

10,642. And as far as you know is it the case that those attempts were not interfered with by active violence on the part of the union?—Not by active violence, certainly.

10,643. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Was there nor a general apprehension on the part of the people invited into the district that it was rather hazardous for them to come?—No doubt, and that was the reason why they did not come.

10,644. (*Mr. Booth.*) In fact you did experience a difficulty in getting other hands to supply the place of those out on strike?—It was an impossibility, not merely a difficulty.

10,645. (*Mr. Harrison.*) If you attribute in so great a degree the depressed state of the Staffordshire iron trade to the strike and unionism, how do you account for this, that we were told yesterday by Mr. Clark, the manager of the great Dowlais Works, that he has been unable to make any profit there, he not having been affected by any strike or any unionism for a great many years past, it being a thing utterly unknown in that part of the country?—Well, I managed an ironwork in Wales for nearly 10 years, one of the largest next to the Dowlais Works, so that I know the district perfectly and all about it, but I do not exactly understand your question.

10,646. You say that a large portion of the depression of the North Staffordshire trade is due to the action of unions, that the North Staffordshire trade

Mr. W. S. Roden.

29 Nov. 1867.

went into Belgian hands, and that that was caused by unions and unionism?—Yes.

10,647. How do you account then for this, that Mr. Clark, at the Dowlais Works, where they have had no unionism and no strike, as well as a great many other ironworks in the kingdom where there has been no unionism and no strike, did not take that business instead of the Belgian people from you?—The reason is that they cannot in Wales make the sort of iron that was required.

10,648. You mean that the particular markets which you were supplying if not supplied by you could only be supplied from Belgium?—They could not have been supplied from Wales. They only make a special sort of iron in Wales, and they cannot make the quality of iron that we make in Staffordshire. They cannot make iron for certain purposes which the Belgians can.

10,649. (*Sir E. W. Head.*) Can you state more specifically the markets into which you think that the Belgian iron took that opportunity of thrusting itself?—Yes; Russia, France, and Germany.

10,650. (*Mr. Hughes.*) In what year was the trade thus turned into Russia and other countries?—During our strike in 1865.

10,651. (*Chairman.*) Instantly Belgium came into the market for that class of iron?—Yes.

10,652. If a trade has begun to flow in a certain course is it, according to your experience, that it would continue in that course until some obstacle or other came to cause a change?—Most certainly.

10,653. If it turned from Staffordshire into Belgium it would continue in Belgium until some obstacle in Belgium made that course of trade cease there?—Certainly; but it could be returned to England again if we were placed in a position to compete with them.

10,654. That is to say, if you could offer more favourable terms?—Precisely, if we could produce our iron cheaper.

10,655. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Can you account for the circumstance that the export of iron increased largely in the year 1866 as compared with the exportation in the year 1865?—I happened to be here yesterday when the subject was alluded to. The reasons are obvious. The returns, I take it, are made up to September 1866. The iron that was so sent out was ordered possibly six months previously, and therefore it could not have affected the returns for that year, but when we have the returns for this year you will see the difference. But even apart from that, any increase of the amount exported is no proof at all of the extent of the trade of the country. On the contrary it is a proof of the badness of the trade in England frequently. If we cannot sell our iron for home consumption we are obliged to send it to any market we can.

10,656. (*Mr. Merivale.*) Do you really carry it so far as to say that the more we export the worse we are off?—I am speaking of this year, 1866. The facts of the case are these, that the ironworks are only on half employment now, and that in that year they were in full employment, and that the home trade is completely gone. I believe that since the panic no ships have been built.

10,657. You have no statistics to show the fact of the home trade being gone, it is a matter of opinion?—No, it is not a matter of opinion, it is a matter of fact.

10,658. You have no test of that fact?—Except that the English works are only now working half their time.

10,659. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) And that no railroads are being made?—No railroads are being made and no ships are being built.

10,660. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do not you think that the small demand for iron is sufficient to account for the depression of trade without putting it upon unionism and strikes?—No, certainly not. If we find that Belgium comes into our markets and beats us in cheapness of production, and we are compelled to give a high rate of wages through the action of unions, the small demand will not make the difference.

10,661. You know the work turned out at Creusot, probably?—Yes.

10,662. What kinds of work are done there?—All kinds.

10,663. Is it of a high quality?—They make all kinds, high and low.

10,664. How do you account for this fact, which we have had stated by a gentleman who is commissioned by the American Government to make certain inquiries, and who gave evidence here, that the works of Creusot are turning out large quantities of the very best work, both machinery and iron work and rails, that they have no unionism and no strikes to deal with, that wages are extremely low, and that they are now making no profit?—I am not at all aware that that is the fact. At far as my experience goes I believe that they are making a profit. It may not be a very large one just at the present time, but I know the circumstances of those works very well, and it is my impression that they are making a profit.

10,665. I will put it in this way. If the depressed state of the iron trade in England is caused not so much by a depression in the demand, or a reduced demand for the work, but by the high rates of wages which are insisted upon by the unions of the men, how is it that the French works, which can produce the best work and where the wages are very much lower than in England, do not take away that trade?—Well, they can of course only make iron up to their capabilities.

10,666. But would you be surprised if I were to say that, according to the best information that we can get, they are not working at a profit at Creusot?—Well, I am under the impression that they are; but admitting that they are not working at a profit at the present moment, on the other hand we might admit that the English ironmasters are working to a positive loss. It is a mere question of degree.

10,667. In point of fact, the reduced demand for iron is felt all over the world at the present moment?—No doubt.

10,668. Puddlers and millmen and so forth are paid by the piece in your works, by the ton, I presume?—Yes.

10,669. Taking the puddling of two tons of iron of precisely the same quality out of the same quantity of pig-iron as the raw material, supposing A. and B. to be two puddlers working side by side, they are paid the same rate per ton, are they not?—Per ton of iron puddled? Yes.

10,670. Then there is no ground whatever in the iron trade for saying that the union or any combination of men practically enforce a greater uniformity in the rates of wages than would be the case if things were left to their natural course? I mean without regard to the individual skill of the workmen?—That is the very effect of unions.

10,671. How does that operate in the iron trade?—It puts a bad workman on the same terms as a good one.

10,672. If men are paid by the ton, and a fixed material is given out to them, and a measured quantity is required from them, and you make no difficulty about paying two men the same amount for the same quantity, how can you further proportion wages to skill?—But we do not do that. We deliver to them the same quantity, but we do not get back the same quantity. A good workman would produce considerably more than a bad one. As a matter of fact, they do not produce the same quantity, nor are they required to do so, because it would be a matter of impossibility.

10,673. Then they are not paid for the same quantity?—I will put it to you in this way. We deliver out, say 24 cwt. of pig-iron, which is about the average quantity; a good puddler will bring out perhaps 22½ cwt. we will say, while a bad puddler will only bring out 21½ cwt. We pay the same price per ton for the two on the quantity turned out, but the bad

puddler wastes for us that 1 cwt. of iron, which comes to considerably more than the difference in wages. The iron perhaps would be worth 3*l.* a ton, and the wages are 8*s.* 6*d.* a ton, consequently we lose that difference. By the action of trades unions we are compelled to pay those men the same rate of wage.

10,674. Are the men now in your works members of the union ?—I do not think they are now.

10,675. Are you aware whether at the works at Creusot, for instance, where there is no union, men are paid at a uniform rate per ton, the material being the same, or wheher their wages are graduated according to the indtividual's skill, so that A. for a ton of puddled iron receives 8 francs, B. receives 7 francs C. receives 6 francs, and so on ?—I believe that they have different rates of wages there.

10,676. Mr. Hewitt, the American Commissioner, who has personally examined those works, has told us that they were all paid by the day, and that the graduation of wages with reference to skill was greater in England than it is in France ?—Mr. Hewitt does not know the English iron trade at all. I know him very well, and he comes here casually and gets information, but he is not practically acquainted with the English iron trade at all. He went to Creusot, but he has not been to the English ironworks to get information on the subject.

10,677. You do not doubt that a puddler at Creusot is paid by the day, do you ?—I believe that they pay them by the day.

10,678. If a man is paid a uniform rate per day, that surely is a less exact manner of proportioning wages to skill, is it not, than if a man is paid at so much a ton, and it is measured ?—No, certainly not ; there is the value of the article which he is to deal with to be taken into consideration. If we can get a saving in our materials or in our iron, we can afford to pay a higher rate of wages. If that iron is, on the contrary wasted, we cannot afford to pay a higher rate of wages.

10,679. If A. B. and C. at Creusot are paid 8 francs a day for their labour, without reference to quantity, and in England A. B. and C. are paid at so much per ton, their earnings being measured by the quantity which they produce, skill has the advantage in England as compared with Creusot, has it not ?—If one man produces 22½ cwt., and another produces 21½ cwt., certainly the man who produces 22½ cwt. is paid more than the man who produces 21½, but then the latter is not economically so valuable as the former, because he wastes a large quantity of iron.

10,680. (*Sir E. W. Head.*) Is it certain that the men at Creusot, though paid by the day, are all paid the same rate per day ?—No, they are not ; there is an extensive graduation.

10,681. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Mr. Hewitt says that there is more discrimination in England than in France ?—That is not so. Their works are managed much closer than ours are.

10,682. Can you produce us the figures ?—I cannot produce them ; mine is merely information the same as Mr. Hewitt had there, namely, from the manager at Creusot. He said that they paid different scales of wages.

10,683. (*Chairman.*) If a gentleman, having no particular business relation, asks a partner in very large works what profit he is making, is it usual to disclose it ?—Sometimes it is done, because some men are more candid than others ; but that question cannot be answered at the present time.

10,684. Supposing that Mr. Hewitt called at the works as a traveller, and asked the junior partner what profit he was making, and that the junior partner said, "We are not making any profit now," should you consider that he would be blameable in any particular degree if you found that he was making two per cent.? What he called no profit might mean no profit worth speaking of ?—That might be the meaning.

10,685. If a stranger asked the manager of a concern in England how he was getting on, the answer would be, I suppose, "Pretty well, I thank you," or else "Not very well ?"—Yes.

10,686. There it is, and it is available for what it is worth. Mr. Hewitt called upon the junior partner, and he said, "We are not making any profit now ?"—Yes ; and I think that travellers going about in that sort of way would hardly get precise information.

10,687. (*Mr. Hughes.*) I suppose Mr. Hewitt would be able to get as precise information as you, would he not ?—It would depend on circumstances.

10,688. (*Chairman.*) A man buying and selling would be likely to have correct information about the line of business that he was interested in, I presume ?—Yes ; but I do not think that people would be likely to show him their balance sheets.

10,689. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Have you paid attention to this question of the Belgian competition ?—Yes, I am sorry to say that I have been forced to pay attention to it.

10,690. You say that you think it was in 1865 that the Belgian competition became formidable ?—Yes.

10,691. Are you aware what the gross produce of all the Belgian iron fields was in 1866 ?—I have not that here, but I have it at home.

10,692. According to Messrs. Creed and Williams it is 392,000 tons. Would that be a formidable item as compared with the English trade ?—Very, in that particular class of iron.

10,693. But that is the whole amount ; do you know what the gross produce of England is as compared with Belgium ?—Of course it is very much larger.

10,694 I am trying to contrast the size of the Belgian iron fields with our own. When one comes really to look at the gross produce of the Belgian fields, the whole of their fields together are not so big as one of our great fields ?—I will explain the thing. They make a special character of iron in Belgium, and the total make of England is no criterion at all. The bulk of the make of England, of course, consists in great quantities of pig-iron. Now in Belgium it is all manufactured iron, and all manufactured iron of a particular class, the same class as we make in Staffordshire.

10,695. But supposing the whole of their produce to be of that particular class, it would scarcely be formidable in comparison with the iron trade of England surely ?—Very formidable indeed with regard to the same quality of iron in England. The proportion of the number of tons of iron made in each country is no criterion at all. I am speaking of a special quality. They interfered with our North Staffordshire trade by making the same quality of iron as we made. We have lost the trade which we had and have never recovered it since.

10,696. Where have they superseded you ?—They have superseded us everywhere ; they even sent to America. In every foreign market that we had we have been competed with by the Belgians.

10,697. So that they manage with this very small comparative production, which does not amount to above a twelfth of the English production, to meet you in every market ?—Yes ; it amounts to very much more than a twelfth of the English production of the same character of iron.

10,698. (*Mr. Harrison.*) What are the centres of the trade in England which compete directly with your particular branch in England ?—They make something of the same character of iron in the Middlesbro' district, the Cleveland district as it is called, and in Derbyshire. None of the Welsh compete with us and scarcely any of the Scotch. But I will mention a case which is an absolute fact. The other day I tendered for a quantity of iron in London, about a thousand tons of what are called "girders," and the other English ironmasters tendered too (it was for girders for St. Thomas's hospital). The whole of that iron was bought in Belgium.

10,699. (*Mr. Merivale.*) The Belgians beat not only you, but the ironmasters in the other districts of England too ?—Yes.

Mr. W. S. Roden.

29 Nov. 1867.

10,700. Though these last have no workmens' unions? —In the north of England they have.

10,701. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Is that a quality of iron that can be produced in Wales?—No, it cannot be produced in Wales.

10,702. (*Mr. Mathews.*) It is plate-iron?—Yes.

10,703. Not only do they make plate-iron cheaper, but they have cheaper labour and send the girders ready manufactured here?—Yes.

10,704. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Do you agree with Messrs. Creed and Williams that the Belgian iron is uncertain in quality and inferior to ours?—It is rather a wide question. Thay make different qualities of iron in Belgium, no doubt.

10,705. Do you know the book published by Messrs. Creed and Williams?—Yes.

10,706. They state that "the Belgian merchant iron "generally is at present uncertain and irregular in "quality;" do you agree with that?—No, that is not the case now. It was so, but they have improved.

10,707. Are they equal to us now in that respect? —Yes.

10,708. (*Sir E. W. Head.*) Have you any statistics to show the increase of the Belgian exports in iron to Russia, France, and Germany after the lock-out in Staffordshire in 1865?—No.

10,709. It would be desirable to have such statistics as would show that the quality of the iron was a quality competing with our iron?—I have just mentioned a case in point, where a lot of girders to be used in London were bought in Belgium within the last month.

10,710. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) In referring to the effect of the North Staffordshire strike upon the iron trade generally I think I rightly understood you to say that the effect it had was in consequence of the high rate of wages required by the men. Now I think there must be some mistake there, because the result of the strike was that the men did not obtain the high rate of wages that they asked for. Do you not rather mean that the length of time the works were closed so deranged the trade that masters here were unable to accept contracts which they otherwise would have accepted?—Certainly.

10,711. (*Sir E. W. Head.*) It was in fact because the North Staffordshire masters had their hands tied at that time?—Quite so. I was speaking of the present time when I said that the high rate of wages prevented our competing with the Belgians and not of that particular time. We lost our trade then because our works were standing. It was not then a question of price, but at the present time it is the high rate of wages that prevent us from competing with Belgium.

10,712. If I understand you rightly you look upon the transfer of this Belgian iron to these foreign markets as important not so much in reference to the actual quantity sent, but because it is the stream flowing that way?—Yes.

10,713. And because it is the commencement of a larger trade?—Yes.

10,714. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Though the amount of Belgian iron imported here may be small it regulates the price in the English market?—Yes, it regulates the price to a certain extent, though it may be a small quantity.

10,715. (*Mr. Merivale.*) You say that the Belgians have beaten both yourselves and the Clevelanders, as I understand you?—Yes.

10,716. You attribute your own defeat to the operation of the unions?—Yes.

10,717. To what do you attribute the defeat of the Clevelanders?—To the same thing.

10,718. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Do you not think, if you know the Belgian trade, that there are other causes besides the rate of wages which account for their beating the English producers?—There might be some other causes, but the wages alone are a sufficient cause I think.

10,719. Are you aware to whom the minerals in Belgium belong?—To the government.

10,720. Do you know anything of the rates there? —Yes, they are low.

10,721. Low as compared with the English?—Yes, very much lower.

10,722. Surely that circumstance by enabling more production is a more direct cause of the Belgians getting our trade from us?—Of course it is one cause, but it is not a sufficient cause.

10,723. You think that if the figures were taken out that cause would have less effect upon the cost at which the Belgians can sell than the other cause which you have mentioned?—I think so, certainly.

10,724. (*Mr. Mathews.*) If the rate of royalty there were 50 per cent. lower than in England that would not be equivalent to the rate of wages being 30 per cent. lower than in England?—Certainly not.

10,725. Inasmuch as the cost of a ton of iron in wages is infinitely greater than the cost of the royalty? —Yes; there is no comparison at all between the two.

10,726. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) What is your opinion of the system under which the rate of wages is made dependent on the price of iron according to the Staffordshire scale?—There are two ways of looking at the question; the one is to have a fixed rate of wages, no matter what the fluctuations of trade may be, the other is to establish, practically, a partnership between the workman and the employer, and regulate the wages in accordance with the price received for the iron, so that the workman should always receive (and that is the principle which they have hitherto gone on in Staffordshire) a certain proportion of the price that the master receives.

10,727. But is it your opinion that that system has worked satisfactorily hitherto?—On the whole it has.

10,728. (*Sir E. W. Head.*) Where has it been adopted?—It is adopted in Staffordshire now.

10,729. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Would it be practicable in point of fact to adopt any other system. If the price of iron were to go up would not the workmen say, notwithstanding any compact or any bargain, "We will not work for so low wages as we have "been receiving?"—Yes.

10,730. And if the price were to go down so much would not the masters say, "We cannot employ men "at these wages, or else we must stop our works?"— Yes.

10,731. (*Mr. Harrison.*) The sliding scale according to which wages are regulated by the selling price of the goods is not one which is proportionate to the profit of the master, or to the state of the labour market, or to the amount of the goods produced?—It is so practically; it works out so.

10,732. I will put it in this way. When the price of the goods (speaking in the abstract and not with special reference to iron) is low, there may be a very large production and a very large consumption of those goods, and very high profits; then of course by the system of a sliding scale wages would be low; again, there may be the same great consumption of the goods, a great demand for labour, in other words great scarcity of labour, men being very difficult to come at, and very much wanted, notwithstanding that, the wages according to the sliding scale would be low, although by the rules of ordinary markets they necessarily would rise from the state of the labour market. All those are anomalies, are they not, when wages are fixed by a sliding scale relating to the price of the goods sold and not to the state of the labour market, or to the state of the sale market, or even to the profits of the manufacturer?—Certainly not; those causes act and react on each other. When prices are low there may no doubt be a large consumption, but there cannot be high profits.

10,733. Not in the iron trade?—Not in the iron trade.

10,734. There are in other trades, are there not?— Not that I know of.

10,735. The price of goods may have descended, over 10 years, down to a half, having kept on continually falling, and the profits of the manufacture may have been rising all the while, may they not?—

I will put it in this way. You say, "Large consumption and high profits." Now, those profits would naturally raise the rate of labour, the demand for labour would naturally increase, and the rate of wages would naturally rise.

10,736. That is to say, the rate of wages would not be governed by the sliding scale, but by the ordinary rules of the market?—But the sliding scale is simply a record of the ordinary rules of the market. The real selling price is ascertained first and then the price is fixed. The rate of wages is fixed upon the price of iron, not the price of iron upon the rate of wages.

10,737. In that case the rate of wages is fixed not by the actual market or the demand for the men's labour, but by the price at which certain goods are sold?—But in the iron trade it amounts to exactly the same thing. During high prices there is a greater demand for labour, and when prices are low there is a less demand for labour, as a matter of course.

10,738. Is it always the case that when prices are high there is a great demand for labour?—Yes.

10,739. Supposing that the labour market is from other causes thinned at the same time?—It makes it higher then.

10,740. But the sliding scale interferes with the operation, does it not?—The sliding scale is simply a record of the absolute state of the facts at the time.

10,741. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Do you consider the wages system in Belgium in a satisfactory state so far as you know it?—Do you mean to ask whether I think that the men are getting sufficient wages?

10,742. No; I speak of the relations as to wages between employers and employed.—They seem to me to be satisfactory.

10,743. Are you not aware that in 1861 the troops were called out in Belgium, and there was a great deal of bloodshed before the wages question was settled?—I was aware that there was a disturbance, but it was a small matter.

10,744. Mr. Herries says, "This strike was followed "by a disturbance of so serious a nature that troops "were called out, and the riots were not finally sup- "pressed without deplorable conflicts and bloodshed." That was in 1861. Are you aware whether last year the troops were called out?—It is usual to call the troops out on slight provocation on the continent.

10,745. Are you aware that they were as a fact?—I believe that they were.

10,746. If there had been an organization for settling wages between employers and employed, is it not very probable that the question might have been settled without calling out the troops?—I think not; I think it is merely the custom of the country.

10,747. Have you ever known any instance in England in which troops have been called out during a strike, because within the last six years, in Belgium, we have two well-authenticated instances in which the troops have been called out to settle the wages question?—To prevent disturbances.

10,748. What did the men turn out for last year in Belgium?—They objected to have their wages reduced.

10,749. And the troops were called out in consequence of the riots which occurred?—Yes, I suppose so.

10,750. Has there been any instance of that kind in England during the last six years, in which the unions have been so strong as to require to be put down by troops?—There has been no instance of it, practically, within my memory, even including the time when there were no unions at all in the iron trade.

10,751. Is it not possible that the organization of unions may have the effect of keeping away from us a worse state of things?—No, I do not think that the Belgian question bears upon the English question in the slightest degree.

10,752. We have there an instance of labour entirely unorganized?—I am not informed of that altogether.

10,753. Are there unions then in Belgium?—There are combinations, I believe, amongst the workmen from time to time.

10,754. I take your statement (and it is the statement of Messrs. Creed and Williams at any rate) that the absence of unions in Belgium is one of the great causes enabling them to undersell us. The case of Messrs. Creed and Williams is that our unions are ruining our trade, and they cite Belgium and say that there are no unions there, and that they are beating us?—I believe that there are no unions there now.

10,755. So far as you know, and so far as I know, labour is unorganized in Belgium?—Yes.

10,756. Labour there being unorganized, in two cases within the last six years the troops have been called out to, I will say, interfere in questions of wages?—Yes, to prevent disturbances.

10,757. That has not been so in England?—It has not been so in England.

10,758. Is it not possible that the organization of labour in England may have had some effect in producing that better state of things?—No, I think not.

10,759. (*Mr. Mathews.*) If there had been as efficient a police in Belgium as there is in England would there have been any occasion for calling out the military there?—I think not.

10,760. (*Mr. Booth.*) Should you think it an advantage to the workmen in Belgium if by organization, such as exists in this country, they were to succeed in ruining the iron trade in Belgium?—Certainly not, quite the contrary; it would be very detrimental to themselves and to the country.

10,761. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Do you think that if the usual custom of reducing wages immediately upon a reduction in the price of iron taking place had been adopted by the masters in 1864 there would have been the same probability of a strike as there appears to have been when the masters delayed reducing the wages for six months after the reduction had taken place in the price of iron?—I do not quite follow the question.

10,762. You are aware that the price of iron fell six months before the notice was given for a reduction in the price of wages?—Yes, the nominal price of iron was reduced before.

10,763. Supposing that the reduction in the wages had taken place immediately upon the fall in the price of iron, do you think that there would have been the same probability of the men striking?—I cannot exactly say. I do not think there would.

10,764. In short that strike may be partly attributable to the fact of the usual custom not having been carried out in that case?—Certainly; my own impression is to that effect. I do not know whether it is the opinion of the trade, but I always considered that the prices of iron should be lowered or raised, and the prices of wages lowered or raised simultaneously.

10,765. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Without reference to the number of men who are competing for the work do you mean?—The price of iron; the absolute good trade or bad trade regulates that matter.

10,766. I will put to you two cases. I will allow that they are somewhat extreme cases, but they will show the principle. You say that the price of iron is fixed first. That is determined largely, is it not, by foreign competition which you have to meet?—That is everything.

10,767. Upon that, by the system of the sliding scale, the wages rise or fall in accordance with that declared price?—Yes.

10,768. Now the first of the two cases which I will assume is this: there is an immense and sudden developement of the iron trade in America, consequent, say upon some peculiar state of things in America, and 1,000 puddlers are drawn off from, say the Staffordshire district to America to meet this demand for their labour; but no difference having taken place in the price of iron at home, wages will still remain unaffected by that very great difference in the labour market in Staffordshire. Again, take this case, those 1,000 puddlers say upon the breaking out of the war (it would be upon the cessation of the war in the case of America) returned home again to Staffordshire and flood the Staffordshire market; prices of

Mr. W. S. Roden.

29 Nov. 1867.

iron not varying, wages remain at the same point; notwithstanding that the labour market is flooded, they do not fall. That being the case, the sliding scale regulates wages without any reference to the actual state of the labour market?—No, it does not do so; because it is not a fact that if a thousand puddlers were withdrawn from the country the price of iron would remain the same. If you reduce your production of iron, you necessarily increase the price of the iron that is produced.

10,769. Belgium and France not being affected, and being able to produce at the same low rates as before, you would not have a market?—To the extent that you lessened your make you would. Supposing, for instance, that you make 100,000 tons, and that you take away 20,000 tons from that, you get a higher price for your 80,000 tons.

10,770. All that is very indirect, is it not, whereas the operation upon the labour market is immediate?—No, the rise of iron is quite as direct, they act together. Moreover, I must remind you that in your question you have assumed to some extent that the price of iron is a price fixed by the ironmasters themselves, whereas the rise is really regulated by what we can get. We find out what we can get and fix our wages on that price.

10,771. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) What is your opinion as to the rate of wages of puddlers and millmen? We were told yesterday by Mr. Smith that he considered that the rate of wages paid to the millmen was too high in proportion to the wages of the puddlers. Do you agree with him in that opinion?—No, I certainly do not agree with him on the broad principle. If he mentioned certain men among the millmen who are paid too high, I believe that they are paid too high in proportion to what they fairly earn in comparison with the puddlers work, but those men are very few in number, perhaps one man out of every 20. We give out work as a kind of contract to this one man who farms it as it were, and gets his labour as cheap as he can, and no doubt in consequence of the improvement of machinery and many other things (of course there is increased intelligence on all sides), he can get his work done cheaper than he could when those prices were fixed; and as there has been no technical arrangement of prices, as between different classes for many years, there is no doubt that those men are getting too high a rate of wages, and that therefore it would be fair, if there was an advance of wages given, that they should have a less advance, and that if a reduction of wages took place, they should have a greater reduction than the other men. But, as I say, those men are few in number, and the term "millmen" does not apply to them, I mean that they would constitute only one out of every 10 or 20, or something of that kind. I quite agree with Mr. Smith that those men get too high wages, but they are few in number.

10,772. Do you agree with him in thinking that the wages of puddlers should not fall below 8*s.* 6*d.*?—To answer that I might state, that when we pay the highest rate of wages we get the highest prices, and that it is very much better for us to pay a higher rate of wages, because we get more in proportion for our iron than we do when it is low. We lose by every reduction that is made in the price of iron, because we cannot get anything like the same reduction in wages.

10,773. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You would prefer to see such a state of the iron trade as would justify a high rate to the puddlers?—Yes, it is our interest to pay as high wages as we can in proportion to the cost of production. The higher the rate which the iron is selling at the more profit we get.

10,774. Take a ton of bar iron selling at 6*l.* 10*s.*, what proportion of that consists of wages paid for labour, and what proportion of royalties and other fixed matters of which the prices do not vary. Have you considered that question?—I have considered it. It varies in different districts. But to illustrate the thing you must take those districts where the ironmaster raises his own coal.

10,775. I assume such a case in my question?—Where he does everything himself within himself, the proportion paid for labour would be perhaps 80 to 90 per cent., perhaps 85 per cent.

10,776. There or thereabouts?—Yes.

10,777. Varying more or less according to the circumstances of the particular works?—Quite so.

10,778. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Would that 85 per cent. represent the weekly wages which he himself paid and which would rise or fall with a change in the price of iron?—I think that 80 per cent. certainly would. There are certain fixed charges of course, for agencies and things of that kind, which may not be altered at that particular time. When prices get high, however, practically we have to advance that kind of labour as well. It may not be advanced at the same time as what we call the workmen's labour, but when trade is good and prices high we are obliged either to directly advance our clerks, book-keepers, and agents generally, or to make them allowances during the period that the trade is good. Therefore, it affects us somewhat in their case, but not to any such extent as in the case of the workmen.

10,779. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Reverting to the strike in North Staffordshire, I think you state that there were contributions from the other districts to those men?—Yes.

10,780. Were not there contributions also from the London trades unions?—Yes.

10,781. And did not some men come down from the London trades unions to those men to exhort those men to remain out, and promised them support if they remained out?—Yes.

10,782. And that had a tendency to continue the strike for a much longer period than it would have continued but for that intervention?—Yes.

10,783. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You said that the higher the rate you get for the iron the more profit you get?—I think I said that when prices were high the rate of wages did not bear so great a proportion to the cost of iron as it did when they were low.

10,784. That I imagine comes to the same thing. If the men knew that, would not that perhaps account for what was stated by Mr. Smith yesterday, their struggle to increase the rate of their wages as the prices of iron got up. You remember he told us that in August and September 1863, there was a great rise in the price of iron and that the men strove for and obtained an advance of 6*d.*, in fact they got three advantages of 6*d.* as he put it. Now, if the masters got more profits could they not afford to pay a higher rate?—Precisely, and they would be glad to do so.

10,785. And that was the reason why they gave in, I suppose?—No, the facts of the case were these. The price of iron had not risen, but the works were better employed than they had been, and the men considered that it was a very good time to attempt a rise in the price of wages, and they struck. In the meantime trade had greatly improved, and people who were making the commoner qualities of iron, not the qualities with the regulated price, were getting higher prices and nearer to the list prices. At last the ironmasters of South Staffordshire found that they could get an advance of a pound a ton, and consequently that improvement in the trade brought about an advance in wages.

10,786. There was a rise up to 8*l.* a ton in September?—Yes.

10,787. Then the men got another advantage, that is to say, they got 9*s.* 6*d.*, whereas according to the scale they should only have had 9*s.*?—No, 8*s.* 6*d.*

10,788. It was 8*s.* 6*d.* in August, and in September they got another 6*d.* At any rate be it two or three sixpences, would it not probably be a reason for the men thinking that they should get a higher rate of wages if they knew that the rate of profit of the master was decidedly greater as the price of iron rose?—But the price of iron had not risen when they struck.

10,789. I do not care about the particular circumstances of this case. We have got this fact, that when

iron rises up to a certain point (it seems to me above 7*l.* 10*s.*) then the men begin to struggle for more than the scale; they struggle for 6*d.* in every 10*s.* ?—That was not exactly the way in which it was brought about.

10,790. The scale, as I understand, is one ranging in all ordinary times on this principle, a shilling to the puddler for every 1*l.* to the master ?—It is so.

10,791. Then on certain occasions we find from the evidence yesterday, that when iron got high, when it got above 7*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.*, the men instead of putting up with this shilling strove for an extra 6*d.*; as Mr. Smith said they got three sixpences which they had no right to ?—The first advance was a shilling a ton. The price of iron was advanced 10*s.* a ton, and the puddlers were given a shilling. That was how it was brought about. It comes to the same thing in the end, but those are the facts of the case.

10,792. In fact the men became discontented with the sliding scale and contended for an advance, which they obtained?—That was not the absolute case. They went for an advance of a shilling a ton without reference to anything, and they got it eventually, and the ironmasters in South Staffordshire first of all advanced their prices 10*s.* a ton, and then gave their puddlers a shilling.

10,793. And then they advanced prices another 10*s.* a ton, and gave them 1*s.* 6*d.* ?—No, a shilling is the amount. We are paying now 8*s.* 6*d.* a ton for puddling, and the price of bars is 7*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.*, therefore it is not 1*s.* 6*d.*

10,794. At any rate, if you get more profits as the price of iron goes up, you can afford to pay higher wages ?—Yes.

10,795. May not that account for the reason why the men struggled to get the advance ?—As a matter of fact, the price of iron had not risen when they struck. We should be only too happy to get a price of iron to enable us to give higher wages.

10,796. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Have you seen Mr. Jones's statement upon that matter ?—I have not.

10,797. (*Mr. Harrison.*) As compared with this time 10 years back, how do wages stand now, above or below?—The lowest rate of wages that we have paid in the last 10 years has been 7*s.* 6*d.* a ton; we now pay 8*s.* 6*d.*

10,798. That is to say, they are now within 1*s.* of the lowest rate that has been paid for the last 10 years ?—Yes.

10,799. They have for some time been falling, since 1865 ?—Yes, since 1865 there has been a reduction twice; 10*s.* 6*d.* was the highest price, and they have been reduced to 8*s.* 6*d.*

10,800. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Will you take Mr. Jones's statement in your hand, and see what he says upon the subject ?—Mr. Jones says, "The result was "that the ironmasters" (he is speaking of this strike) "advanced the price of iron and gave the men the "wages which had been demanded three months "before."

10,801. According to that it would appear that the rate of wages was not raised till the price of iron advanced ?—The rate of wages was not raised till the price of iron advanced.

10,802. And when it was raised was an extra 6*d.* added to the rate of the sliding scale?—Yes.

10,803. That is the way it came about?—It is.

10,804. Have you always been ready to listen to any complaints made by the men, and ready to receive them when they have asked to see you?—Certainly.

10,805. (*Mr. Mathews.*) On any grievance occurring with your men you generally leave the settlement of it to the managers in the case of hiring men, I presume ?—Yes.

10,806. In the case of the manager and the men disagreeing an appeal is made to you, and you are always ready to receive that appeal ?—Yes.

10,807. You are open to settle a case when the manager and the men cannot agree ?—Yes.

10,808. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) I need not ask you whether you are in favour of arbitration in cases where it comes to a dispute between the masters and the men, because you proposed it in North Staffordshire?—Yes.

10,809. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Should you be in favour of enforcing the awards of the arbitrators legally, because the difficulty hitherto with respect to arbitration has been that the arbitrator has no power to enforce his award, but that the party who is dissatisfied may say, "Oh, well, we have been to arbitration, but we are not legally bound?"—That is the great difficulty, no doubt.

10,810. Do you feel that you could go so far as to enable either party to make the award, as we say, a rule of court, which would enable the enforcement of it on either side?—Which would be practically legislative interference in the control of labour. Certainly I am entirely opposed to that.

10,811. Supposing that arbitration were legalized, and the award made a rule of court, it would be enforceable against the one side, the master; but how would you propose to enforce it against the man?—I do not see how it is to be done.

10,812. You are prepared for no legislation in that respect?—I am not prepared for any legislation. I think that any legislation interfering with labour is decidedly injurious.

10,813. You would leave it voluntary and have the arbitration go for what it was worth; you would let the arbitrator, who of course would be a person greatly respected in the district, give his opinion, and you would trust to both sides to carry it out loyally, but you would not enforce it by legal sanction?—No.

10,814. (*Sir E. W. Head.*) Would it be possible to enforce an arbitration? Supposing, for instance, that the award was that the rate of wages should be so and so, could you compel the next day any one man to work at the rate of wages which had been fixed?—No.

10,815. (*Mr. Mathews.*) On the other hand, could you compel the master to employ a man if the arbitration went against him, whether he would or not?—No.

10,816. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) But do not you think that the decision of recognized arbitrators in whom the public had confidence would have such an effect upon one side and the other that it would in all probability put an end to the dispute?—I think that what may be termed a friendly interference sometimes would be advantageous, but beyond that I think that the question would be beset with great difficulties.

10,817. Then you would object to recognize a court of arbitrators?—I would most decidedly object to any legislative interference whatever with the trade of the country.

10,818. (*Mr. Mathews.*) When you speak of friendly interference you mean that you would approve of calling in as arbitrator someone who, as in the case of Lord Lichfield, was a man of high social position, and of known reputation for impartiality, and further than that you would not go?—No.

10,819. (*Mr. Booth.*) And what the arbitrator fixed should be considered to be for the time being a fair rate?—Yes.

10,820. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) You have seen Lord St. Leonard's bill?—Yes.

10,821. What is your opinion of it?—I do not think that it is either one thing or the other.

10,822. You think that it would be inoperative practically?—Yes.

10,823. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You gave us just now the per-centage of wages to the total cost of production as being about 80 per cent. where all the operations are carried on in the same works. Now, could you take the case of ironworks where they do not raise the ore or make pig-iron, and where they do not raise the coal themselves, but where they have to buy both. Would that be your own case; for instance, do you raise coal?—Practically, we do; the concern is all under one management.

10,824. Take the case of works (of which I suppose there are many) where they neither raise the coal nor

Mr. W. S. Roden.

29 Nov. 1867.

make the pig-iron, what proportion would the weekly wages of that department bear to the cost?—In round figures about a third; that is to say, a third would belong to the mills and forges, and two-thirds to the other parts. I cannot tell you nearer than that.

10,225. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Every work differs so much in its particular circumstances that it is impossible to give any accurate answer to that question?—I think so. I was asked just now about arbitration. I ought to add that in the case of an award which was considered to go against the workmen, I do not think that there would be anything like so strong a means of enforcing that award, as in the case of the master. If an award went against a master he has his position in the district, and many other circumstances to influence him; his credit is at stake, and everything else, and I think that the master would be unduly bound, while the men would be free. That is the broad view of the question.

10,826. (*Mr. Hughes.*) It is said that if the unions were legalized the process might be made to take effect against them; should you be prepared to support any legislation of that kind?—Certainly not. I would have no legislative interference in the slightest degree between masters and workmen.

10,827. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Would it be impossible to enforce a contract between an individual and a crowd?—Yes; it would be only to the extent of their funds that you could enforce the contract, namely, by imposing a penalty. I may mention that during the last 30 years there have been many strikes in North Staffordshire, but they have never in any single instance been successful.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. F. Smith.

Mr. Frederick Smith further examined.

10,828. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) I will ask you one or two questions upon some evidence that was given by Mr. Hobson the other day. On looking over that evidence this morning I see that there are one or two answers bearing upon the state of things at Lord Dudley's works, and it would be just as well if your attention were called to them in the event of your having any remarks to make upon them. You will find that at question 8893 Mr. Hobson was asked, "Is it not the fact that the list price of iron is confined to all but a few works in Staffordshire who make iron which cannot be made in any other district, and which command in consequence of that extra quality a better price?" and his answer is, "I do not think that the Earl of Dudley goes by the list price. I am under the impression that he receives 1*l.* a ton or more for his iron than the list-price." One would infer from that, that although at your works you were paying the wages according to the list price of iron you were receiving 1*l.* more than the other masters in that district?—We always keep a little above the list price whenever we can—about half-a-crown. There are some markets where even that cannot always be obtained, but we do not go above that half-crown.

10,829. But is there any additional cost in connexion with the manufacture of the iron?—Decidedly; we pay a great deal more for the pig iron than our neighbours pay. Our iron produces a better yield to the workmen than perhaps almost any other iron does; it is the old style iron that used to be used in Staffordshire a generation ago, and the waste in the conversion is less than with the inferior quality of the present day, in which there is so much spurious matter that has to be got out by the puddler.

10,830. (*Sir E. W. Head.*) The puddler gets a larger sum in working out this iron, because he gets more iron out of a given quantity of pig iron?—Yes, without more work.

10,831. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) In point of fact, although your prices are higher your wages are really higher in proportion, in consequence of the nature of the iron enabling a man to get more out of it?—Yes, the labour to do the work is less, and therefore he earns his money in a shorter time; but it is quite a mistake to say that we receive 1*l.* a ton more. I wish it was so.

10,832. (*Mr. Hughes.*) How is it the other producers in the neighbourhood do not use the same pig iron as you if it is so much better?—We make our own pig.

10,833. Then when you say that you pay more for your pig iron you mean that you pay the men for for working it?—Yes, we pay more wages for it, the materials being more carefully worked.

10,834. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) In the answer to question 8911 your name is mentioned. I merely call your attention to it in order that you may make any remark, if you wish to do so?—It is stated there that I "would not meet the body" of men; that is simply because you cannot. I have tried to deal with large bodies of men, and I have not found it lead to any practical result. I have found that you could discuss the matter very much better where you were dealing with a few than where you were dealing with a great number. Mr. Hobson also says there, "At other works the employers would not meet the men at all, and the manager invariably had to settle the difference between them." I am not aware of that fact, and it surprises me to see it there.

10,835. At any rate, as far as you are concerned, you are not aware that you have ever shown any indisposition to discuss the matter with them though you have objected to meet a large body?—In regard to iron, I do not remember at this moment ever having refused to meet any men, whether a great number or a small number.

10,836. Then in answer to question 8927, Mr. Hobson says, "This quality of iron, hoop iron, was worked at most of the works in Staffordshire, and the men waited upon their employers, Messrs. Brown and Freer, and obtained the 6*d.* per ton advance in consequence of the Earl of Dudley paying 6*d.* per ton more than any other master in the trade, and as soon as Messrs. Brown and Freer conceded it the question was laid before the iron-masters' meeting (it was then near to their quarterly meeting), and the resolution was issued from that meeting that they recommended Messrs. Brown and Freer and the Earl of Dudley to discontinue paying that to the men, as they considered it an innovation in the trade." What does that mean?—When the works were put up first, the machinery was not calculated to make that class of iron. Since that time the machinery has been altered and the price has been reduced.

10,837–8. Then I think you must have your attention called to the answer to question 8965. I merely call your attention to it because your name is mentioned there. We should infer from that answer, that although the men were in the right as proved by your having given the 15*l.* as compensation to them, they did not obtain that redress without having recourse to a strike?—I must ask Mr. Hobson what year that was in.

(*Mr. Hobson.*) In May 1864.

(*Witness.*) That was before I had anything to do in the management of the Round Oak works, and my father was in those days ill and unable to give his personal attention to it, and just at that time the management of the works was really in abeyance. My father being unwell the works were in a sort of interregnum, and the manager on the ground could hardly know how to act. It was a special occasion that could hardly be put in in evidence one way or the other. Since I have had anything to do with it we have gone on in the most amicable and satisfactory way. If there has been a grievance it has been heard out and redressed, and the matter in dispute has been disposed of most satisfactorily.

10,839. In answer to a question which I asked you yesterday as to whether the wages of the millmen were always reduced in proportion to the wages of the puddlers, I think you said that they were, and I understand that in one case (I wish to know how far this is correct) in January, 1867 when, the puddlers were reduced 1*s.* a ton the millmen were reduced from 30 to 40 per cent.?—I am surprised to hear that. That may, perhaps, be true in some little matter of detail. We have so materially altered our machinery lately that just what I said as to the hoop mill would apply to some of the rolling mills, extravagant prices were paid at some of the mills and work was done that the mills were not calculated to do, and it was done at an extra expenditure of labour. Then when the mills were afterwards altered and suited to the work required; the millmen were in those particular instances reduced to what the average price of the country was, by the 30 or 40 per cent. which your lordship refers to, having been that much in excess up to that time of the country's rates. We spent a great deal of money in improving the machinery and assimilating it to machinery in other works.

10,840. I think we understood from you yesterday that there had been no strike either for a rise of wages or for resisting a reduction between 1863 and the lock-out which took place in 1865. Will you give the Commission some information with regard to that lock-out. I believe that you were one of the masters who locked out their men at that time?—I was, and very reluctant we were indeed to do so; but it was from our finding that in consequence of the union there was a sort of conspiracy against the iron trade of England, the union attacking us, if I may use the word in a sort of stratagem, trying to concentrate all their efforts on what they thought was the weak point of the iron trade of England, namely, North Staffordshire. They thought that if they could direct all their power to North Staffordshire and get them to give way, then they would work out all in detail and make the whole iron trade of England give way in detail, district by district. Finding that North Staffordshire was not strong enough to stand out by itself we had a meeting at York on March the 17th, and there it was decided that all the iron districts of England should unite to assist North Staffordshire in their defence against the action of the unions.

10,841. What grounds had you for supposing that there was such a stratagem, as you have described it, on the part of the men?—It was so generally understood at the time. I am not aware that the men to whom I spoke concealed it.

10,842. We have been told by Mr. Jones that one thing that mainly induced the masters to adopt that course at the time was a letter that was written by Mr. Kane on the 15th of March 1865. Do you remember that letter having been referred to in connexion with the consideration of the question of the lock-out?—No, I do not remember that.

10,843. That letter has been put in by Mr. Jones, and it is to this effect; it is an extract of a letter from Mr. Kane, dated the 28th of January 1865.—"A delegate meeting was held at Brierley Hill and a resolution was passed to the effect that the men of North Staffordshire resist the reduction. The council of Brierley Hill called their number of the North Staffordshire men out on strike and acting in concert with our friends at Brierley Hill, and seeing the necessity of such we immediately instructed the men of the Hanley district to come out also, to the number of 450." I suppose that that was one of the reasons for your considering it to be a combined movement on the part of the men throughout the whole of the country?—Yes, the unions were attacking us in detail.

10,844. As you are aware, the course adopted by the masters on that occasion was severely commented on in many of the public papers at the time, as being a cruel act towards the men. Would you explain to us in what manner you would justify the course that was taken by the masters on that occasion?—The men themselves forced us, the masters, into a most cruel position. They had ruin on one side, or a very harsh course of action to our men on the other, and that was the position the masters were placed in. If they had not locked out their men, the North Staffordshire district must have been ruined, and other districts of England that would have had to follow in the same course as North Staffordshire would have been ruined also; and to avoid a greater misfortune we had to resort to what we all regretted very much indeed, that course of action towards our men. But after a fortnight the masters in the North of England withdrew from that course, and we in South Staffordshire in due course withdrew also.

10,845. Did you consider that it would be impossible for the rate of wages to be raised and continue at 10 per cent. in North Staffordshire above the rate of wages prevailing in South Staffordshire?—It would have been utterly impossible commercially, they must all have become insolvent in a longer or a shorter time, according to the larger or smaller amount of the capital they were trading upon.

10,846. Was there any other means of which the masters could have availed themselves to protect themselves against this threatened advance of wages being forced upon them?—We tried to discover some other course at that time, and we could not succeed in doing so. Arbitration was out of the question, because if the award of an arbitrator is that a master, who cannot afford to do it, shall still be required to pay a certain rate of wages the master is put in this position, that he either must obey the award and be ruined, or defy the award and not be ruined.

10,847. Do you think that the course that was suggested at the time by some persons would have availed. I allude to the suggestion which I know was made at the time, that the masters, instead of having recourse to the lock-out in their own district, might have adopted the course of supporting during the strike the masters against whom the men had struck in North Staffordshire?—It would not have been practicable in South Staffordshire at all. Some of the masters could have contributed, but with so many firms (I think there were about 120 firms, some very large capitalists and some very small) they could not have agreed upon a rateable contribution to support the North Staffordshire masters. They could not have combined for the purpose practically.

10,848. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You said yesterday towards the end of your examination that unions had improved very much lately, will you state how?—After they have done so much to ruin the trade of the country, the country is in a state of depression, and the men and the masters are suffering alike. The masters have no orders, and the men have no work. The consequence is now that a man is much more tractable and ready to work on any terms than he was when trade was flourishing, and when, perhaps, two masters were running after one man. It is just the opposite now, masters are running after orders and the men are running after employment.

10,849. But as to the unions, can you state in what respect they have improved; have they become less violent?—After a quarrel there is often a renewal of good feeling, and the masters and the men having had a violent collision, perhaps better feelings are springing up between them; both perhaps are improved. I do not mean to say that the masters were always right, or the men always right, there was a good deal of good on each side, and a good deal was done on each side that was to be regretted, and now we are much better friends than we were.

10,850. Do you think that on the whole as unions are conducted they are of advantage?—At this particular moment with the great depression of trade I have nothing to complain of in them, but I think that if there were to be a revival of trade there would be immediately a revival of the abuses of unionism.

10,851. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You do not think that the vitality of unionism is extinct?—No, but dormant.

10,852. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Do not you think it desirable

Mr. F. Smith.
29 Nov. 1867.

that the men should have some representative system to meet their masters?—I think that if masters are bent on doing the right thing by their men, there is no good in combination of men, or in combination of masters. A master who has the interest of his men at heart needs no union to make him attend to their interests.

10,853. You belong to combination of masters, do you not?—There is no combination, we merely meet to declare the nominal price of iron. A price of iron which is agreed to by about 120 firms, and only adhered to by very few, perhaps not half a dozen.

10,854. Then the document which we see published once a quarter, purporting to emanate from the iron-masters, is in point of fact a farce?—If you see one day that the price in the published list is 7*l.* 10*s.* you may probably the day after buy bar iron from 30*s.* to 2*l.* a ton under that figure.

10,855. Then it has no meaning?—It has a meaning, because on the declared price the rates of puddlers' wages are fixed, and on the puddlers' wages all other wages are fixed.

10,856. Do you belong to the association with which Mr. Jones is connected?—No; that is the North of England.

10,857. Have you no association of masters in your district answering to trades unions?—We have quarterly meetings.

10,858. By whom was that resolution of the 17th of March 1865 to lock-out come to, because you have told us that the resolution that was come to at that meeting was the cause of the lock-out, that you went home and all locked out?—The lock-out began on Monday March the 6th, and the meeting at York was on March the 17th.

10,859. At which meeting the resolution was come to to lock-out?—We having tried the lock-out in South Staffordshire, found that it was necessary for the whole of England to combine to meet the course that the men were taking. Then, I think, we appealed to the North of England, if I remember right, on the 17th of March, that is to say, we having begun the lock-out in South Staffordshire on the 6th of March, appealed to the North of England trade on the 17th of March.

10,860. How was that resolution made binding?—It was not made binding, because it did not operate except for 14 days.

10,861. But there was a lock-out in consequence in large districts, in which there had been no lock-out before?—There was a lock-out in the North of England for 14 days, and then it broke down.

10,862. (*Mr. Harrison.*) How long did the lock-out in South Staffordshire last?—The meeting in Wolverhampton annulled the lock-out on April the 5th.

10,863. (*Mr. Hughes.*) During that time, be it longer or be it shorter, how was that general agreement so come to by the masters carried out; it was through some combination, was it not?—We combined for the moment; we combined during 14 days, and only during 14 days.

10,864. (*Mr. Harrison.*) In Staffordshire you combined longer, namely, from January to April, did you not?—In Staffordshire we combined longer. The general lock-out began in South Staffordshire on March the 6th, and terminated on April the 5th. You are, I think, mixing up, if not confusing, North Staffordshire with South Staffordshire. But the men in North Staffordshire were out of work during the time that you mentioned.

10,865. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Do you think that the masters were quite justified in combining?—We did it with the greatest possible regret.

10,866. Do you think that you were quite justified?—In cases of extremity you must resort to extreme measures, and the men put us in an extremity.

10,867. (*Mr. Harrison.*) An agreement was come to in December according to Mr. Roden's statement, which I think you repeat, that if the unions combined together to uphold the men in resisting the reduction of wages, a general lock-out of the ironworks throughout the kingdom should take place?—The date that you mention is partly right and partly not right.

10,868. It was agreed to in December, was it not, that if the men in any district did not accept the reduction, and in the other district the unions combined to support them a general lock-out should take place?—We are wrong in starting. It was agreed on December the 31st to reduce wages. That was all that was agreed in December.

10,869. Mr. Roden says, speaking of the meeting held in December 1864: "At that meeting it was "decided that the wages of puddlers should be re-"duced from 10*s.* 6*d.* to 9*s.* 6*d.* a ton, millmen's wages "10 per cent., and other workmen in proportion, and "that a notice of such reduction should be given "simultaneously by every master, and that in case "there was a strike in any one district, and it could "be shown that the trades unions combined together "to uphold such strike such combination should be "met by a general lock-out at the ironworks through-"out the kingdom." That is Mr. Roden's statement?—I hear with surprise then that they had proceeded so far as to frame a resolution of that kind, when we did not anticipate such a cause of action on the part of the men. It seems as though they had a foreknowledge of what was going to happen.

10,870. The statement goes on, "In pursuance of "the above Resolutions, notices for a reduction of wages "were given," and so on. It is the case, is it not, that for a certain period the works in Yorkshire and throughout South Staffordshire as well as North Staffordshire were closed?—Yes.

10,871. There being then no dispute whatever as to the rates of wages on which the men were to work in Yorkshire or in South Staffordshire?—Quite so.

10,872. The works were closed in Yorkshire and South Staffordshire, not upon any question of price as to the wages of the men, but absolutely until the men in North Staffordshire went to work?—Quite so.

10,873. What proportion of the men so locked-out were actually members of the union, who were supporting the North Staffordshire strike?—I presume that that question applies to South Staffordshire only?

10,874. Yes, I will say South Staffordshire.—And does it apply to puddlers or men who were not puddlers?

10,875. I am speaking of all the men who were locked out?—Well, there are two unions, the puddlers union and another union.

10,876. I will put it in this way. What proportion of the men (perhaps you can tell us positively in South Staffordshire, but I should like you if you can to include Yorkshire also) locked out in South Staffordshire and Yorkshire were members of any union directly contributing to the support of the North Staffordshire strike?—I approach the answer by reminding you that there are two unions, the millmen's union, and the puddlers' union. I believe that all the puddlers or very nearly all the puddlers were members of the puddlers' union, and that the puddlers very nearly unanimously, probably quite unanimously, supported the North Staffordshire strike.

10,877. Do you mean that at the time of the North Staffordshire strike all the puddlers throughout Staffordshire were unionists without exception?—No, I do not say without exception, because I knew men so disgusted with the union, that they left puddling altogether.

10,878. But that the great majority were unionists?—Nearly all those who were left were in the union. Some of our best puddlers have left puddling altogether in consequence of what they have termed the arbitrary tyranny of the union. I have lost them, and they are no longer puddlers; they have gone to less remunerative pursuits.

10,879. What other portion of the men locked out were not members of either of these unions?—It is very difficult to say.

10,880. It was a very large proportion, was it not; was it five or six to one, including labourers, and all

the people otherwise employed, not in the union?—I should not think so.

10,881. It was more than half, was it not, of the men who were not puddlers or millmen, and not in either union?—I have disposed of the puddlers.

10,882. As to the other men locked out, how many were not in an union?—I can only answer the question by guessing it?—but I should think that three-fourths of the men who rank themselves as iron-workers were in unions.

10,883. But there were a large number of people thrown out of employment not in the union at all?—Indirectly thrown out of employment. Of course the whole trade of the country was paralyzed.

10,884. What proportion were affected indirectly by the lock-out?—Almost everybody was more or less affected, indirectly.

10,885. But what proportion of persons were locked out of specific works—not being members of either of those unions—five or six to one would be putting it low, would it not?—It is too wide a question for any man to attempt to answer. Twelve practical men might give 12 such opposite answers that I could not really run the risk of guessing at it.

10,886. The men were locked out because a certain portion of their body contributed to the support of men in another district; that was the direct and avowed reason, was it not?—They were contributing to support the men in North Staffordshire who were on strike.

10,887. Then they were not locked out because they refused to work for their own employers upon the current terms, but because they were, out of their wages, contributing funds to persons in another district; that was the ground, was it not?—Just so; they were aiding and abetting in what we considered a conspiracy against the ironmasters of England generally.

10,888. Can you give me a case in which either unions, or combinations of working men, have ever done the same thing on their side?—I do not understand the question.

10,889. I will put it in this way then. Can you tell me a case where a body of working men, not having any dispute whatever with their own employer about wages, but having ascertained that he was contributing some funds to the support of another employer who had a difficulty with his men, have struck against him, not for an increase of their own wages, but in order to prevent him from doing what he pleased with his own money?—I have never known of an employer in South Staffordshire contributing towards the support of any other employer.

10,890. But generally in the country have you ever known a body of men strike against an employer, where there was no question of wages or employment, or terms of employment, as between themselves and that employer, but simply because they thought he was giving comfort and support to another employer?—I have never known a case of one employer giving comfort and support to another employer in any way.

10,891. Mr. Jones has told us that the very association of which he is the secretary pays out of its funds so much per furnace to every employer who has a strike, where the strike has been considered a satisfactory one by the association?—Mr. Jones belongs to an association in the North of England, and not in the South of England. I know nothing about the North of England.

10,892. Taking that as the case, have you ever known where men have said to members of that association: "We have no dispute with you whatever "about wages, we are on perfectly good terms, but "we refuse to work at your works for any wages or "upon any terms so long as you choose to find funds "for or to give any assistance to another master in "another district who has a dispute with his men?"—I am obliged to repeat what I said before. I have never known a case of a master in South Staffordshire paying one single farthing to any other master; and never having known the case of a master having paid to another master, I have, of course, never known the case of the men doing what you say. Mr. Jones belongs to the North of England; I have nothing to do with the North of England. I belong to South Staffordshire.

10,893. Do not you see a very great distinction between a number of men combining together, and striking for the purpose of obtaining wages from a particular employer against whom they strike, and the case of men striking not on any question of wages, but to prevent a man subscribing out of his own profits to such purposes as he thinks fit?—Really, I must admit myself puzzled. It is an hypothesis which I cannot see bears in any way upon any practical point which I have been connected with.

10,894. The lock-out as practised in Staffordshire is a totally different thing from anything ever done in a strike; because when men strike they want a certain price for their labour from a particular employer, against whom they strike. But in this case men were locked out and refused employment absolutely until certain other persons, over whom they had no control, went to work. I ask you whether you do not see a difference between those two cases?—I may mention that when I told our men what was going to happen (I talked it over with our leading men in as friendly a spirit as I could talk it over with anybody else), they admitted the inevitable justice of the course that the masters were taking, deprecating very much the conduct that certain men had adopted, and they admitted that they had by their own act forced the masters into this position, that the masters had no alternative but to adopt the course that we were adopting.

10,896. Supposing the case of the men in South Staffordshire believing, but having no exact proof of the fact, that the employers in South Staffordshire were supplying money or other assistance to a master in Yorkshire, who had refused his men an advance of a shilling; what should you say if the men throughout South Staffordshire had suddenly refused to work at any price whatever, until that master in Yorkshire had given the shilling advance. Would you think that reasonable?—You are putting the converse of the lock-out of the men?

10,897. Yes. In the first place, I ask you if I have not stated what is the exact converse of this South Staffordshire lock-out?—I have never known masters drive the men into the extremity that the men have driven the masters into. I have never known any case at all analogous to it.

10,898. I will go to another point. The state of the iron trade has been now for some time in a depressed condition, in consequence of very general causes affecting the trade of the country, has it not? Yes, from a combination of causes and a general derangement of trade.

10,898. And do not you think that the state of the money market generally, and the state of trade generally, and the state of the prosperity of the country, is sufficient to account for the great fall in the price of iron along with foreign competition, without assuming that it is the direct consequence of unionism?—It is a combination of causes; but of those causes unionism is the leading cause.

10,899. How do you account for this fact then, that the iron trade in other parts of England and on the continent, where there is no unionism whatever, is also in a very depressed state?—The trade of the whole world has been affected of late.

10,900. (*Mr. Merivale.*) Has not the iron trade of Wales been suffering very much?—Yes.

10,901. Quite as much as that of South Staffordshire?—The iron trade of the whole of Great Britain has suffered.

10,902. I mentioned South Wales because we have heard that there are no unions there at all?—That has suffered.

10,903. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Are you aware whether any works in Wales are in full work now?—I heard what Mr. Clark said on that subject.

10,904. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do not you think that

Mr. F. Smith.
29 Nov. 1867.

the falling of prices is due directly to the very active competition at home and abroad?—I believe that some time ago, about two or three years ago, when unionism was so formidable, it caused the prices of produce in England to reach a very much higher figure than they ought to have reached, and we could just for a short time command those prices. But the consequence of that short period of prosperity has been a subsequent reaction which has told most lamentably upon us, because during those few months of prosperity, the markets which we had up to that time controlled, and almost had a monopoly of, began to be supplied by foreign countries, and foreign countries have in some instances entirely taken from us for themselves those markets which, up to that time, we had had either the whole control of, or a very large portion of.

10,905. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Is that entirely owing to the competition of Belgium?—I cannot say entirely. In some instances people who used to pay us 700*l.* a month have not paid us 200*l.* a month, and when I ask the reason why, merchants say because we now get supplied from Belgium.

10,906. (*Mr. Merivale.*) In your answers are you speaking of South Staffordshire or England generally?—I am speaking of England generally.

10,907. You are speaking of the effect of unionism in causing high prices, which you say have produced an effect prejudicial to us?—I think I may say almost to England generally.

10,908. Do you mean to say that unionism in South Staffordshire has had the effect of driving up the price of iron in Wales?—Yes, throughout England.

10,909. Although probably the far greater part of England is not directly affected by unions, is that so?—The prices that rule in South Staffordshire and in the North of England would affect all other iron-making parts.

10,910. Then it comes to this, that the union in South Staffordshire is powerful enough to raise prices in your belief to a damaging extent, not only in South Staffordshire, but all over the United Kingdom?—It raises the price of iron in one district, and the moment the price of iron is raised there that runs throughout England.

10,911. (*Mr. Harrison.*) In the South Staffordshire association the price of iron is fixed first and the wages follow it?—Yes.

10,912. Then the price of iron is not declared by the wages, but the wages declared by the price of iron?—It has sometimes been both ways. Sometimes the men have forced up wages (I think I shall find, if I remember very accurately, that what I am saying I can substantiate), and then it has been necessary to advance the price of iron.

10,913. On what occasion have the wages been forced up without a corresponding increase in the price of iron?—That has been referred to to-day, I think.

10,914. In what year was that?—I have not a note of it here, but there was a period when wages were forced up.

10,915. Within the last 10 years?—Yes; I cannot go further back than 1863.

10,916. When have wages since 1863 been forced up without a previously declared rise in the price of iron?—Mr. Roden answered that question, and I have not the particulars here to enable me to answer it.

10,917. You do not remember any case?—I cannot remember accurately enough, but he mentioned it this morning.

10,918. But was it not the case in South Staffordshire that the men remonstrated against a rise in the price the last time that iron was raised, before it fell to its present low state; that is to say that the men in certain districts remonstrated against the policy of raising the price, although the effect of it was to raise their wages?—I never heard that.

10,919. You would be very much surprised then if you were told that when the last rise in the price of iron, which was declared before the strike of 1865, took place the men in certain districts remonstrated against the raising the price on the ground that it would injure the trade?—Yes.

10,920. There were three rapid rises, I think?—There were.

10,921. And the last of those, I think, the men remonstrated against, although the effect of it was immediately to raise their own wages?—The colliers took measures to strike for higher wages, and that of course sets the iron trade in motion; the moment that coal goes up you have to pay more for it, and you must increase the price of the iron which is made from the coal. So that the colliers' strike would of itself, to say nothing of the iron trade, have forced up the iron.

10,922. It was not the ironmakers' union that forced up the price?—The ironmasters' meeting knowing what was going on in regard to coal, and finding that they could get a higher price for their iron, naturally seized the opportunity of getting a higher price. The misfortune was that when they wanted to come down the men would not let them come down.

10,923. We have spoken of those three rises, do you think that looking back, and speaking quite dispassionately at this distance of time, it was a wise thing to raise the price with those three leaps?—It was, and it was not. If the men would have allowed it to come down about the end of March, when we wanted to bring it down, we should have had the benefit of three months' high rate of wages, and three months' high rate of prices. But though the men were ready enough to go up with the masters, when the masters wanted to come down the men said, "No, we will not be brought down;" and then we lost more in the subsequent difference between masters and men than we had gained during the three months of prosperity which we had secured by raising prices.

10,924. Still the last raising of the price of iron, previous to the great strike and the great fall, was sailing as near to the wind as it was possible to go?—Yes. The mistake was not in raising the price, but in not coming down at the right moment.

10,925. It was a price that could be maintained only for three months?—We did not know at the time that it could not be maintained longer, but we soon found out that the moment we got prices up to a certain figure, we diverted the trade out of its legitimate channel, and seeing that, we wanted to come back again, but the men would not let us.

10,926. Seeing that is so do not you think that the diversion of the iron trade of the country, and the depression of the trade, has been to a certain extent caused by that want of judgment in having raised the price up to so high a figure, which you say you very speedily saw was a mistake?—No, I do not think it was attributable to that at all, because we having seen the necessity for reducing, preferred to reduce the price but the men would not allow us to do so; that was where the mistake was.

10,927. Does it not appear to you that if the ironmasters' association are taking advantage on the one hand of every opportunity of raising prices to the highest limit, and if on the other hand the competition of the world is taking every opportunity it can to strike into our market; those two facts are quite sufficient to explain the very considerable depression in the state of trade now?—They contribute to it no doubt; not so much, however, as the effects of unionism.

10,928. This is an illustration of what I mean. Supposing we had now what we had in the old coaching days, half a dozen coach proprietors driving down to Brighton, competing against each other at ruinous rates, and underbidding one another in order to obtain the custom of the public; do not you think that it would be unreasonable on their part to throw the blame of ultimate failure not upon their own want of discretion, but upon the horses who would insist upon having so much corn to take the coach down. Do you see any analogy in my illustration?—I can hardly trust myself to go into those matters of theory.

I can go into the question of iron, but not into questions relating to coaches or horses. I should like to say a word with reference to Creusot which has been alluded to here. The Creusot people published a fact that they made from 15 to 8 per cent., and I think I am right in saying that it is the fact that they state to visitors there that their present profits are very low, as low as 8 per cent. At all events that I find in my notes on the Paris Exhibition.

Mr. F. Smith.
29 Nov. 1867.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. Robert Heath examined.

Mr. R. Heath.

10,929. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Are you an ironmaster in North Staffordshire?—Yes.

10,930. How many men do you employ?—About 3,500 men and boys.

10,931. Have you seen the statement which has been put in by Mr. Roden?—I have.

10,932. Do you generally agree with it?—I do.

10,933. With reference to the strike in North Staffordshire, do you agree with it?—I believe it is perfectly correct.

10,934. If you agree generally with what is stated in his paper, I think that the only question I have to ask you is with regard to the men who took part in the strike having been unable to obtain employment, when they were willing to return to work. I will ask you, therefore, whether any considerable number of men were refused work when the strike was over by your firm on account of having taken an active part in the strike?—Many men of course lost their places in consequence of others filling them up, but I only positively refused to employ one. In one case certainly, I did positively refuse to take a man again.

10,935. What were your reasons for having refused to take on that man?—In the first place he made himself not only very objectionable to myself, but I believe very objectionable to his fellow-workmen. I believe it was as much on account of the reluctance of his fellow-workmen that he should come back as it was on account of my own that he was refused.

10,936. (*Sir. E. W. Head.*) You heard what was stated by the last witness, and by Mr. Roden, on the subject of the diversion of the iron trade to Belgium instead of England?—Yes.

10,937. Do you agree with those witnesses as to the fact of that diversion having taken place?—I agree that a good deal of Belgian iron has been introduced, not that I have ever myself been in any Belgian works; but I know that my customers frequently quote the prices of Belgian iron against myself, and that they keep a stock of it.

10,938. Do you agree with those witnesses as to the alleged causes of that diversion of the trade; do you think that that change was owing in any degree to the action of the unions?—I believe that it altogether arises from the cheapness of wages that they get their work done so much cheaper there, and no doubt the influence of unions has had a great effect in raising the prices of wages in England, not only in the iron trade but in other trades.

10,939. Do you agree with the last witness that the action of unions prevented lowering of the wages at the proper time to meet the state of the market?—I think that the last advance that was put on iron was most injudicious, and the advance in wages therefore most injudicious also, and the masters saw the evil and would have been very glad to retract, and of course it was retracting that brought us into the evil of a strike.

10,940. But do you think that the masters inability to lower the prices again when they thought the trade required it has been the cause of the diversion of the trade which formerly was with England to Belgium?—There is no doubt that the high price that iron was put up to here gave a great impetus to the Belgium trade; they got into the ground and could not be beaten back again.

10,941. The question is whether the putting up of the price, or the not being able to lower it again, was the real cause. There are two questions: you admit that the ironmasters raised the price at a time when it was injudicious to do so, as the result proved?—Yes.

10,942. But might not that result have been obviated if they had lowered the price again when they wished to do so?—They did lower it, but of course the lowering in price was entirely a sacrifice made by themselves for some period of time until they reduced the wages. The iron was reduced, I should think, six months before the wages were touched.

10,943. The point I wish to get at is, how far each of those two causes contributed to the diversion of the trade; whether it was owing to the want of judgment of the masters in raising the price, or to the interference of the unions in preventing their lowering the price?—I think that it was in the first place the want of judgment of the masters in advancing it; and I have no doubt myself that the iron would have come down more rapidly if the masters had seen their way clear to bring it down. But they did reduce the price of iron before they were disposed to reduce the price of wages.

10,944. They reduced it at their own cost, so to speak?—Yes.

10,945. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Do you say that your customers keep a stock of Belgian iron in England now?—Yes.

10,946. Do you think that the Belgian iron is as good as the English iron upon the average?—I do not think it is for every purpose.

10,947. Messrs. Creed and Williams state in their book that it is irregular and not to be depended upon; do you agree with that?—I cannot speak practically, but I know that my customers keep a stock of it, and that it answers their purpose to keep a stock of it, because they can get it cheaper from Belgium.

10,948. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Are the plates in Belgium quite equal to the plates in England?—I should think they are for shipbuilding and ordinary purposes, but not equal to the Low Moor iron and some extra qualities that we make.

10,949. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Are you aware of the statistics of the Belgian trade since 1865?—I have seen them merely by reading them.

10,950. Do you attend the ironmasters' quarterly meetings?—I do occasionally.

10,951. How far do those quarterly meetings bind the ironmasters; what is the meaning of those quarterly meetings?—The great object is to arrange the question of wages, and of course the question of prices is discussed; but I do not think that the prices arranged are at all binding upon the masters there.

10,952. I suppose they are to a certain extent morally binding?—There is no doubt that they have some influence in regulating prices.

10,953. You would consider them so far binding that I suppose a master would lose caste if he departed from them?—Oh, dear no; there are very few masters who really truly sell iron at the prices quoted at those meetings. The present quoted price, for instance, is 7*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.* at the works in South Staffordshire (such works as Foster's, for instance), my price is 6*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* delivered in Liverpool, which all parties in competition with me have to sell at.

10,954. If as to prices the masters are not bound, as to wages they are?—Those are generally come to by special resolution.

10,955. Those special resolutions only bind the gentlemen there who belong to these meetings morally?—Yes.

10,956. You do not have any penalties imposed?—No.

10,957. But in supposing that there had been a resolution passed with reference to wages, I apprehend

Mr. R. Heath.

29 Nov. 1867.

that a man would lose caste who did not keep to it?—I should not think he was entitled to the confidence of his friends on any future occasion.

10,958. You said you employ 3,500 men and boys; do you employ any women?—No, I do not.

10,959. Do you think it desirable that women should be employed in the iron trade?—I certainly have an objection to it myself.

10,960. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Women are employed in Staffordshire, I think, in the iron trade?—In North Staffordshire. I do not know any case of women being employed either on coalpit banks or in ironworks.

10,961. I think that the return gives 200 out of 2,000 as the number of women employed?—One reason is that a great number of women are employed in the Staffordshire potteries. The potting trade is the trade of the locality, and a great number of women are employed in that trade, and it is more adapted to them. I should have no desire to have women employed in the iron trade.

10,962. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Have you ever considered what proportion in the cost of bar-iron at 6*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.* consists of labour, and what proportion of other trade charges that are not moveable. In an establishment like yours, for instance, what proportion of that is labour, and what royalty and fixed charges?—I should think fully 80 per cent. would be labour, including the process from the mine to the office, if I may so put it.

10,963. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do the wages of the ironworkers never go up or down, whilst the wages of colliers may be stationary?—Sometimes. They do frequently in our neighbourhood for this reason—our colliers are not altogether employed in getting coals for iron, but they get coal for the pot-works which are large consumers of coal. Consequently our case is rather different from that of South Staffordshire, where iron is the staple; nearly the whole of the coal raised there is used in the consumption of iron.

10,964. Therefore the wages of the colliers are not absolutely governed by those of the ironworkers in North Staffordshire?—No, not in our locality.

10,965. You have told us that 80 per cent. of the cost of a ton of iron is labour. That includes the labour of the colliers, and the labour of those who get the ore and make the pig-iron; but what proportion of the cost is affected, or is to be attributed to the weekly wages of those classes of men who are affected by the reduction of wages which is fixed upon at the quarterly meetings? When the price of wages are fixed upon at the quarterly meetings, of what classes of men are the wages therein included?—Coalmasters sometimes meet on other occasions besides those meeetings in regard to the iron, but I do not think that the colliers' wages in our locality are at all governed by the price of iron.

10,966. When wages are regulated by a resolution of that kind passed at the quarterly meeting, it applies to the wages of the puddlers and the wages of the millmen, and the men of the blast furnaces?—Yes.

10,967. Those are the people included?—Yes.

10,968. What proportion of the cost do the wages of those men exclusively bear to the whole?—Well, in my case, I have to do exclusively with iron. I do not sell coal for these other purposes. Consequently in my case it embraces the 80 per cent. I do not sell coals to the potters, or only a small quantity.

10,969. Does the 80 per cent. not include the cost of coal?—Yes, it does.

10,970. When you reduce the wages of your men 10 per cent., upon what proportion of the cost of a ton of iron is that reduction felt?—If it is reduced throughout the whole, of course it is felt throughout the whole.

10,971. But it is not reduced throughout the whole of the rest, because it is not reduced throughout the coal?—In my individual case I say it would be so. I am exclusively connected with iron.

10,972. The coal is counted in, and so is the cost of the pig-iron, as part of the 80 per cent.?—Yes.

10,973. By making a reduction of wages at your works, you do not reduce the wages of colliers, because you do not employ them as I understand you?—I do employ them, but not to get coal for selling purposes in the way that I was speaking of other people in the locality doing. There are colliers in the district who get coals for the potters, and for other purposes which are not directly influenced by the price of iron.

10,974. When you make a general reduction of wages at your particular works, upon what proportion of the cost of a ton is that reduction felt?—In the full proportion as 80 per cent. is to the 100.

10,975. The 80 per cent. includes the wages of those whom you do not reduce?—But I say in my case I do reduce them, because I have to do exclusively with iron. When I say that the colliers are not always reduced, it is because some colliers work for other purposes than the iron trade.

10,976. (*Mr. Mathews.*) When there is a general notice given for reduction in works similar to yours, the reduction, generally speaking, applies to all descriptions of workmen?—Yes, but it does not always go through the district; it does not apply to every collier in the district.

10,977. It applies to those works similarly situated to your own?—Yes, which produce and use their own material.

10,978. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Mr. Roden told us that a third would represent the wages of those directly affected?—Yes, that was as to the wages on the manufacture of a ton of iron from pig to wrought, and that third would not cover the get of coals.

10,979. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Inasmuch as where men make their own pig-iron the cost of wages applies to every description of labour?—Yes.

10,980. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You would agree with Mr. Roden that supposing he bought his pig and bought his coals, then the manufacture would account for about a third of the cost?—Yes.

10,981. Then upon those manufacturers who buy their pig and buy their coal this necessity does not immediately fall, it may in an indirect manner, but it does not arise immediately?—Of course they do not get the same reduction on the aggregate, because they do not employ the men in the production of the raw material; they are merely employing them in the manipulation of the pig-iron, in the manufacturing of the thing, so to say, and they do not employ them in the production of the raw material.

10,982. Then, having to pay but one-third in wages to their own men, they would still have two-thirds of the cost upon which the necessary reductions could be met?—Of course they would expect to buy their pigs cheaper and to buy their coals cheaper.

10,983. That might be, but as the market for pig-iron and coals depends upon so many other causes that would have only an indirect operation?—Yes.

10,984. (*Mr. Hughes.*) On the average, what proportion are the royalties payable on coal, ironstone, and lime, all of which I believe you have yourself?—Lime is the only thing I do not get; that we all buy.

10,985. Are you mining on your own freehold?—No.

10,986. Then you pay royalties?—Yes.

10,987. About what proportion do royalties bear to the price of produced iron?—I should think about five per cent.

10,988. (*Mr. Mathews.*) They vary so much in different districts that it is impossible to give any accurate answer to that question, is it not?—Yes.

10,989. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You have to pay royalties on coal, on lime, on ironstone, and there is some other material, is there not?—There may be where people make their own fire-bricks. I do not make my own fire-bricks.

10,990. Supposing it to be stated by Mr. Mathews that the royalty on a ton of ore varies from 6*d.* to 1*s.*, and that as it would take 10 tons of ore to make one ton of iron it would therefore vary from 5*s.* to 10*s.* on the ton of iron. Would that accord with your views?

—I should think that five per cent. would be about the thing.

10,991. The royalties do not, as a rule, include anything at all except the stone. You did not get the use of any machinery for instance?—No; we pay, too, for the damage done to the land; we have merely powers to enter upon and work.

Mr. R Heath.
29 Nov. 1867.

10,992. Then the payment for surface damage must be added to the royalties in any estimation of the cost?—Of course.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned.

1, Park Prospect, Westminster, Tuesday, 3rd March 1868.

PRESENT:

The Right Hon. Sir WILLIAM ERLE.	JOHN ARTHUR ROEBUCK, Esq., M.P.
The Right Hon. the EARL of LICHFIELD.	THOMAS HUGHES, Esq., M.P.
Sir DANIEL GOOCH, Bart., M.P.	FREDERIC HARRISON, Esq.
HERMAN MERIVALE, Esq., C.B.	WILLIAM MATHEWS, Esq.
JAMES BOOTH, Esq., C.B.	

THE RIGHT HON. SIR WILLIAM ERLE IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. FRANCIS MILLS, sen., examined.

Mr. F. Mills.
3 March 1868.

10,993. (*Chairman.*) In what business have you worked?—As an iron moulder.

10,994. For whom?—For several masters in this town, and in the country as well. I have worked in this town as foreman for Mr. Thomson, of Pimlico, for four years.

10,995. For how many years have you worked for different masters in the neighbourhood of London?—18 years. I came up to London in 1850.

10,996. In what part of the country did you work before?—I have worked in Cornwall. I served my time in Bristol, and I have worked as piece master in Wales.

10,997. You have been a moulder, as I understand you?—All my life from a boy.

10,998. Have you in the course of your lifetime had much experience of the action of the unions?—I have a great deal. I have belonged to one for years myself in my younger days.

10,999. Where was that?—In Bristol.

11,000. What was the name of the union?—The Iron Moulders' Society.

11,001. And how many years did you continue a member of that society?—I believe about three or four years.

11,002. Why did you leave it?—I was scratched for nonpayment unknowingly. There was a long run. It used to be four months for town members and six months for country members. I was in my long run when the Bristol ironworks stopped, and I did not know it. I ought to have been summoned by the secretary, but I was not. Manchester was the seat of government then, and when I sent to know what I had to pay I was informed that I was scratched because I had not paid up. Therefore, I had to enter afresh by paying 5*l.*, although, being the only son of a moulder, I was entitled to have been in the club by payment of 30*s.* Since that I have been out, but they have wanted me to come in many times. For instance, on the occasion of the strike at Seawards and Maudsley's; but I thought that, as I had been out so long, and had done so long without trades societies, I should try to continue to do without them, and I have continued up to the present period.

11,003. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Whose works at Bristol were you employed at?—Acraman and Morgan's. I served my time at Acraman's.

11,004. So that in consequence of a nonpayment of your subscription you were excluded from the union?—I was.

11,005. And you objected to go back again because you thought that the sum required for your readmission was extravagant?—I did.

11,006. Were you at work at Acraman's then?—No.

11,007. What did you do when you left Acraman's?—I went to Wales. There was no society there at that time. That was in 1839 or 1840.

11,008. Why did you leave Acraman's?—Because the works stopped.

11,009. And you went then to Wales?—No, not at once. I went to the Great Western yard at Bristol, and I was engaged in the building of the "Great Britain."

11,010. As a founder?—Yes.

11,011. What founding had they there?—They kept their own foundry.

11,012. Was there any workmen's union at the Great Western yard at Bristol?—Well, the club men were working there. They were brought down from London to work there.

11,013. They belonged to the London union, you mean?—Yes.

11,014. Did the workmen who belonged to the London union offer any interference with you in consequence of your not belonging to the union?—No, for I was in the union at that time. I was in my long run then.

11,015. Let me take you to the period when you left the union; when was that?—I think it must have been in the year 1839 or 1840.

11,016. Was that whilst you were at work in the Great Western yard at Bristol?—No; I was then in my long run. After I left the Great Western yard I went to Wales, and then I found that I was scratched.

11,017. That is to say, you were excluded from the union when you went to Wales?—Yes.

11,018. Whose works were you working in when you were excluded from the union?—Russell and Brown's.

11,019. Where is that?—At the Blaina.

11,020. Was there any union of iron workers at Russell and Brown's?—Not at that time, but before I left one was formed.

11,021. When that union was formed what effect had it upon your occupation?—It had no effect with me because I had then agreed with the master for three years.

11,022. That is to say, you were under a contract for that time?—Yes, I was under a contract with them.

11,023. They did not interfere with you, as I understand you?—Not with me, but they did with others that were there.

11,024. When did they begin to interfere with you, was it after you left Russell and Brown's?—They

Mr. F. Mills.

3 March 1868.

did not interfere with me much till I came back to London.

11,025. You came to London after leaving Russell and Brown's? — I had been travelling about the country some time before I came to London.

11,026. You had no difficulty in getting employment in consequence of not belonging to the union till you came to London?—Not that I recollect.

11,027. What was the effect then? — The men wanted me at the time of Maudslay's and Seaward's strike to pay 5*l.* to enter the society again, and to share the same as the rest, but I did not see my way clear to doing so.

11,028. That is to say, you refused to pay the 5*l.* and preferred to remain out of the union?—Yes.

11,029. What took place then?—No opposition to me has taken place since then. I was foreman for Messrs. Wales and Robinson in 1862. I had been foreman for Mr. Thompson, at Pimlico, four years before that, and was recommended after leaving him to come to Wales and Robinson's, about the early part of 1862. I was laid up with the rheumatism and lost my situation. We had done a great deal of work for Messrs. Pontifex and for Messrs. Clayton. When Messrs. Clayton started their own foundry, at Lambeth Walk, I was just then on my month's notice, because I had been so long ill that they were bound to have another foreman in my stead. Mr. Clayton gave me a note to take to his manager at the works. I took it down, and when I took it down he told me to come on Monday morning, that was for me to go to work at 6*s.* a day, and when I went to work on Monday morning the men gathered round me, and one of them said, "I propose that Mills do not go to work," another said, "I second the motion." I was looking round for a place to put my hat, in the first instance, but I found that I was in the wood and that I hardly knew how to get out of it. One of them then said, "It is "proposed and seconded that Mills do not go to work; "those who agree to that resolution signify the same "by holding up their hands." They all held up their hands, and then the foreman said to me, "Now, as the "case is thus, we cannot think of breaking up the shop "for one man." I replied, "No, neither would I wish "you to do so; if I could not work comfortably I "would rather not begin." I told Mr. Clayton about it, and he said, "We shall see to that." I ought to have mentioned that before that, when I was foreman at Messrs. Thompson's, at Pimlico, I was fetched for Mr. Weeks, at Maidstone. I was foreman for him, and I put on my son, and because he was out of the society the men struck against him. Then I came up to London and got some non-society men. The master had two or three of the unionists fetched from the country and had them before the magistrate, and it was decided in my favour, but I did not press it. The men had left some patterns in the sand, but the master told me not to press the matter. All he wanted was just to make an example of the men that others should not do it again. I did not press it therefore. When I came back two days after that, the master said that he had agreed with his old foreman and old men, and therefore he thought it would be much better if I had not given up my situation in London, that I should go back to London again, and I went back to my old master.

11,030. Let me take you back to the period when those men passed a resolution to exclude you from work; the resolution I suppose was to the effect that they would not work themselves if you worked there?—Exactly so.

11,031. Were the men who passed that resolution all union men, or were there any non-union men amongst them?—They were all union men.

11,032. To your knowledge?—Yes.

11,033. And they passed a resolution which was in effect that if you worked there they would not work?—Yes.

11,034. And you thought it better rather than have any disturbance to decline going on with the work?—I did.

11,035. When you left work in consequence of your being excluded by this resolution of the men, did you take any other job afterwards?—Yes, I have been at work ever since, more or less.

11,036. Have you been interfered with since then by the men belonging to the unions?—No, but I have been kept out by the union men. If I had been in the club I should have had work, and I have been out of work now for 18 months.

11,037. How do you know that the unions have kept you out of work?—I have three sons, all married men who have got families, and they have had work.

11,038. Do you know from them that it is because you do not belong to the union that you cannot get work?—I know it from my eldest son. When I came up from being foreman at Bedford I had seen him at the shop, and at Mr. Oakley's, at Bow, and Mr. Oakley and I got talking, and I was telling him of the advantage of machine moulding, and he seemed favorable to me, and I invited him to take a run down and see the sort of work, and how men could be got from the plough-tail and turn out better work than the moulders did of that description.

11,039. What description of work was that?—Agricultural work, such as plough wheels, and so on. There are 500 hands, men and boys, kept on at Bedford. My son told me when I went to his shop to see him that if I was to apply to the master for a situation the rest of them would be obliged to leave, for they were all society men, which I knew, and likewise the master was himself, because he had been a moulder himself before he became a master. Therefore if he had put me on they would all have had to strike against me. I have been over to see my son once or twice, and he has said to me, "Father, I am sorry to see you out; we have been slack, but we are getting busy again." I said, "I am glad of that." He said, "There were four put on yesterday," (this was six weeks or two months ago), "and one of them I am sorry to say was a man as old as yourself, his name is Joshua Williams." I said, "Joshua Williams?" "Yes," he said "he was sent for because he was a union man." "But," he said, "when I knew you had been out so long I wished "you could have been put on; but you were not a "union man, and if you had come you must have "kept another out who was, and they would not have "worked with you." If I went there, and there was an order from the society against non-society men, I should be obliged to leave or have my sons walk out against me from the shop.

11,040. You declined to apply because you did not like throwing hardship upon your sons?—No; I have applied to every shop, society and non-society shops, but still I have been often refused, I know, because I have not been a society man. That is the first question put by the foreman.

11,041. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Have you been refused at non-society shops?—Yes, through slackness. There are not many non-society shops.

11,042. But when you have gone to non-society shops have you been refused?—Owing to want of work.

11,043. You have been refused in fact at non-society shops?—Yes.

11,044. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Not on account of your being a non-society man, but as I understand you on account of deficiency of work?—Yes.

11,045. In all cases where there have been society men you have been refused employment on the score of your being a non-union man?—Yes. There was another place, Perry's in Golden Lane, where I worked a week, and because I was not in the society then I was discharged on Saturday night.

11,046. When you work do you work subject to a fortnight's notice?—Foremen in general work subject to notice, but as journeymen they are not supposed to work in that way; if a master thinks proper to dismiss a man or a man to demand his money, if his mould is finished he does so.

11,047. You were not interfered with by the union, as I understand you, in any contract you had made as to employment?—No.

11,048. You were simply refused employment because it was known that you were a non-unionist in those shops where society men were the majority?—Yes.

11,049. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You say that in 1862 you were foreman at Wailes and Robinson's?—Yes.

11,050. And that was the year when these refusals to work with you first took place?—No, the first refusal to work with me was at Weeks's at Maidstone; that was in 1860.

11,051. When you went to Weeks's at Maidstone did you say that you applied there for a foreman's place?—No, the master fetched me.

11,052. As a foreman?—Yes.

11,053. You have never had any of these disputes as a journeyman, but as a foreman?—Yes, as a journeyman I have had them at Perry's in Golden Lane, and at Clayton's at Lambeth Walk.

11,054. Your working at Perry's in Golden Lane is quite a recent thing?—No.

11,055. On the occasion of that application to Perry's you applied as a journeyman, not as a foreman?—Yes, I got work there, and was discharged on Saturday night.

11,056. Your three sons belong to the union, you say?—Yes.

11,057. Have they been in work during the last 18 months?—Yes, and two of them for these last five years.

11,058. But during this slack period of 18 months while you have been out of work have all your sons been in work in London?—The youngest has been on short time, and now and then suspended, but the other two have been in full work.

11,059. As to this youngest son, did he get any assistance from his union?—No, not till he had been 12 months in the society, and then he got as donation money 4*s.* 6*d.* a week. When they have been two years in the society then there is 9*s.* a week donation money.

11,060. Then it seems a great advantage to a man, as far as work goes, in the metropolitan district, to be in the union?—It costs 2*s.* 3*d.* a week for contribution for those that are out; now at the present time 4*s.* a month is the regular average money in the way of paying the contribution, but now with the levies and one thing and another it runs hard upon them for 2*s.* 3*d.*, and perhaps 2*s.* 5*d.*

11,061. But you seem to think that almost all the shops in the metropolitan district are full of union men?—Yes, I know it because of my applications, and I only know very few the other way. I know that Mr. Maudslay or Mr. Grissell or Mr Seaward would not have a club man if they knew it.

11,062. (*Mr. Harrison.*) What is to prevent your getting work there?—The want of their putting on new hands.

11,063. But there has been nothing to prevent you at any time during the last 18 months taking work at any of these three firms you have mentioned, except that they did not give it?—Not if there was trade enough to employ fresh hands as journeymen.

11,064. (*Mr. Hughes.*) It would seem to be a great advantage to belong to the union?—It is to the union men, because it keeps them in employment; but as to the non-union men they cannot go in with the others. It is son against father and father against son, just now, and especially with me.

11,065. Your sons have paid all these heavy subscriptions which you have spoken of, 2*s.* a week, I apprehend for this very advantage of having work whenever it is to be got, and helping one another to get work?—Yes, and keep up wages.

11,066. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) And to get that work by excluding others?—In general the foreman asks the question of any man who comes to him, "Are you a society man or not?" then if he has got society men, and is partial to society men, and if that man who comes is not a society man, he declines him, because directly a non-society man goes into the shop the club men will not assist him. He is like a man sent to Coventry. When I was foreman myself I used to try to put on as many non-society men as society men, so as to have the balance equal, if one side should turn round. I was always prepared. I was always for paying a fair day's wage for a fair day's work. If a non-society man is in a moulder's shop, and he calls out for a hand (he may want a single hand, or four or six) the society men will not lend him a hand. It is just like a Catholic and an Orangeman in opposition, one against the other with a feeling.

11,067. (*Mr. Hughes.*) When you were foreman you always tried to put on an equal number of non-society men with society men?—Yes, according as my work would run.

11,068. Perhaps that might be the reason why you cannot get work with society men, it may be that they know that that is your society?—No, there is nothing against me. The men who have been working with me would work with me again. There are many that would go down with me now to Glasgow if they were not in the society. There is nothing that has ever been against me. I have always given club wages if I had labour for its value. They will work under a non-society foreman, but not with a non-society man if they can help it.

11,069. You have had no personal quarrels with union men, have you?—No, far from it.

11,070. Do you think that they are the most skilful men in the trade?—Certainly not; there are as good men out of the society as there are in.

11,071. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You say that you have paid 2*s.* a week contribution to the fund?—Yes.

11,072. When are men entitled to the 9*s.* a week, must they have been members a certain time before they can receive it?—Two years; but it does not always happen that they have got 2*s.* a week to pay. The levies paid are according to the men out of work.

11,073. If they were to invest that 2*s.* a week in any other description of investment, would not that be almost equivalent to the payment of the 9*s.* a week?—It would, but then the thing is this, the society man will work with a non-society man, but they say that a non-society man shall not work with a society man because he does not contribute to keep up wages.

11,074. That is to say, there is no indisposition on the part of the society men to work in a shop where non-society men are the majority, but where society men are the majority they say that no non-society man shall work with them?—Yes.

11,075. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Have you lately tried to become a member of any trades union?—I have not. I believe I did mention it to my son, but I was gone over the age. The age was 45, and I was 54.

11,076. Because you were over the age you did not think it worth while to apply?—It was not altogether that. As they had kept me out so long I thought that the best of my days had been spent as a non-union man, and I would try to end my days as one.

11,077. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Have you applied to the Free Labour Registration Society?—I have; eight or nine months ago I registered myself, and I have received a letter from them telling me to go to Glasgow. On the Monday when I ought to have gone I had a letter to go to Barking, but it was to carry out a patent, and therefore I did not fancy the thing much. I have applied at Glasgow again, and in answer I had a letter from Mr. Robinson telling me to see him. I did see him this morning, and he has arranged it for me to go to Glasgow on Thursday afternoon.

11,078. Have you got work there?—I believe there is work for me when I get there. My passage is to be paid there, and my reception is guaranteed. If there is a fortnightly pay or monthly pay, that amount will be provided to pay for such things as board and lodging until the money is paid back.

11,079. Do you not expect to find the same difficulty that you have met with in London in obtaining work?—No, because in this case I am guaranteed work when I get there. My passage is paid from here down there because the employment is wanted.

11,080. At what shop is that?—I do not know.

Mr. F. Mills.

3 March 1868.

11,081. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You are guaranteed by the Free Labour Society here, are you?—Yes.

11,082. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Who pays for your passage?—The parties that want the labour.

11,083. What payment do you make to this Free Labour Society?—The only thing is, that if you get the employment from the Free Labour Society you have to pay half a day's wages in return.

11,084. To the Free Labour Society?—Yes.

11,085. So that you do not make any periodical payments before they give you employment, as you do in the union?—No, there is to be or there is now 1*s.* for registering, and you get the free member's card. Then there is a benefit club belonging to it. That benefit club is according to the man's ratio of wages; according to what he thinks he will require out he pays so much in.

11,086. (*Chairman.*) You mean, I suppose, that if you want to get, for instance, 6*s.* a week when you are ill, you must pay 1*s.* a week, and so on in proportion?—I do not know exactly what their terms are, because I do not belong to it; but if I wanted 10*s.* a week out I must pay in I think it is 3*d.* or 4*d.*, and if I want to get 18*s.* I must pay more in proportion.

11,087. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) When did you first apply to this society?—Somewhere about eight months ago I registered my name.

11,088. And have they been trying to get work for you since then?—When this application was made for men in Glasgow it seems that they applied to the Free Labour Society. Then I had a letter from them that there was work for me there if I would take it, and as I have said I am going down on Thursday.

11,089. Do you know that there is a strike there going on now?—No, but I knew that there was a lock out. The reason of my going down is that I have been out of work so long, and I have parted with all, and I have borne a good character in the town, and therefore being brought down so low as I am, I must go where I could get a crust for my wife without applying to the parish.

11,090. (*Mr. Harrison.*) When did you leave the union?—I think somewhere about 1832. I do not think I was more than two or three years in it.

11,091. You were first excluded from work for being a non-unionist about the year 1860, I think? How do you account for it that during those 30 years you were not at all molested, and that you have been since? Is there any explanation of that fact?—The only explanation that I can give for it is, that at places where I have applied they before have been non-unionists. It does not run in the country so much as it does in London.

11,092. When you came to London you found a difference, in fact?—I did.

11,093. Taking London, what proportion of the moulders in London are members of the union, and what proportion are non-unionists, do you suppose?—Five out of seven are society men.

11,094. And what proportion of the shops in London are confined to unionists exclusively; that is to say, what proportion are shops where the foreman says, "If you are a non-unionist we cannot take you on?" How many of the shops are strictly society shops?—I should think nine out of ten.

11,095. It is only the tenth that is open to non-society men?—Yes.

11,096. How many do you suppose of the shops in London are perfectly open to non-society men?—I cannot tell, because I do not know the number of shops in the town. I could get that, but I do not know the number of the shops. If I could get the list of the shops (which I could have got if I had known that these questions would be put to me), I could point out what shops are non-society and what shops are society shops.

11,097. If you have been in search of work for 18 months you would have your attention very forcibly directed, I presume, to the question what were the shops at which only it was worth your while to apply.—No, because I should go to every shop which I passed. I should not ask whether it was a non-society shop or a society shop. If they had work for me they could give it to me, and if not they would say, We do not want you at present.

11,098. There are some of the principal shops (you have mentioned Maudslay's, for instance) at which non-society men are not excluded?—Yes.

11,099. Are there any shops at which unionists cannot get work if it is known that they are unionists?—There is Prince's, in the Borough, and there is Nevins's, in the Borough, Rennie's, and many more in the same district.

11,100. You have applied at those shops, have you?—Yes.

11,101. Therefore your want of employment during the last 18 months was due to the slackness of trade?—Partly so.

11,102. Entirely so, was it not?—There are many places where I should have got a job, no doubt, if trade had been busy.

11,103. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) But the difficulty of getting work has been very much increased by the fact of the union men being against you?—Exactly so, because if I were a member of the society I should be brought into some place by a unionist if trade was busy. I should have no need of going and asking for a job, because as soon as a man is in want of work, if he is a member of the society, some man speaks to the foreman and he sends for him.

11,104. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You mean that your non-employment since you have been out of the union is very largely due to the fact that you have not had the assistance of the union in finding you work?—Yes, but the work has been very slack with them. There have been two-thirds of them out of work, so that they could not provide for their own number.

11,105. Is yours piece work or day work?—It is day work in the union, but it is either day work or piece work or anything else with the non-unionists.

11,106. Do you as a non-unionist receive higher wages in the course of the week than a unionist workman of equal skill would receive?—No; a unionist workman of equal skill gets higher wages than I do, because he has got something to back him up. He must not go in under 6*s.* a day into any shop in London, whereas I go in for what I am worth.

11,107. The result is that you receive less wages?—Yes; since the moulders have put on 38*s.* instead of 36*s.*, which is somewhere about 18 months, if a man goes out of a shop and he has been having 34*s.* a week, another club man must not go in without having 6*s.* a day.

11,108. If you as a foreman were selecting men for a certain class of work, would you select the non-union men as being superior in skill to the union men?—No. I should not select them unless I knew them, and then according to their abilities so I should put them on the work, whether they were unionists or non-unionists.

11,109. But would you suppose that the non-unionists as a matter of course would be superior in skill to the union men?—No; but I know by experience that there are in the union a great many men that are obliged to have their 36*s.* that are not worth 26*s.* to the master, and if they were non-unionists they would not have any more than they were worth, because the foreman would not give them more than their value.

11,110. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) So that the unions compel the master to give the inferior man a superior price?—Yes; that man, if he is put on by the foreman, does not go in under a certain rate of wages.

11,111. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You have not experienced anything like violence from the union; since your exclusion you have not received personal injury or personal molestation?—No; I have had little threats.

11,112. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Supposing that at that time when they all lifted up their hands against you, you had said, "I will go to work," what would have happened?—I should have been rather afraid that something would have happened then.

Mr. F. Mills.
3 March 1868.

11,113. You would have been afraid of personal violence?—Yes.

11,114. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You have had no personal experience, however, of that sort?—Not myself; but I know it of others. In 1839, if I remember right, there were clubmen who came to start at Blaina, and they started work, and there was a man that had a heavy girder to make for the cotton factory at Bristol, and the unionists were against them, and there was a broken gate covered with wet clay put down his mould. He opened the mould the next morning, as he had a little suspicion that something unfair was going on, and he found this. The master offered 5*l.* reward to find who had done it, and small bills were posted all over the place, but they could not find it out. They had several of the men before the magistrates at Abergavenny; they could not bring it home to them, but they brought home to them conspiracy, and two of them had a month at Usk.

11,115. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) You say you have been a moulder all your life?—I have.

11,116. How long have you ever worked for one master?—12 years for Acraman and Morgan.

11,117. Where were you employed when you were excluded from the society?—I think I was at work at Abergavenny then. I cannot tax my memory now with all the details. If I had known the questions that would be put to me I would have been provided with my answers correctly as to the exact date.

11,118. Do you remember where you were living at the time?—I cannot.

11,119. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You were on the long run then?—Yes, and in the big shop; that is, searching for employ.

11,120. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) At the time you were excluded were you in regular employment?—I was not in regular employment, because the Bristol ironworks had stopped.

11,121. I conclude from that that you were out of work at the time you were excluded?—Yes.

11,122. You did not lose your employment in consequence of having been excluded from the union?—No, because when the Bristol ironworks stopped I was recommended by Mr. Morgan to Mr. Guppy; he wrote him a letter asking him to put me on to the Great Western yard, and I was there helping to make the engines to the "Great Britain."

11,123. You have had no regular employment, have you, since you were excluded from the union?—Yes, but our business fluctuates so much; if work drops off the hands drop off.

11,124. How long have you been with any one master since you were excluded from the union in 1832?—I have been six or seven years with Carbine and Rich, in Farnham Place, on and off according to the work.

11,125. You say "on and off," do you mean that you have been regularly employed?—Regularly employed, but when the work dropped slack I got suspended till the work came in again.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to Tuesday next, at 11 o'clock.

1, Park Prospect, Westminster, Tuesday, 10th March 1868.

PRESENT:

The Right Hon. Sir WILLIAM ERLE.	JAMES BOOTH Esq., C.B.
The Right Hon. the EARL of LICHFIELD.	JOHN ARTHUR ROEBUCK, Esq., Q.C., M.P.
LORD ELCHO, M.P.	FREDERIC HARRISON, Esq.
Sir DANIEL GOOCH, Bart., M.P.	WILLIAM MATHEWS, Esq.
HERMAN MERIVALE, Esq., C.B.	

THE RIGHT HON. SIR WILLIAM ERLE IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. JOHN JONES further examined.

Mr. J. Jones.
10 March 1868.

11,126. (*Chairman.*) I believe you wish to give some evidence with reference to what passed here before?—Not having the printed evidence of the men before me when last I gave evidence, there were some few points as to which I could not quite recollect what had been said, and therefore I wish, if you will allow me, to give a little additional evidence on some matters that came forward. There are also a number of documents which I used before and did not put in, which perhaps you will allow me to put in now (*handing in the same*).

11,127. What is the first point to which you wish to call attention?—On referring to Mr. Kane's evidence at question 8,220, he mentions the total number of ironworkers in the union as 6,500, and I gather from other statements that the total number of ironworkers in the unions was certainly not more, as far as I calculate it, than one-tenth of the whole number of workmen employed in the ironworks. Now these one-tenth of the men are able and have been able to throw out of employment all the men connected with the iron trade. I only wish to call particular attention to that because of the small number of men connected with the unions who are able to affect the whole of the iron trade interest. As far as I am able to estimate it I think that only about one-tenth of the men are in the unions.

11,128. (*Mr. Mathews.*) I think we have it in evidence that every puddler being out of employ throws out from four to five other men?—I should say more than that. I calculate that he would throw out at least 10 men altogether in connection with the iron works, mills, forges and so on, in the different departments; that is to say there would be about nine other men and boys to one puddler.

11,129. In the mills and forges alone?—Yes.

11,130. Then at question 8,250 it is stated that the manufacturers in their fortnightly and monthly meetings fix the price of iron. It has been stated (and I could give additional evidence of the fact if necessary) that it is not the custom of the manufacturers in the North of England to fix the price of iron. That statement is altogether a mistake.

11,131. I think it has been stated that although there is nominally a declaration of price on the part of the ironmasters at the association meetings, no one considers himself bound by that price?—Yes, that is so.

11,132. Each ironmaster is at liberty to depart from that price when he thinks it his interest to do so?—Yes, and it is only in the case of Staffordshire that there is any attempt to fix prices.

11,133. Your having been secretary to both that district and the North of England district, can speak personally to that point?—Yes, as far as the North of England is concerned the meeting is open to the

Mr. J. Jones.
10 March 1868.

public, and at the end of the meeting some of the brokers and others are consulted as to what the price has been for that particular day, and that price is published and given to the newspapers as the actual price at which transactions have taken place.

11,134. And there is no attempt on the part of the iron-masters individually or collectively to interfere with any other ironmaster or coerce him into adherence to their rules?—Not in the least. At question 8265 with respect to the notices of reduction of wages in the Middlesborough district in 1866 Mr. Kane says "The masters stated 10 per cent. on puddling, but on "mill work they put out no fixed scale until they put "out what was called the revised list, which amounted "in many instances to 60 per cent." I wish particularly, as far as the north of England trade is concerned to speak to that statement, and I should like just to put in a comparative statement of wages which I have prepared. I find that in the early part of 1863 the wages paid were, for puddling (which may be taken to guide all the rest) 7*s.* 6*d.*, 7*s.* 3*d.*, 7*s.*, and 8*s.*, according to the works. But in April 1864 the wages for puddling were 10*s.* and 10*s.* 6*d.* Those wages were paid from the middle of 1863 to January 1865, that is 18 months. Then from 1865 to the middle of 1866 the prices were 10 per cent. lower than that, 9*s.* 6*d.* was the ordinary price, and 10*s.* 6*d.* and 11*s.* in special cases. That went on for 18 months Then the revised wages of 1866 which it is said were in many instances 60 per cent. lower, were 9*s.* 6*d.* for the best iron, that is to say for the grey iron, and 8*s.* 6*d.* for all ordinary iron, which was only a shilling less than had prevailed before. I have in the statement which I have prepared, given just the heads of the wages in other departments to show that there were only one or two special instances,—exceptional cases,—in which these heavy reductions were made. And with respect to the wages generally this comparative statement shows that when it is asserted that the wages were very low, 7*s.* and 8*s.*, for instance, it was only for a very short time that that was the case. When the union was most active, when all the strikes and so on took place, the wages were the higher wages mentioned in my statement, that is, for puddling 9*s.* 6*d.* to 10*s.* 6*d.*

11,135. I think we have had that already. Will you confine yourself to points which have not been brought under our notice before?—In answer to questions 8275 and 8294 it is stated that the masters in the north of England entered into a special agreement with the men that they would not change the wages without conferring with them. Mr. Kane says, "The masters published a code of rules wherein they "stated that prior to any dispute taking place a "conference of masters and men should be held." And further on, in answer to questions 8298 he says, "I have stated that the rules of the masters in the "North of England made the arrangement that prior to "anything in the nature of a strike or lockout being "likely to take place in consequence of a reduction "in the selling price of iron, a conference of the men "with the employers should take place." I would refer to the first rule of the Manufacturer's Association, which has never been altered, as the only ground which there could be for that statement, and there is nothing at all in those rules to warrant it. I will read that part of it which relates to the subject: "That the object of the association be deemed to be "the interchange of information on all matters con-"nected with the iron trade, more especially in "regard to the rate of wages and current selling "prices." And then the third paragraph says, "The holding free and friendly communication with "the representatives of the ironworkers, with the "view to the avoidance of strikes, and at the same "time the prompt and united resistance of any "attempt on the part of the men to enforce unreason-"able demands, or to limit the free action of any "individual ironworker." That was the only feature in the rules that could be a basis for that statement. Then in one or two cases allusion is made to the statements which I made as to the earnings of the men. One witness, I think Mr. Garner, mentioned that statement.

11,136. I do not think it worth while to go into that again?—I only wish to put in a document. I took out the wages at that time from the actual pay books, and this document could be substantiated (*handing in the same*). With respect to the evidence given about Belgium, I should just like to call attention for one moment to the answer to question 8412. That answer is, "Taking the difference of "wage between this country and Belgium and also of "the difference in the cost of living, I should say "that they would be about equal as Mr. Bell showed "in the paper which he read at Dundee. The "wage of one country is lower than the wage of the "other taken by itself." Now Mr. Bell in his paper states it rather differently from that, and I should like to put in that part of his paper. He says, "Without "going into details, it may suffice to say that animal "food is only 3 per cent. cheaper in the chief seats of "continental manufacture than with us; house-rent "and clothing are about the same in value with both. "On the other hand, at the present moment wheat is "fully lower in England and our own workmen do "not pay half the price charged to persons of their "own class abroad, for firing employed for domestic "use. Notwithstanding this almost perfect equality "in the cost of the necessaries of life, labor on the "continent is in very many instances 30 per cent. "below the price it commands in this kingdom. This "estimate is based on calculations where there is no "room for any great difference in the nature of the "work performed, common brick-making being "assumed as one of the standards of comparison. "In the manufacture of iron itself this difference is "occasionally still more remarkable; colliers, miners, "mechanics, ironworkers, in short every one engaged "in the process appear to be receiving 20 to 30 per "cent. below the rates current in this country, and in "some cases double and more than double the wages "paid abroad are earned in our English ironworks."

11,137. You cannot speak yourself about the relative cost of living?—No, but this is the extract alluded to by Mr. Kane. I have taken the above extract from Mr. Bell's published paper, and therefore the statement is not correct in Mr. Kane's evidence. Then with respect to the answer to question 8414, whether the English ironmaster has coal cheaper. Mr. Kane states that he understands there is more economy in Belgium in the use of fuel. Some recent letters on that subject have been published, and here is also the opinion of a competent ironmaster upon that question published in a letter from Mr. Isaac Lothian Bell, in reply to Mr. Plimsoll's letters which appeared in the "Times." The statement, which is from Mr. De Wendel, the largest individual manufacturer in France, leaving out Creusot, is "I hear that a Mr. Plimsoll has "recently drawn public attention to the defective state "of the pig iron manufacture in your country compared "to that of France and Belgium. The two visits I paid "to your works enable me to state that, so far as "Cleveland is concerned, the assertions is without any "foundation whatever. The high temperature of the "blast you use and the dimensions of your furnaces, "hitherto unknown in France, have secured for your "neighbourhood a superiority which I shall at once set "about imitating in my works. Mr. Judey, engineer "in chief at the immense works at Creusot, while on a "visit here ten days ago, stated, 'We and others in "'France have still a margin for economy in the manu-"'facture of pig iron, by avoiding the present heavy "'charges for transport in bringing coal and ore to our "'works. We must try to improve our method of work-"'ing, and thus seek to consume more of the minerals "'found near at home. Cleveland on the other hand, by "'the excellent results obtained in furnaces of recent "'consumption, and by the great care taken to avoid "'unnecessary labour, appear to have reached almost "'the minimum cost of production.'" The opinions of these two gentlemen are quoted by Mr. Bell to show

that as far as the north of England district is concerned, the Belgians are not working more economically than the English.

11,138. Do you think that any person of common sense attaches the slightest weight to Mr. Plimsoll's letters?—The public sometimes are guided by such letters. As far as the north of England is concerned, I believe it can be proved by evidence that we are working quite as economically as they are working in any other districts. Then in answer to question 8454 there is this statement: "There is a person who was "an ironworker of the name of George Thomas, who is "now endeavouring to get a living by selling half a "pound of tea or any odd work he can get. He waited "upon Mr. Hopkins; Mr. Hopkins told him that he "would never find employment in the north of Eng-"land." I have ascertained something about that case, and I find that he has been employed by the very firm which Mr. Kane mentions, namely, by Messrs. Hopkins, Gilkes, & Co. since the strike. He was formerly in the employ of Messrs. Bolckow, Vaughan, & Co. I do not know why he did not return there. He was a very active member of the union, secretary I believe, when the strike took place, and probably was the last to consent to work, but he has been employed by Messrs. Hopkins, Gilkes, & Co. since that time. In answer to question 8544, and a number of questions following that it is stated, and it has been stated frequently by the men that if the masters would agree to arbitration the men would agree to be bound by the decision of the arbitrators. It was stated also in Mr. Kane's evidence that he was in favour of arbitration, and that the men as a primary condition should consent to be bound by the decision of the arbitrators. I would just like to call attention to the fact brought out in evidence there, that though the men agreed to sever all connection between the North of England and other districts, that connection was quickly renewed and that the headquarters are now removed into Staffordshire, and therefore the masters appear to have very good reason for saying that the men would not be bound by the decision of the arbitrators inasmuch as they have declined to be bound by the decision of their own executive, which was come to in order to terminate the North of England strike. Then at question 9229, in the evidence of Mr. Kane, he states: "There are certain "illegal practices carried out, and this fining process is "certainly one of the worst." He says, "I have known "men literally starving in consequence of the fining "process." And other witnesses mention that it is a custom on the part of the iron trade to make deductions from all defective work, that the bad plates and rails for instance are thrown on one side and that the men are not paid for those plates or rails even if they are sent out as merchantable iron. I have made inquiries into that and I find that certainly as far as the north of England is concerned that is incorrect. If the plates or other work are defective the men are not paid, but if any of that work is found to be merchantable for some other purpose then they are paid the proper price for it. One case is mentioned as occurring in the neighbourhood of Bilston. I enquired into that case and found also that it was not the case in connection with the galvanizing trade. I think it was Mr. Garner who mentioned it, as far as I have made inquiries I have not found any confirmation of any case of that kind.

11,138*a*. (*Mr Harrison.*) You are not aware that that was one of the great complaints in the strike at Low Moor in 1864?—That is mentioned by Mr. Kane, I think. That was very clearly dealt with at the time, it being shown that it was one of the conditions on which they engage in work there, and that they understand all about it. But I do not know the exact circumstances of the Low Moor Works, and how they carry on their works, but certainly in the north of England I have gone into the question as far as regards plates and merchant iron, and I cannot find any instance where men are not paid for anything sent away in a merchantable form, though it may not have been adapted for what it was originally intended for.

11,139. (*Mr. Merivale.*) The answer to question 9153 is, "It is a total forfeit for the quantity which "do not cut the length and breadth." You deny that answer?—Yes, for it would be cut for something else. The tonnage of course would be less, but whatever it was sold for the man would be paid on the tonnage whatever it might be.

11,140. (*Mr. Mathews.*) It was also stated that, if it were true, the workman had a remedy against his master before the magistrate?—Yes; those are the principal points which I wished to put before the Commission, as well as putting in certain documents. I also brought here, in case there should have been any question about the wages, the detailed wages sheets which are printed. I simply bring these tabulated reports here to substantiate if necessary the abstract statement which I have drawn. I will leave all these papers in the hands of the Commission, that they may refer to them if need be. I presume that these documents, which have been obtained in some cases with some little difficulty, will be returned to me after they have been used by the Commission.

The witness handed in the following paper:

COMPARATIVE WAGES.

Early part of 1863:
Puddling Grey Pig, 7*s.* 6*d.*, 7*s.* 3*d.*, 7*s.*, 8*s.*
Hammering singles, 9*d.*, 11$\frac{2}{10}$*d.*, 11*d.*, 11$\frac{1}{2}$*d.*
Do. doubles and trebles, 1*s.* $\frac{1}{10}$*d.*, 11*d.*
Rolling, 1*s.* 1*d.*, 1*s.* $\frac{1}{4}$*d.*, 10*d.*

April 1864:
Puddling, 10*s.* 6*d.*, 10*s.* 6*d.*, 10*s.*, 10*s.* 3*d.*, 11*s.*
Hammering singles, 1*s.* 2$\frac{3}{4}$*d.*, 1*s.* 1$\frac{1}{4}$*d.*
Do. doubles, 1*s.* 4*d.*, 1*s.* 7$\frac{3}{4}$*d.*
Rolling, 1*s.* 3$\frac{1}{2}$*d.*, 1*s.* 1$\frac{1}{4}$*d.*

Wages 1866—Strike against 10 per cent. reduction.
Puddling, 10*s.* 6*d.*, 11*s.*, 9*s.* 6*d.* ordinary.
Hammering, 1*s.* 1*d.*, 1*s.* 1$\frac{1}{4}$*d.*
Rolling, 1*s.* 2*d.*, 1*s.* 7*d.*

Revised wages 1866:
Puddling Grey, 9*s.* 6*d.*
„ Mottled, 8*s.* 6*d.*
„ White, 8*s.*
„ Plate, 7*s.* 6*d.*
„ Mixtures *pro rata.*
Hammering singles, 1*s.*
Do. doubles, 3*s.* 4*d.*, 1*s.* 3$\frac{1}{2}$d.
Rolling Puddled bars, 11*d.*

Reduction of 1867:
Puddling Grey, 9*s.*
„ Mottled, 8*s.*
„ White, 7*s.* 6*d.*
„ Plate, 7*s.*
„ Mixtures, *pro rata.*
Hammering, 1*s.*, less 10 per cent.
Rolling, 11*d.*, do.

Reduction of December 1867:
Puddling Grey, 8*s.*
„ Mottled, 7*s.*
„ White, 6*s.* 6*d.*
„ Ordinary Plate, 6*s.*
Hammering singles, 8*d.*
„ doubles, 10*d.*, 1*s.*, 3*s.*, and 4*s.*
Rolling, 8$\frac{1}{2}$*d.* or 10*s.* per day.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. WILLIAM CLAY examined.

11,141. (*Chairman.*) Are you the manager of the Mersey Steel and Ironworks?—Managing director.

11,142. How long have you held that post?—Sixteen years.

11,143. Have you had during that time dealings with the puddlers' union?—Of late years only—in the last five years; we were not troubled with them before.

11,144. In what respect have the puddlers' union affected you. You say that you have only been

Mr. W. Clay.
10 March 1868.

troubled with them during the last five years. I presume there has been some change in the course of business which you attribute to the action of unions?—Yes; prior to 1863 we had never heard of this puddlers' union, or had anything to do with it. At that time a deputation from the parent society in Staffordshire visited Liverpool and induced some of our men to join the union. I was informed by the foreman at the time of what was going on; but we had always got on so pleasantly with our men, that I thought it was a matter of no consequence, and took no notice, but allowed the men to join the union or not, just as they pleased.

11,145. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Do you know the names of the men who formed the deputation to Liverpool?—I do not know the names of those men. I know the name of the local secretary of the district, in our works.

11,146. You do not know the names of any of the men who came from South Staffordshire?—No, not any of them. To proceed with my story: Within three or four months of my having that information that the society in Staffordshire had formed a branch in our works I began to find more difficulty in dealing with my men. I began to have complaints about trifles which formerly were never thought of, and altogether the management of the works became much more difficult and complicated, because it became necessary, in matters in which the interests of the workmen were as much bound up as the interests of the employers, to consider what view the men would take of any of those changes which are continually necessary in the carrying out of a large ironworks.

11,147. (*Chairman.*) Will you give us an example of your statement—that it became necessary to consider the view which the men would take?—Yes, I can give you an example in point. We built a new work, and in this work we had very improved machinery, the steam hammers instead of the old-fashioned hammers formerly in vogue in the trade. It was necessary for me to consider that in the excited state in which workmen then were, instead of offering less to the men who went to these new hammers, and instead of the firm having the benefit from this large outlay of money in improved machinery, we should have to give the same wages per ton with the improved machinery as the men had with the old machinery. The workmen would earn very much larger wages per week or day in consequence of the improved machinery, but had I offered such wages as would have made their weekly wages equal to that of other men in the same branch of business, there would have been a difficulty at once. And knowing that, I avoided creating such a difficulty, and for many months—in fact for two or three years—we paid in that department most extravagant and extraordinary wages; wages which the trade could not afford.

11,148. According to your statement, your outlay for the improved machinery was of no advantage to yourselves?—No advantage to us in respect of cheapening our manufacture.

11,149. It was of advantage to the men?—It was of advantage to the men. It was some advantage to the firm, because we could do larger work with it; but still one collateral advantage ought to have been a diminution in the wages per ton, because there was a considerable diminution in the work that the men had to do, and because they were able to do much more in the same time and with more ease to themselves.

11,150. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) So that an advantage was derived by the workmen from the influence of the union at your expense?—Yes; it was undesirable in those times to have any strike, and rather than cause a stoppage of the work which would have been inevitable, I had to submit to what I considered at the time was a great injustice.

11,151. (*Chairman.*) Were these the puddlers that had this advantage?—The shinglers, or rough hammerers, or nobblers, as they are sometimes called.

11,152. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Were any representations made on the part of the union about the machinery?—No, none whatever, but I was perfectly aware what the consequence of a reduction of wages have would been, and I was not desirous to put myself into collision with a society in a distant county at that time.

11,153. Still you have no direct evidence which connects the high wages you were paying with any specific action on the part of the union?—I think I can give you some evidence of what has occurred since in that very department.

11,154. (*Chairman.*) Before you pass from that I want to know whether the shinglers' wages became disproportionately high as compared with those of the other workmen that were employed in producing iron in your factory?—Yes, in the proportion of 300 per cent.

11,155. And that continued during the time you speak of?—Yes, shinglers are always highly paid, but they were getting for the same amount of labour, and as common a description of labour as puddlers, between three and four times the wages.

11,156. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) How much were they getting?—9*l.* a week, after deducting all expenses.

11,157. (*Lord Elcho.*) What were these men who were getting 9*l.* a week?—They were under-men promoted to this very kind of work on the new hammers. They would have got where they came from 5*l.* to 6*l.* a week as forehands.

11,158. (*Mr. Harrison.*) But do you know that the men who were working on this particular machine were really members of the Staffordshire union?—One of the individuals was the secretary, and the instance I was going to bring before your notice was this. The thing went on for about a couple of years, and then, not content with these enormous wages, they were urged (as it was stated, though I have not it in direct evidence) by the head society in Staffordshire to take an exception to paying the hammer-driver. It was a custom with us, but it appears that it was not the custom in Staffordshire for the shinglers to pay the hammer-driver; in fact, they have very few such hammers in South Staffordshire. They had, as it was represented to me, an order that they were not to stand paying the hammer-driver out of their wages. I should mention that their gross wages were much higher than 9*l.*—9*l.* was left net for the men after the week's work to each shingler.

11,159. (*Mr. Mathews.*) From your knowledge of the economy in your work and from the intercourse which you know your men had with the union, you have no doubt of those facts?—I have no doubt of those facts. I was informed by the foreman, who was pretty well acquainted with what was going on, that an undercurrent of agitation was going on on the part of these workmen who were getting these high wages, trying to induce the men in a similar position in our main works to come and demand that the wages of the hammer-driver should be paid out of the office, and that they should be relieved from that payment. The hammer-drivers who had been with us a great number of years—from childhood—declined to enter into any such arrangement. The labour market generally was very much disturbed at that time throughout the whole of our neighbourhood, so much so that dock labourers were demanding from the merchants of Liverpool 20 and 30 per cent. advance in wages, and our labourers made a similar demand. This necessitated the closing of the works, and I took that opportunity of putting ourselves clear of the puddler's union.

11,160. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) How did you put yourself clear of the puddlers' union?—When our labourers demanded higher wages the state of the iron trade would not afford it, and we, therefore, declined to give them higher wages, and they gave us information that they would leave the work. It was then of course impossible to carry on the remainder of the work with the labourers all away; so I gave the men regular notice that the works would close. At the expiration of that notice I had a deputation from the men of the puddlers' society. I should observe that the labourers striking had nothing to do with them,

and I asked them if they would wheel in their own coals and red ore, and do other rough labour, which the labourers had to do, otherwise I could not possibly carry on the work. There was a considerable amount of agitation and uncomfortable feeling about that time, and finally when the labourers did return to their work at the old rate of wages, I gave notice that for the future I would not employ any workmen that had any connexion whatever with the puddlers' union of Staffordshire. A deputation of the men came to me and said, Now they knew what they had to expect—and it would be war to the knife—they should strike, and they would take care that we should not get any men. Our directors had come to the determination that the works should close rather than have them carried on in the very unsatisfactory manner in which they had been carried on for the past three or four years. On the following Monday morning I commenced work with four puddling furnaces and two ball furnaces. Having been practically acquainted with the manufacture of iron myself from my youth, I went with my men and told them that we would all be blacklegs together, and brought the iron down, and as there was a deficiency of rollers, I rolled the first round myself. I had a very excellent foreman who assisted me, and the result was that we carried on this strike for 13 weeks. At the end of that time we had increased our four puddling furnaces and two ball furnaces to 18 puddling furnaces, and five ball furnaces, all of which carried on by men who had no connexion with the union.

11,161. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You did not work yourself all that time? — No, I did not work myself all that time. I may say that in my father's ironworks I made myself practically acquainted with every branch of the iron manufacture, and that I have found it of very considerable use. At the end of this time, I have been informed (it is hearsay evidence only) that the authorities of the club in Staffordshire sent word down to the officials of the branch at Liverpool stating that it was no use carrying on the strike any further—that they were beaten, that the masters and foremen there were too practical for them, and that they must return to their work on the best terms they could. Intimation was given to me by the foreman that the men were ready to go back to their work, and I said, "Well, you will bring them "in by pairs. I will not have them in as a body, and "I shall certainly not take on any man that will not "pledge his word that he does not belong to the "union, and that while he is in our service he will "not belong to the union." And I had some written papers to that effect. I think the wording of them was somewhat the following: "I hereby engage that "I do not belong to the puddlers' union, nor will I "during the currency of my engagement with the "Mersey Steel and Iron Company belong to that "body, or have anything whatever to do with it, and "should I do so, I agree hereby to forfeit any wages "that may then be due to me." These men then came in and signed this paper and left the union. The ringleaders, who I considered had done much more damage to their own fellow workmen than to the Mersey Steel and Iron Company, I refused to take back. With regard to the two men I mentioned just now as having obtained each of them their 9*l.* week net, one of them has written to me several times since offering to come back on any terms, or asking for a recommendation to other works. I have offered to give him a recommendation to other works, but I said that I must in honesty state the reason why he left ours. I believe that since that time he has hardly had a week's work—not that it is known to other employers who he is, for his name has never been published, and no notice has been given to any other ironmaster on the subject—but partly from slackness of trade, and, as I am informed, he has been in great trouble and want since then. Out of the large amount of wages, 9*l.* a week, 400*l.* or 450*l.* a year, he has saved nothing, and since that time, from want of work, he has, I am told, been in great distress. The other man has worked at what is technically called his butty. I have since taken back and allowed him to work as best he could, but since then our establishment has been considerably reduced, and he could only work occasionally with the other men. I know that he has been very badly off indeed. He has saved nothing out of his large wages, because he has been at my house on two occasions since, within the last six months, begging for a few shillings to bury his children who had died. I may mention that that man was entirely led by his society; he was himself an innocent individual who would have done no harm, and would have stuck by his employers if he had not been coerced into opposition.

11,162. He has not been kept out of employment in consequence of belonging to the union?—No, he has been with us ever since; but there has only been slack work. I may mention that at the time when the iron trade was in a state of considerable activity I could not, I dared not, take large contracts, because I could not see my way to fulfil them. I might have filled my order book up then for many months of the future, instead of which I steadily refused to entertain any orders whatever. Shortly after that these depressed times in the iron trade took place, and we necessarily had very little to do, and one necessary consequence was, that when we got a large stock of the raw material, puddle bars, it became necessary to close one of our branch works, and it was in that way that this man was often out of work. We endeavoured to keep the men together as much as we could, and divided the work amongst them as well as we could, but he has only been on partial work ever since.

11,163. (*Mr. Booth.*) You have stated that at the commencement of that strike the men said that you should not get other workmen. Did they take any active steps to prevent your getting other workmen?—The means we took to get workmen was to advertise the thing to the ironworkers in the iron districts. We had from several men answers to these advertisements, stating that they would come. We know that some hundreds came, but they were met by pickets of the workmen on strike, their expenses paid to take them home again, and they were not allowed to come near the works.

11,164. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) When you say "not allowed to come near the works," what was done to prevent them?—In the first place, they were told that the men were on strike, and that they were going to take bread out of other men's mouths, in fact the usual arguments were used.

11,165. Was it only done by arguments or were there any threats?—I had several complaints, not only of threats, but of actual force; but as is usual in those cases, I never could get hold of the necessary evidence. In several cases my foreman came to me and said, that he had got a case that would do to take before the magistrates, but when I got our solicitor to take the evidence down it all melted away.

11,166. Do you think that melting away was because there was no evidence, or that the men were afraid?—They were afraid.

11,167. What evidence had you that they were afraid?—In the first place, the men came under a sense of injury, and having suffered assault and battery; the first complaints made to me were very positive, and they seemed determined to punish the people that had assaulted them, but the great effect of seeing a legal gentleman taking down in writing what they were going to say frightened them.

11,168. So that they told one story to you, and they told another story when called upon to state it to your legal adviser?—Yes.

11,169. Do you suppose that that was caused by fear or by anything peculiar to the effect of a lawyer upon a man's mind?—I think that that class of men have a particular horror of anything like a lawyer or evidence being taken down.

11,170. (*Mr. Booth.*) The dissuasion was suffi-

Mr. W. Clay.
10 March 1868.

ciently strong to prevent their coming to you for work as they had intended to do?—Yes; but now and then we got one that run through the blockade—I call it the blockade, for every railway station was perfectly blockaded.

11,171. Were any of those men that came to you ever molested afterwards?—No, never since the strike came to an end.

11,172. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) During the existence of the strike, during the time that they worked for you, were they ever molested?—Yes, several times; but I never could get sufficient evidence. Those men that I was certain in my own mind, although I had no legal evidence of it, had molested others, I regarded as ringleaders, and would not take back again on any terms.

11,173. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Your knowledge of the relations of these men in times of strike enables you to judge of the difficulty there is of getting any men in case of molestation to turn evidence?—Yes. In the higher stations of life we cannot understand the immense pressure brought to bear upon the working man when he does anything to displease his fellow workmen. For instance, take a man living in a narrow street or a court of houses. First of all he is simply assailed as blackleg, and told that he deserves to be killed, and so on, but after a while the wives and children take the matter up, and though he is a respectable workman wishing to live in peace and quietness, his doors are battered in, his windows broken, and no one knows who does it; and there is an immense amount of what is disagreeable and of actual damage done to the workmen and their families in that way.

11,174. And that fact is perfectly notorious to you?—Yes. We can hardly understand it, living as we do in isolated houses, and our neighbours having nothing whatever in connexion with us, we can hardly understand this state of terrorism brought to bear on working men. And not only men in their own line of business, but other men who belonged to societies, carpenters and boiler makers, and others, were in the habit of annoying them, and in some cases ill-treating them. In fact, I may mention that two or three of the assault cases which came to my knowledge were cases in which the assault was not committed by our late workmen, but by workmen of other societies, and it was stated that they did so at the instigation of our late workmen.

11,175. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) So that the trades unionists of all sorts made common cause?—Yes, but because our men would have been recognized and known, they in a sort of mild way obtained strangers not known, to come and assault these men.

11,176. (*Chairman.*) To what extent did the violence go?—Not to any very great extent—not to the extent of injury to either life or limb; nothing more than a good pummelling. One or two of them got knocked down.

11,177. (*Lord Elcho.*) Did the men who came to you bear any marks of personal violence about them?—Yes, there were two cases in which they did.

11,178. Yet when it came to giving evidence those men did not come forward?—No.

11,179. Have you any reason to doubt when they come to you, the statement made by them that injuries were so received?—Not at all. There was one case which I could not entertain at all. One of the men had got into a public house though he had been warned against going there, as there was a likelihood of being brought into collision with his late fellow-workman. They were told that they had better keep in their own houses and avoid publichouses. In one case he had neglected that, and had gone into one and been drinking, and was more or less intoxicated when the row took place, of course therefore he could hardly give a distinct account how it happened.

11,180. But the other case was different from that?—Entirely different.

11,181. And you had distinct evidence that the injury was done by the unionists?—No legal evidence, but quite clear to me.

11,182. Was the statement substantiated in any other way?—We have often had two or three witnesses to an assault.

11,183. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) But you found it difficult to connect the assault with the union?—Yes, it was very often done under cover, a lot of men were in a crowd, a blow was given, and it could not be positively said by whom the blow was given.

11,184. (*Mr. Merivale.*) Were there any cases in which you were able to convict an individual of the assault although you could not bring it home to the union?—No, the evidence always melted away—we believed that we knew the man who struck the blow but there is no use in your going before a magistrate unless you are positively prepared to prove facts. It generally went off in that way.

11,185. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You call this a strike, but it was a lock-out, was it not?—It was hardly a lock out or a strike.

11,186. You refused the men work; it was not they who refused to work for you?—I refused to take back men who belonged to the union. It was not a lock-out. The men were legally discharged in every way. The works were as it might be a new works starting there—and I stated "In carrying on these works for the future I will not have union men."

11,187. It was a lock-out to suppress the union, was it not?—No.

11,188. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) First of all, if I understood you rightly, the trade became unremunerative, and you determined to close your works?—No, that came some time afterwards. First of all, an agitation was going on through the works, and I was informed that if this concession to the hammermen was not granted a strike would take place. Then the difficulty came with the ordinary labouring who had nothing whatever to do with this society, and the works were then idle for a week or two in consequence of the want of labour. At that time when the works were actually stopped, and the men legally discharged, I made this intimation to them: I said that we had had so much trouble with the union men that we would not employ any for the future.

11,189. Did it begin thus. There was a difficulty with the labouring men and you told the puddlers that without them you could not carry on the works and therefore the works stopped?—Yes.

11,190. After that when the labouring men came back you began upon a new system?—Yes.

11,191. And that new system they refused?—Yes.

11,192. And thereupon was it your proceeding to say that you would not go any further and you therefore shut the works?—We closed the works because of being unable to obtain the rough labour in the first instance. Then when they were closed we considered the matter over, and the men being all legally discharged, we said, "We have had so much trouble, we will not have this again, we will not take back any workman who belongs to the union."

11,193. Then it began with you, you took the initiative?—Yes, but it was hardly what is popularly known as a lock-out.

11,194. (*Mr. Harrison.*) It was not a combined lock-out, but you said, "We close our works until the men working for us cease to belong to the union"?—We closed the works for another cause, but we would not open them again unless the men ceased to belong to the union.

11,195. There had been no specific strike between the company and the puddlers?—No there was no strike and no lock-out, we were simply making re-engagements, and I said, "When making reengagements I will avoid those men who belong to the union."

11,196. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You found from experience that you had had so much trouble with these unions, first with the puddlers' union, and then with the labourers' union, that your directors came to the conclusion that it was impossible to carry on your works if these unions existed in them?—Yes.

11,197. Thereupon you elected to employ those men who did not belong to the unions instead of those who did belong to the unions?—Yes.

11,198. And you have found no difficulty in getting the work done by men who do not belong to the unions?—No.

11,199. You have them manned now by men not belonging to the unions?—Yes.

11,200. And now having got your works manned by men who do not belong to the unions you do not experience that interference and annoyance which you did experience when your men did belong to the unions?—We never have the slightest now.

11,201. Your action cannot be called a lock-out because you did not lock-out the men provided they would come and work upon the terms you prescribed?—Just so.

11,202. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you call it a strike?—No, but I rather anticipated a strike at the time.

11,203. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) How did you ascertain that these men that you took on were not connected with the union?—Merely by their own word.

11,204. And there was no interference on the part of the union, as far as you could understand with the actions in your works?—Since then, none whatever.

11,205. So that as far at least as you are concerned they are not connected with the union?—They are not.

11,206. They may be nominally I suppose?—I think they are not.

11,207. (*Lord Elcho.*) They have all signed a paper I think you stated?—Only those who came in at that time, but those who have come in since then have not signed any paper. If I had known as much in the year 1863 of the pernicious effect of these unions as I do now, we should never have been troubled with them at all, because we should merely have had to dismiss two or three men in the first instance who propagated the system through the works. As I have said I was informed at the time that they were doing so, but I thought it of no consequence and did not take any steps to put an end to it.

11,208. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) I suppose you do not object to unions if they do not interfere with your works?—Certainly not. We have indeed one sort of union which every man in the works must belong to, namely, a benefit society. We assist them with donations and receive money for them at the office which is paid over to their own secretary. That, however, is merely a benefit society.

11,209. (*Lord Elcho.*) Since you have reopened your works on the principle of having no men belonging to the unions, have the wages which those men have received been equal to the wages received by men belonging to unions and employed in other works?—They have been rather higher wages than those paid in other works. I may state that between the time of these unions first coming near us and this last strike two years ago, we had a small strike of a few of the men which lasted for some little time. It was entirely on account of the unsettled way in which they worked, and this is how it happened. On the 19th of April a season which is not generally very hot in our works and one in which we never lost a day's work before for heat, (that does sometimes happen in other works, but we have the advantage of the river Mersey and a sea breeze so that ours are very cool works,) a portion of the men suddenly put on their coats and went home in the middle of the day. We knew that we could not carry on the works if that was to take place without notice, and I had some of the ringleaders taken before the magistrates. The magistrates found a technical difficulty in the matter, and said they hoped that the matter would be smoothed over, but the men did not go back to their work for many weeks.

11,210. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Had you any special contract with those men for giving notice?—No special contract, but we pay weekly and that makes their engagement I believe legally from week to week.

11,211. I understand that the Liverpool magistrates dismissed the summons on the ground that there was no special contract as to time between you and the men?—There was no written contract.

11,212. That is to say on the ground that there was no special contract that they should give a week's notice or receive a week's notice?—I do not think that that was the ground.

11,213. (*Mr. Harrison.*) What followed upon that decision of the magistrates?—The men remained out of work for a considerable time until it suited them to come back again, and when they came and expressed contrition for what had happened and desired to come back, I took them back. In the meantime we carried on most of our works without them.

11,214. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Did you want labourers in the meantime—were you pinched?—We had $\frac{7}{8}$ths of the works going.

11,215. How many men do you generally employ?—1,800 to 2,000 men and boys when in full work.

11,216. (*Mr. Mathews.*) How many are you employing now?—I do not think more than 1,200. One or two of the departments have closed entirely.

11,217. Your work is not strictly speaking an iron-work, similar to those in Middlesborough, or Staffordshire, is it?—Our specialty, as the French would say, is forging for ships of war and steamers. We have made most of the large axles for the iron-plated vessels in Her Majesty's Service.

11,218. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Have you cast any guns?—We have forged some guns. The monster Horsfall gun used in the Russian war, a 13-inch gun weighing 22 tons, was made at our works.

11,219. (*Lord Elcho.*) Is that the only one of that size which you have made?—Yes.

11,220. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You work is exceptional in the trade?—Yes; still we make large quantities of bars.

11,221. For your special work you require very skilled workmen?—Very skilled workmen.

11,222. And they require very high wages?—Yes.

11,223. When the men had unions did the unions extend to that department?—No, only to the ordinary iron making departments.

11,224. In addition to that special work you are

11,225. And of armour plates?—Yes, armour plates and ship plates.

11,226. (*Mr. Booth.*) Are the men paid for daily work or are they on weekly wages?—Chiefly by the ton.

11,227. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Can you have payment by the ton, and at the same time an agreement that they should give or receive a week or a fortnight's notice before leaving as is the case in South Staffordshire?—We have hardly ever had the question arise.

11,228. You have no contract whatever?—A man is engaged by us, and if we are dissatisfied with the man's work or conduct in any way, we give him one week's notice, and he can give us the same.

11,229. (*Mr. Booth.*) Those men to whom you have just referred, in fact broke no contract by leaving in the middle of the day?—We considered (we may be wrong in point of law) that a weekly hiring was an engagement for a week.

11,230. How was it a weekly hiring?—Because we paid the wages weekly. We were informed by our solicitor that as we paid our wages weekly, and gave the men a week's notice, when we desired to get rid of them they were bound to give us a week's notice.

11,231. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You refused to take them back you have stated?—We refused, because of course they might have stopped in the same way the next day, or the day after, or any day they pleased.

11,232. You, failing to get a decision in your favour before the magistrates, locked them out until a certain time when you chose to have them back again?—We declined to have them back on the terms that they were at liberty to leave off work when they pleased.

11,233. What were they to do in order to receive work again from you?—All they had to do was to promise me that they would not leave off their work without reasonable cause again, and when they gave

me that assurance they came back to their work, but in the meantime they suffered very great poverty for many weeks.

11,234. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) When they came back to you did they not make a special contract with you, meeting the views of the Liverpool magistrate?—No. I said, "We cannot carry on our works if you are to be "at liberty to come and go just as you please, but if "you are willing to come back and abide by your "work we will employ you again."

11,235. (*Mr. Merivale.*) Did you put it to them that they were to give a week's notice?—No. I may mention, and ought to mention, in justice to the society in Staffordshire, that I believe that that strike among that small portion of your men never had their sanction or support.

11,236. (*Chairman.*) I do not understand why the men took off their coats; did they not say, "We want more wages?—No, they only said (after leaving work) "It is too hot."

11,237. What was the meaning of that step?—They were getting very high wages; moreover, it was one of the rules of the club that five days a week was quite enough for any man to work, so they said, "To-day is a hot day, and an unpleasant day, we will go away to-day and come back to-morrow."

11,238. (*Lord Elcho.*) There would be no question, would there, of the South Staffordshire Union, or any other union, supporting the men in such a strike, because they were not unionists then?—Yes, they were unionists then.

11,239. I thought you were referring to a strike that occurred since you refused to take unionists?—No, I have put the cart before the horse; I mentioned the first strike after the second.

11,240. (*Mr. Merivale.*) How long ago was this first strike?—Four years ago. The last strike, when we beat the men so completely, was two years ago.

11,241. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You took exception to these men leaving their work. They stated that the weather was very hot, but in cases where the weather is really very hot the masters generally allow them to leave, do they not?—Yes.

11,242. But inasmuch as when a puddler leaves his work he throws out other men you are obliged to exercise some scrutiny into the causes why they do leave?—Yes.

11,243. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Not only do they throw other men out of work, but they cause fuel to be consumed uselessly?—Yes, a large amount of fuel; nearly as much as if the works were going on.

11,244. (*Lord Elcho.*) Do you know at all what proportion in your works of your 2,000 men were unionists, and what proportion were non-unionists?—In the particular branch of puddlers, shinglers and rollers, what are called forge men, I believe that just at that time almost the whole of them belonged to the union.

11,245. And what proportion did they bear to the whole of the men employed, whether as labourers or in any other departments of work?—Not above a fifth or a sixth. I should mention the fact that for some two or three months, and going further back than that before this strike, I was informed by the foreman that some of the men who had objected to join this union had had pieces of hot iron thrown at them across the furnaces, and had been threatened and assaulted as far as that goes. It was pretended to be accidentally done, but in reality it was done on purpose. Several of the men came to the foreman and said they were afraid that they would have to join the union against their will, they had joined several unions before and found that they were decidedly against the interests of the workmen, but they were afraid that they would be obliged to join or else they would get almost murdered. When I was told this I sent word that there was no need for them, unless they pleased, to join the union, that they should have every protection that I could give them. It was also threatened that the men were going to strike against them. They had at an evening meeting once stated that unless the three or four men who were not in the union joined they would strike against them. I sent word to those men that if only one man remained who did not belong to the union I would uphold that one man against the mass rather than be dictated to in that way. I think that eventually they were all or nearly all belonging to it, though there were two or three exceptions.

11,246. But under the new system there were some men who were employed as shinglers, who received 9*l.* a week, working on this new machinery you have spoken of.—Yes.

11,247. Are there any men receiving that now?—Not in that department, but in other departments we have men receiving higher wages. Our two chief hammermen have from 700*l.* to 900*l.* a year each.

11,248. Do you mean netting 700*l.* to 900*l.* a year?—Yes, one of them has 12*l.* 10*s.* a week, and the other 11*l.* 10*s.*, standing wages. Then they have perquisites of teaching apprentices; they get all the benefit from teaching apprentices. It is our interest, of course, to have young men brought up to this valuable business, and we pay them an ordinary man's wages while they are apprentices, and these chief hammermen who teach them get the difference between about a pound a week and 60 or 70 shillings a week, which would be their wages if they were journeymen.

11,249. Do you pay the apprentices, or does the hammermen?—We pay to the head hammerman all the wages, and he pays those under him.

11,250. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Are you at all aware whether those men who make this 700*l.* or 900*l.* a year pay income tax?—Yes, they do.

11,251. (*Mr. Mathews.*) When you speak of the hammermen, that is a special department of work?—Yes.

11,252. Not in the ordinary iron-making department?—No.

11,253. Such a workman is very scarce; he is very adroit and very skilful?—Yes. Our chief workman finished a piece of work last week worth 2,500*l.*; by the slightest carelessness on his part it would not be worth as many pence. I refer to a piece which I am now supplying for the main crank shaft for a war vessel of the Austrian navy of 1,000 horse-power. I also supplied Mr. Penn with the main shaft for the "Hercules" which was 34 tons 11 cwt. I think the invoice for that was 3,500*l.*, and the slightest carelessness on the part of the head workman would have made that perfectly valueless.

11,254. Then the perfection of work depends entirely upon that one man?—Yes.

11,255. In the case of armour-plates, if the armour-plates are rejected, they are perfectly valueless, are they not?—Almost so.

11,256. They can only be cut up by slotting, and the expense of slotting is almost as much as you obtain by it?—Yes.

11,257. (*Lord Elcho.*) With regard to those men who receive 700*l.* or 800*l.* a year, have they had any scientific education?—Not at all.

11,258. They are practical men who have risen from their energy and common sense; physical strength and a good eye have brought them to that?—Physical strength is not specially wanted; they are men of extraordinary tact and common sense. One man who was in a similar position with us is now the owner and head of a large work, employing 1,500 or 2,000 men.

11,259. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) So that these men making those large wages are very often thrifty men, and make money?—Yes, in the case above mentioned. I think that my two hammermen could find between them a good round sum of money, but of course I do not pry into their affairs.

11,260. Do you find, generally speaking, that the highly paid workman is a thrifty man?—No, rather the reverse, as is illustrated by the two cases which I mentioned of men getting 9*l.* a week who have never saved a farthing, and when thrown out of work they are immediately in distress.

11,261. Never having saved a farthing, was their money spent in debauchery, or had it been merely

thrown away?—Not in debauchery exactly, but in quiet drinking perhaps, and I dare say a good deal was spent in buying tawdry ornaments and dresses for their wives and families.

11,262. (*Mr. Booth.*) Those were union men?—Yes.

11,263. (*Lord Elcho.*) Are your two hammermen whom you have referred to educated men; can they read and write well?—Moderately well.

11,264. (*Mr. Mathews.*) If those men had had a scientific education in early life, do you not think that it would have vitiated their chance of becoming the accomplished workmen that you have described them to be now?—I am hardly prepared to say so.

11,265. Those men began to work as boys?—Yes.

11,266. They worked under their fathers as boys, probably?—Yes.

11,267. And now they have become accomplished mechanical operatives; all that has been practice?—Yes.

11,268. If they had devoted that time to the theory of scientific education, do you not think it would not have damaged their adroitness in their present department?—I do not think so. Although I do not set so much value on technical education as many people, still I would not go so far as to say that because a man has had a technical education that would disqualify him from being a good workman.

11,269. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) That is not quite the question put to you; but supposing a man devotes the time in which he may be acquiring practical knowledge to technical education, would he be as good a workman?—No, he would not be as good a workman. I may observe as to those two head men I have mentioned, that when they leave their work in the evening, their day's work is not finished; they are thinking (and they must think several days a-head) what they are going to do to-morrow, and if things are not going well, they cannot sleep at night sometimes.

11,270. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) That is the case of a man having arrived at the goal. But taking the case of a young child or boy, could he not employ enough of his time in practical work to become an exceedingly adroit manipulator, and at the same time improve his mind by education, is he obliged to employ his whole time in practical work in order to acquire that expertness in manipulation?—No, I think not. I think he might have some time for education.

11,271. You could combine the two so that at the same time that a boy was acquiring great expertness in his business he might also employ his mind in the acquisition of scientific knowledge?—Yes, to a certain extent, but he would not have a great opportunity for doing that as a child, after his work for the day was done.

11,272. (*Lord Elcho.*) When grown up he might have time for it?—Yes.

11,273. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Do you think that many of these men whom you have described have much taste or inclination for scientific studies?—No.

11,274. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) They are too much worn out for that?—Yes, after their day's work.

11,275. (*Chairman.*) Have you a great pressure put on by your hammers?—Our largest hammer is 8 tons, falling 6 feet, which is an enormous blow.

11,276. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Equivalent to how many tons?—Authorities differ a good deal, and experiments which I have been making this last week lead me to believe that none of them are right.

11,277. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) It is a matter of figures, it is not?—I think not entirely.

11,278. (*Mr. Merivale.*) Might not a scientific knowledge on the part of a workman help him to get at such facts?—I hardly think it is the part of a workman to go into those questions.

11,279. An educated workman would be better able to form a judgment on such questions when it came to his time to form a judgment on them than one who had had no scientific education?—I think a few grains of practice is worth a good deal of theory.

11,280. Still you say they all differ now?—Yes, the theorists do. Calculations are easily made about the weights of a falling body, but I have an impression on my own mind that the rule is not constant.

11,281. It is an accruing force you admit, I presume?—Still I think there are limits to it.

11,282. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Do you remember any of these accomplished workmen you have been describing to us ever being able to work out a mathematical problem of that sort?—No, I may say that they are giving their children a good education.

11,283. Do you think that any of the children they are now educating so well are likely to make as good workmen as their fathers?—I am sorry to say that they are not bringing them up to the same business.

11,284. (*Chairman.*) What is your feeling with regard to piece work?—With regard to these large and important pieces of work, there might be a tendency under a system of piece work to slur that work, but in the ordinary work of the iron trade it is absolutely necessary to have piece work.

11,285. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You think that the tendency of piece work is to slur work?—Yes, to a certain extent. There is a corrective to that, however, in that the men are not paid for defective work. But it is our practice always to pay for waste plates when they go to the market. It seems to have been made a point here that some masters practically confiscated the material the men had made, because it was not up to dimensions, although the master sold it. Our invariable rule in rolling plates (it more especially applies to that) is that if the plates for any reason will not suit the order for which they are made, yet if at any time they can be cut into other sizes, we allow the workmen for them.

11,286. (*Mr. Mathews.*) With regard to piece work, there is no objection to their doing that superior work which you have described by piece work, except that they might try to get on a little too fast?—Yes.

11,287. But if the work was liable to be rejected after it was made, that would still prompt them to take all possible pains?—Yes.

11,288. But that would open the door to endless differences between you and your men?—Yes.

11,289. In point of fact, therefore, it is far better for you to shut out that danger by paying them handsomely by the day?—Yes. I may say that I have had cases in which I have thought it right, instead of scolding men for any bad work that has been done, to comfort them, and tell them how seldom it has happened. Some men, if they had two or three pieces of bad work consecutively would consider that their character was injured.

11,290. Since you have established the practice of employing only non-union men, there is no obstacle in the way of your men coming to you, but there is the freest understanding between your men and yourself?—Yes, there is not the slightest obstacle.

11,291. They can come to you, as in the cases you have cited, and with cordial sympathy?—Yes.

11,292. Do you think, if all your men had been in the union, there would have been that cordial intercourse to which you have alluded?—Certainly not; I have always been on the best terms with my men except on that occasion when the club interfered with us. They have come to me whenever they have had a grievance. In fact, we have always made a practice of advancing wages without their asking.

11,293. (*Lord Elcho.*) Do they come in a body or one or two of their number at a time?—One or two of their number, or sometimes those working at a particular furnace will come to me.

11,294. The absence of the union has not caused any difficulty from there not being any special person to communicate with?—Quite the reverse. About a month or six weeks ago the men, through their foreman, informed me that they were desirous that we should reduce their wages 10 per cent; they were quite willing to do so in the hope that it would enable us to take more orders, and so give them more work.

Mr. W. Clay.
10 March 1868.

11,295. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) What is your general idea on piece work as affecting the men—the advantage of piece work to the working classes I mean?—As a general rule most branches of the iron trade could not be carried out without it.

11,296. Do you believe that piece work is a more beneficial arrangement than day work between master and man, because a good man gets higher wages under the piece work system?—Yes.

11,297. Therefore, as far as regards the interests of the working classes, you think that piece work is in their favour?—Yes.

11,298. (*Mr. Booth.*) Where the circumstances admit of it, you think it is in their favour?—Yes, because every man gets paid according to his ability.

11,299. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Are the majority good workmen?—The majority of the men in the iron trade are good workmen, in fact a man who is not has to leave the trade.

11,300. If they are all competent, one is not much better than another?—There is not a very great difference. If I may put it in figures I should say that there is not 2½ per cent. difference between my puddlers at the present time.

11,301. (*Lord Elcho.*) Have you in your own works at the present time, in the absence of union men, a greater difference in the rate of wages given to enm than there would be where unionists are employed?—No, I think not; those exceptional cases which I have mentioned about the shinglers do not exist now, and there is no great difference now.

11,302. I mean do you enable individual men to gain more than they would in consequence of the union rule that they must not exceed a certain amount of work?—That rule never applied to the iron trade; there never was a limitation that a man was only to do a ton of iron in a day when a good workman could do 24 cwt.

11,303. Take that case of the machinery you erected, a difficulty occurred there because you wanted to reduce the men's wages in consequence of that improved machinery?—I avoided that difficulty.

11,304. You expected a difficulty if you attempted that?—Yes.

11,305. And you would have paid those men higher wages, if the union men had remained with you, than you thought they were worth?—Yes.

11,306. Since then have you made a corresponding change in the rate of wages?—No, but that particular hammer has not been at work since.

11,307 (*Chairman.*) Did the men who earn 900*l.* a year work in the lower branches at the beginning of their career?—No, they began as apprenticed hammermen under their fathers in the first instance. Until they were 21 years of age each of them would be under his father's control and he would give him only pocket money. When emancipated from that control they would begin to receive, one 3*l.* 10*s.* and the other 4*l.* a week.

11,308. How came those men to come up to 900*l.* a year. Was it by a combination of acuteness and strong nerves and sound faculties; were they men peculiarly gifted by nature?—They were men peculiarly gifted by nature. I do not know where to get two other such men; I consider them the best hammermen in England.

11,309. (*Lord Elcho.*) No great physical power being required in their work?—No, they never need do any manual labour, it was never necessary.

11,310. Each of them began life in that department, I suppose?—He began in the lowest branch as a furnace boy, and then worked under his father till he was 21 years of age. He takes his coat off and always works in his shirt sleeves, because it would look strange in a workman to be going about with his black coat on, but otherwise he does not handle anything or lift anything now; he simply directs other men.

11,311. (*Mr. Mathews.*) They were accomplished workmen when they were 21, I suppose?—Yes.

11,312. Had a considerable portion of their time up to that age been spent in scientific education, do you think they would have been the accomplished practical workmen that they are now?—I think they might have devoted a portion of their time to educational purposes, but no doubt there is some risk of their mind being so engrossed by educational matters as to withdraw men somewhat from their own immediate pursuits.

11,313. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you think that a competent civil engineer who had devoted some years of his life to this particular study would not be competent to take the place of one of these men?—No, no theoretical man could do it.

11,314. I mean a man who had devoted a considerable part of his life to that pursuit practically?—Such men might go through it from lifting the door up as boys, and through all the different departments of daily training.

11,315. (*Mr. Booth.*) That is in fact for this purpose as you think the best technical education?—Yes, practice is the best.

1,316. You do not object to technical education?—No; but in my opinion practice is the best for this purpose.

11,317. (*Lord Elcho.*) What were those men's wages when they were 21?—About 4*l.* a week.

11,318. Is the quality of work which you have turned out under your new system in your belief equal to the work which you turned out when your men were unionists?—Quite equal, if not superior.

11,319. When they were all union men was the work generally as good as it is now; you have already said that it is not worse now than it was then?—I cannot say that there has been much difference, but if anything I should say that the tendency of the union upon the union men was to make them careless over their work, because they felt some confidence that their union would bear them out, and that they would not be visited with consequences that they otherwise would be. I ought to say that we have a number of union men in the works that are engineers, and we do not object to them because they have always behaved well. Indeed I believe that most of our engineers are society men but that society (it is now some years since the great strike that happened in their trade) seems to have been governed by much more reasonable counsels than other trades have been.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. J. Kane.
10 March 1868.

Mr. JOHN KANE further examined.

11,320. (*Chairman.*) You have already given some evidence here as president of the National Association of Ironworkers, but I think you wish to give some evidence in reply to what has been laid before us. Will you state what point it is you wish to address your evidence to in reply?—I wish in the first place, by way of putting myself right, to refer to a few statements made by Mr. Hobson. And I will refer in the first place to question 8763. Mr. Hobson, in reply to the Earl of Lichfield, stated that the confederation which was entered into was broken before the Sheffield conference. Now that is incorrect. The confederation which was agreed to by the men of the north of England and the South Staffordshire ironworkers was entered into in the month of June 1864, and no alteration took place until the Sheffield conference on the 26th of December 1864, and the only alteration which took place then was with the approval of Mr. Hobson and his colleagues, and it was simply in the wording of the resolutions, the objects remaining the same. I wish that matter to be corrected. Then in answer to question 8765 he states, "There was no resolution in regard to Staffordshire." That is in reference to the resolution which was passed at the Sheffield conference, in favour of north and south accepting the reduction. No amendment was

proposed, and yet both North and South Staffordshire were represented. By way of making this matter clear let me say that one of the resolutions which was passed distinctly states, "That a conference be held "for the northern and another for the southern section; "the executive of the north to attend the conference "of the south, and that the south be represented at "the annual conference of the northern section, and "that no action be taken by either party relative to "strikes before the matter has been fully ventilated, "and agreed to by both parties. Such disputes may "be caused by demanding an advance, or preventing "a reduction," this being the only way that will make the "two executives one in sentiment, one in "policy, and one in action." So that this deputation that attended at Sheffield was legislative as well as an administrative deputation as much as any delegate that was there, and the resolution that was passed applied to both north and south. That was the distinct understanding by that Sheffield conference. Then at question 8768 Mr. Hobson states, "We merely went "down to the conference to understand what resolu- "tions they came to in order that we might return and "lay them before our members." The resolutions I have given were laid before and agreed to by their members six months before the meeting of delegates at Sheffield, you will thus see that is quite a mistake, inasmuch as the report of the conference itself shows (and any number of witnesses can be found to state it), that they took a very active part in the proceedings of the conference.

11,321. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Mr. Hobson says that he is the secretary of the Associated Ironworkers of Great Britain, and you say that you are the president of the National Association of Ironworkers. I forget the difference between the two associations?—The difference between the two is this: that one sprang out of the strike in South Staffordshire in 1863, namely the one that Mr. Hobson is connected with. The one that I am connected with commenced in August 1862 in the north of England.

11,322. (*Mr. Mathews.*) In describing yourself as the President of the Ironworkers of Great Britain do you embrace the whole of South Staffordshire?—We embrace nearly the whole of South Staffordshire now. I wish you to understand that our object from the very first was to have one association with the view of preventing complications.

11,323. Do you mean to represent to the Commission that you are now sole representative of the South Staffordshire ironworkers?—No, I do not wish that to be understood.

11,324. So that in giving your evidence as to the existing condition and proceedings of these unions in South Staffordshire you do not speak as to the whole; not as to the Brierley Hill section at all?—I am speaking of this evidence given by Mr. Hobson, and I say that if it is to go forth in the manner in which it is given it is placing the matter in a false form.

11,325. Supposing Mr. Hobson states that which is not quite correct, on the other hand, would not Mr. Hobson have a right to assert that you were not the representative of the whole of the ironworkers in South Staffordshire?—This is not a question of the representation of the whole of the ironworkers. This is purely a question of the line of policy adopted at a certain conference; that is all I think it will be necessary for me to take notice of, so far as Mr. Hobson's statement is concerned. In Mr. Jones's evidence at page 18, the last paragraph, it is stated that "the "union has tended to separate employers and em- "ployed and to destroy the individuality of the work- "man. In case of strikes, individual workmen, and, "in many instances, whole bodies of men have been "prohibited from speaking to their employers or "agents." I can simply state that I am not acquainted with any instance where that has been done. Mr. Jones refers to one case; that is in North Staffordshire, but he being the representative of the northern section of the ironmasters, I apprehend that it would be more germane to the matter if the reference had alluded to that particular part that he is secretary of. At page 19 and at the third paragraph "In the matter of wages," says Mr. Jones, "The principle "adopted has been to take the highest rate paid in "any place in any department, and to make this "the country price without reference to the special "circumstances, which may render an exceptional "payment in certain places only reasonable." I wish the Commissioners to observe that this is a general statement and can only be accepted as such. It would have been better if Mr. Jones had given particular instances, because the policy adopted by the employers in the north of England has been to reduce prices down to one uniform rate, and that is the policy that is adopted by the employers now in the north, quite irrespective of the character of the mills, whereas our policy was to secure certain prices, always taking into account the peculiar position of the mills themselves, inasmuch as some mills are better adapted for bringing out work than others. Lower down Mr. Jones states that the rules contain the following, "That no member "of this association shall be allowed to render any "assistance to non-unionists; neither shall any mem- "ber send for, or by any means procure a situation "for any such obnoxious workmen." This is given as a rule of our association. Now we have no such rule nor ever had a rule like it. But of course, the masters do not take the same interest in other masters that are not members of their association, I apprehend that it cannot be brought as any serious charge against us if we take more interest in our members than we do in those who are not members. Then he states "The policy of the union has been on the "whole detrimental to the interests of the iron- "workers." The men do not appear to be of that opinion, inasmuch as they are endeavouring to the utmost of their ability to reorganize themselves, and are making rapid progress. I suppose there may be two opinions about the matter, inasmuch as there are two unions, and the stronger union of course has done much to render the position of the workmen much worse, as I think, than what it formerly was. At page 20, in the first paragraph, Mr. Jones states: "The ironworkers are said to have sent representatives from several lodges to Belgium." Now of what value, I should like to know, is this statement, "are said?" On what authority, I should like to know, does Mr. Jones make the statement? There certainly never was any deputation sent by us nor any authority given to any body of men to go to Belgium. Then under the head of "Effect on the rate of wages," he says, "The ironworkers union "does not appear to take any prominent part in "transferring labour from one district to another." That is also incorrect, inasmuch as both to accommodate employers, and frequently when men have been out, large bodies have been removed from one district to another. It was so in the Leeds dispute, and it has been so when trade has been good, and masters have frequently applied to the general office for men. Then Mr. Jones states under the head of "Strikes and lockouts": "The Staffordshire men established a "union, and took great care to make the organization "as complete as possible. They then decided to "make a movement for the advance of wages." Now that is as incorrect as anything possibly can be; it is simply putting the cart before the horse. The ironworkers of Staffordshire came out on strike in 1863, and they had no union at the time, and they having appealed to the men of the north they sent a deputation to Staffordshire, by their advice and help a branch of the union was established in South Staffordshire during the time that the men were out on strike. Mr. Jones states in the end of the same paragraph: "The men having succeeded in their demands, "being aided mainly by the unexpected improve- "ment in the demand for iron, attributed their "success solely to the operation of the union, and "at once set themselves to consolidate and extend "the organization, until they made it a national "union." Now that is also incorrect. Our object

Mr. J. Kane.
10 March 1868.

has been to make it a national one, but we have not succeeded up to to-day in consequence of the Brierley Hill and West Bromwich councils loving place and power more than union principles and strength. Mr. Jones says, "Not many months "after the termination of the Staffordshire strike "the union made some objectionable demand in "connexion with one of the firms in the Leeds "district. The men also insisted that all the hands "employed should belong to the union." No one is better informed on this matter than Mr. Jones, and he is well aware that during that period of time when the Leeds affair happened it was only one lodge or one work. I refer now to Mr. Whittem's work, where this policy was adopted against a person of the name of Willoughby Booth, and they were severely censured by the whole association, and a request made to the employers to withdraw the document, which was refused by the employers, who continued their resistance to the request of the union for six months. In fact this demand of the men was made without the knowledge of the union at all. The Leeds men were standing by themselves at the time, and the chief cause of that strike continuing so long was the demand on the part of the employers that they should sign the document which must ever remain repugnant to those who love liberty and respect themselves. Again, Mr. Jones states: "In the north of England the union "authorities proposed to break off their connection "with Staffordshire, provided the masters would also "sever their connection with the masters of other "districts, and would reopen their works. Several "conferences between the masters and delegates from "the men were held, the final one being held on "27th March 1866." Now what I wish to observe is this. You will find the master's words in the second and third paragraph of the 22d page: "And "we further pledge ourselves to sever all communi-"cations between our union and those of North and "South Staffordshire." Those are the words of the masters at the Darlington meeting. They had taken our resolution away, and they attached those words which I have just read to our resolution, so that in reality it was the masters' words and not the men's, which never would have been signed but for treacherous conduct of the Brierley Hill executive, and the starvation in many parts of the north. In referring to the dispute in the north in 1866, Mr. Jones states: "The iron manufacturers also gave notice to reduce "the wages in forges and rolling mills. These notices "expired on 14th July." And he says, "The works "were closed, as the men, acting on the instructions "of their leaders, declined to accept the reduction." Now I should feel very much obliged to this Commission if they would be able through Mr. Jones to secure the evidence of that being a fact. In my previous examination I stated, when asked the question about the north of England strike, that the men had all the facts placed before them, and that having considered these facts and instructed the delegates who attended the Glasgow conference to vote against accepting the reduction,—that was the opinion of the voting power of the men, and was carried into practice, and therefore the men did not come out under the influence of any of the leaders. As a further proof of this I may state that propositions were made to the men for one-half of the men to resume work, and they rejected them. That was about the end of the third month of the dispute. Further on, Mr. Jones states: "For many weeks the men, apparently "acting on instructions, rigidly kept away from "their respective works, and held no communica-"tion with the masters." "Apparently acting on instructions;" there is no proof of that; it is simply an assertion. Of course it is not necessary that I should go into Mr. Jones's statement about the London Working Men's Association, excepting to say this. When Mr. Jones refers to the London Working Men's Association suggesting arbitration to the northern ironworkers in one part of his evidence he speaks against the North Staffordshire men for rejecting the arbitration offered by the North Staffordshire masters, and he speaks in favour of the masters of the north of England rejecting arbitration under similar circumstances, when offered by the union as a basis of settlement in 1866. That is very like blowing hot and cold. On page 24, in the third paragraph, he says, "In most of the strikes above referred to "several of the leading union men have not been "taken back to work by their previous employers. "This has frequently arisen from the fact that the "leaders were the last to give in to the masters' "terms, and before they expressed themselves as "ready to work other men had stepped in and filled "their places." Now that may be correct in some instances, but there are several others where we know that it is not correct, and where distinct statements have been made to the men that it was no use for them to apply, and letters have been sent to prevent these men from having situations. A letter was sent by a person of the name of Haywood, one of the managers for Hawkes Crawshay and Sons, to Mr. Barningham, of Darlington, to prevent a person of the name of John Hutton, a shingler, from getting work, and no fault could be found with the man (he is a very steady man, and has been a teetotaller for many years,) excepting this, that he was one of the treasurers of the society. Then I should like to have some explanation of this passage: "There "are no special instances where ironworkers have "resisted the introduction of machinery, except in the "case of some mechanical puddling machines, which "the puddlers declined to work. They have also in "many cases offered the strongest resistance to the "introduction of improved puddling and heating "furnaces, and thus valuable economica inventions "have been rendered practically imperative in the "iron trade." Further on in Mr. Jones's evidence, he refers to a place in Scotland where this took place. Now I know all the circumstances in connection with that affair. At a place called Gartness the chief manager, a gentleman of the name of Hawkshaw, of London, a steel manufacturer, had some furnaces erected under what was called "Wilson's patent," differing widely from the usual plan in the form and mode of working. Instead of the ordinary furnace there was a hopper instead of what is called a fire hole to feed the furnace with coal. This hopper was raised about three feet above the crown of the furnace, from which the sulphur belched forth as if from the mouth of a fiery pit. Fire grates, such as are in general use, forms no part of Mr. Wilson's patent, hence the sulphur escaping, and checking the respiration of the workmen when making their heats, it became almost impossible for the men to continue at the furnace. The men had been working these furnaces when I went down for something like two months; and another reason they objected to work them was this, that they could not bring out more than five heats, no more being paid for the five heats than was paid for the six. This was virtually a deduction of from 2*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* a day off the men, they having as much to pay for five heats as they had to pay before for six. That was the reason why the men objected to work the furnace. They did not say to the master, "You shall have no one "else," but they said, "We decline to do it." The company tried it, and it has been tried elsewhere, and been a dead failure. If the men objected to work therefore it was because they declined to try experiments to their own injury.

11,326. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Do you mean to say that the workmen never offer any objection to the introduction of machinery that is to economize the making of iron?—No such case has ever come under my observation.

11,327. But still cases may come under the observation of other people?—There is only one case given here by Mr. Jones. If he had given more I should probably have been acquainted with them. Then there is this statement made by Mr. Jones on page 26 in the first paragraph. "The men at East

" Jarrow, who had been sent to prison for neglect of " work, were allowed 2*l.* per man as compensation ;" that is to say, allowed 2*l.* per man by the union. Now, I wish the Commission to understand that the men of East Jarrow did not neglect their work. They were asked to work without fettling or coating to the furnaces, and any one having practical knowledge of these matters will be well aware that it is not an uncommon thing for the men to be fined in case they burn either the bridge plates or the bottom plates of the furnace. Mr. Elliott was in the habit of inflicting fines on the ground that the burning of these plates was the result of carelessness. The men therefore when they were short of fettling refused to charge again unless fettling was brought to them, or a guarantee given that they should not be fined, which was refused. They were refused this fettling and told that they must work without it, and they refused to do so. They were taken before the magistrates of Shields, and were sent to Durham gaol for a month. That is the state of the circumstances in connexion with the case, making it very different indeed from the way it is represented by Mr. Jones. Then, he says, that these things show "That the operation of the union is to take the " settlement of disputes out of the hands of the " individual workmen affected, and to place such " matters under the management of the central " authority." I may simply state in reply, that this is the object of the masters union as well, according to the rules which Mr. Jones himself quotes. Then he states that " the itinerant work of the president " shows that the union is only supported in large " measure under compulsion." Neither Mr. Jones nor any other person will be able to furnish evidence except of a questionable character that there has been anything like compulsion exercised by me on any occasion ; and it is a gratuitous assertion which a person who is careful of speaking the truth will not make. Under the head of "Ironmasters' Association," in nearly the first paragraph, Mr. Jones says, "The men were to adopt such modifications in " their rules as would make them conform to the " spirit of the resolutions they had passed with " reference to the separation from other districts. " The objects of the manufacturers' association are " the following." Now this refers to a meeting that was held at Darlington. The men never have pledged themselves to do anything of the kind. A correspondence passed between Mr. Hopkins and the previous secretary, Mr. Gill, with our office, and a self-appointed deputation belonging to the Middlesbro works waited upon Mr. Hopkins about the alteration of some of the rules, but nothing was definitely come to, inasmuch as it was not in the power of two lodges to do anything of the kind, and the members strongly objected to that power being exercised by the employers over their association. In reply to a statement which I gave previously about the average price paid to puddlers, Mr. Jones read a letter from Mr. Hopkins, and it turns out on reading this letter carefully over that there are only some 24 or 28 puddlers that are referred to in it. And therefore I take it that that letter did not at all invalidate the statement which I gave. And if Mr. Jones had given the fact of the men having to pay two turns out of one at the commencement of the work, and the frequent occurrence also of the men only getting five heats instead of six, that would have materially altered the value of the figures ; besides this plea put in by Mr. Jones can only be taken as the exception, not the rule. There is another statement that was made about the selling price of iron, and the trade in the north not being regulated in the same way that the Staffordshire trade is. During the 30 years of my experience as a workman I know that my wages were invariably regulated by the current prices as managed in South Staffordshire, and that any alteration either in the way of improvement, that is to say, in the shape of an advance or in the shape of a reduction necessarily followed the South Staffordshire meetings, and that continued up to 1866, when instead of South Staffordshire taking the lead, as it had invariably done before, a notice for reduction was given by the masters in the north of England, so that the statement of Mr. Jones in that respect is exceedingly novel, as well as incorrect. I do not know that there is anything more for me to refer to, excepting the statement which Mr. Jones has given before the Commission relative to the men having 11 local secretaries that were publicans. I do not know that there is anything serious about this charge, but it is simply untrue. At no period of the union history has there been anything of the kind.

11,328. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is it the custom for the men to meet at public-houses?—Yes, it is unfortunately so.

11,329. And when they meet in public-houses do they generally meet at the houses of the officers of the union who happen to keep public-houses?—It is very seldom that any of the officers of the union do keep public-houses, and where it does happen it would probably be the treasurer, not the secretary.

11,330. Still he would be an officer of the union?—Yes ; but I do not say that the treasurers are frequently publicans. There have been cases where that has occurred, and I am not acquainted with more than one case where the secretary was a publican, and that was for only a very short period of time.

11,331. When you speak within your knowledge do you speak of the north of England or Staffordshire?—I speak of the north of England and a portion of Staffordshire. There is only one secretary in Staffordshire that keeps a public-house, and he has not been in it long ; that is Chambers at Bilston.

11,332. (*Mr. Jones.*) I may explain that that was not my own statement. It was simply an abstract derived from the journal published by the union ; the addresses are given at the end of the union report.

11,333. (*Mr. Kane.*) Then it would appear that the fact is this, that Mr. Jones in his indiscreet haste has committed himself. The place of meeting is given because it is the address where the letters are sent to, not because the keeper of that house is the secretary.

11,334. (*Chairman.*) Why should he like to have his letters left at the public-house instead of his own house?—Because it is the place of meeting.

11,335. And the letters would relate to the business of the meeting?—Yes. I have only another matter to refer to, and it is relative to the Scotch letter that was introduced, which was asked for before. I have sought for that letter ; a copy of it I never had, excepting the one that I sent myself to the " Glasgow Sentinel." Of course we were in the habit of getting these papers at that time. There were some slips struck off and supplied to the various lodges, and the next time I saw printed copies was when I accompanied several delegates to Mr. Bell's office at Newcastle, which the masters had got struck off. I have endeavoured to secure a copy of that letter and failed. The extract put in by Mr. Jones is correct, but the inference is incorrect. The words about our acting in connexion with South Staffordshire, in calling our men out were simply a diplomatic phrase. We were against the calling out of the men from the first. Mr. Hobson and I had correspondence on the subject. In addition the Sheffield resolution was against it, but having 450 men in that district we were anxious to keep these men as members, and the men refusing to work so long as the men in the Tunstall district were working, the consequence was that we were obliged to take these men on our hands until we saw whether it was possible to get the South Staffordshire party to agree with us in ordering the men to go to work ; that was the policy which we adopted on that occasion.

The witness withdrew.

INDEX OF WITNESSES.

	PAGE		PAGE
Brogden, James	94	Jones, John	46, 60, 129
Clark, George Thomas	82	Kane, John	1, 37, 138
Clay, William	131	Millington, John	37
Garner, William	30	Mills, Francis, sen.	125
Guile, Daniel	15	Roden, William Sargeant	105
Heath, Robert	123	Smith Frederick	99,118
Hewitt, Abram S.	40	Williams, Walter	74
Hobson William	21		

LONDON:

Printed by GEORGE E. EYRE and WILLIAM SPOTTISWOODE,
Printers to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty.
For Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

SIXTH REPORT

OF

THE COMMISSIONERS

APPOINTED TO INQUIRE INTO THE

ORGANIZATION AND RULES OF TRADES UNIONS AND OTHER ASSOCIATIONS:

TOGETHER WITH

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE AND APPENDIX.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY GEORGE EDWARD EYRE AND WILLIAM SPOTTISWOODE,
PRINTERS TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.
FOR HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE.

1868.

CONTENTS.

	Page
COMMISSION	iii
REPORT	v
MINUTES OF EVIDENCE	1
INDEX OF WITNESSES	96
APPENDIX	97

COMMISSION.

VICTORIA R.

Victoria, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith.

To Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Sir William Erle, Knight; Our right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin Thomas George Earl of Lichfield; Our trusty and well-beloved Francis Charteris, Esquire (commonly called Lord Elcho); Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Sir Edmund Walker Head, Baronet, Knight Commander of Our most Honourable Order of the Bath; Our trusty and well-beloved Sir Daniel Gooch, Baronet; Our trusty and well-beloved Herman Merivale, Esquire, Companion of Our most Honourable Order of the Bath; Our trusty and well-beloved James Booth, Esquire, Companion of Our most Honourable Order of the Bath; Our trusty and well-beloved John Arthur Roebuck, Esquire, one of Our Counsel learned in the Law; Our trusty and well-beloved Thomas Hughes, Esquire, and Frederic Harrison, Esquire, Barristers at Law; and Our trusty and well-beloved William Mathews, Esquire, greeting.

Whereas it has been represented unto Us that it is expedient that inquiry should be made into the several matters herein-after mentioned.

Now Know Ye, that We, reposing great trust and confidence in your ability and discretion, have nominated, constituted, and appointed, and do by these Presents nominate, constitute, and appoint, you, the said Sir William Erle, Thomas George Earl of Lichfield, Francis Charteris, Esquire (commonly called Lord Elcho), Sir Edmund Walker Head, Sir Daniel Gooch, Herman Merivale, James Booth, John Arthur Roebuck, Thomas Hughes, Frederic Harrison, and William Mathews, to be Our Commissioners for the purposes of the said inquiry.

And We do hereby enjoin you, or any Four of you, to inquire into and report on the Organization and Rules of Trades Unions and other Associations, whether of Workmen or Employers, and to inquire into and report on the effect produced by such Trades Unions and Associations on the Workmen and Employers respectively, and on the Relations between Workmen and Employers, and on the Trade and Industry of the Country; with power to investigate any recent acts of intimidation, outrage, or wrong alleged to have been promoted, encouraged, or connived at by such Trades Unions or other Associations, and also to suggest any improvements to be made in the law with respect to the matters aforesaid, or with respect to the relations between Workmen and their Employers, for the mutual benefit of both parties.

And for the better discovery of the truth in the premises, We do by these Presents give and grant unto you, or any Four of you, full power and authority to call before you, or any Four of you, such persons as you shall judge necessary, by whom you may be better informed of the truth in the premises, and to inquire of the premises and every part thereof by all other lawful ways and means whatsoever.

And Our further Will and Pleasure is that you, Our said Commissioners, do, with as little delay as may be consistent with a due discharge of the duties hereby imposed upon you, certify unto Us from time to time, under your hands and seals, your several proceedings in the premises.

And We do further will and command, and by these Presents ordain, that this Our Commission shall continue in full force and virtue, and that you, our said Commissioners, or any Four of you, shall and may from time to time proceed in the execution thereof, and of every matter or thing therein contained, although the same be not continued from time to time by adjournment.

And for your assistance in the execution of these Presents We do hereby authorize and empower you to appoint a Secretary to this Our Commission, to attend you, whose services and assistance We require you to use from time to time as occasion may require.

Given at Our Court at St. James, the Twelfth day of February 1867, in the Thirtieth Year of Our Reign.

By Her Majesty's Command.

S. H. WALPOLE.

SIXTH REPORT.

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

We, Your Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into and report on the Organization and Rules of Trades Unions and other Associations, whether of Workmen or Employers, and to inquire into and report on the effects produced by such Trades Unions and Associations on the Workmen and Employers respectively, and on the Relations between Workmen and Employers, and on the Trade and Industry of the Country; with power to investigate any recent acts of intimidation, outrage, or wrong alleged to have been promoted, encouraged, or connived at by such Trades Unions or other Associations, and also to suggest any improvements to be made in the law with respect to the matters aforesaid, or with respect to the relations between Workmen and their Employers, for the mutual benefit of both parties, have held several meetings, and humbly beg leave to submit to Your Majesty evidence given before us at our meetings held upon the 10th, 17th, 24th, 25th, and 31st days of March 1868.

(Signed) W. ERLE, Chairman.
LICHFIELD.
ELCHO.
DANIEL GOOCH.
H. MERIVALE.
JAMES BOOTH.
J. A. ROEBUCK.
THOMAS HUGHES.
FREDERIC HARRISON.
WM. MATHEWS.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE THE

ROYAL COMMISSION

APPOINTED TO INQUIRE INTO

TRADES UNIONS AND OTHER ASSOCIATIONS.

ARMY CLUB
PALL MALL

1, Park Prospect, Westminster, Tuesday, 10th March 1868.

PRESENT:

The Right Hon. Sir WILLIAM ERLE.
The Right Hon. the EARL of LICHFIELD.
Lord ELCHO, M.P.
Sir DANIEL GOOCH, Bart., M.P.
HERMAN MERIVALE, Esq., C.B.
JAMES BOOTH, Esq., C.B.
JOHN ARTHUR ROEBUCK, Esq., M.P.
FREDERIC HARRISON, Esq.
WILLIAM MATHEWS, Esq.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR WILLIAM ERLE IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. G. Elliot.

10 March 1868.

Mr. GEORGE ELLIOT examined.

11,336. (*Chairman.*) You are a coalowner, I believe ?—I am.

11,337. What are your principal coalworks now ?—I have a great many ; the largest that I have are in Durham and Northumberland, the next are the Dyffryn collieries in the Aberdare district in Glamorganshire, and I have some in North Wales at Mostyn and in North and South Staffordshire.

11,338. About how many men do you employ in the different works ?—More than 10,000.

11,339. (*Mr. Mathews.*) I think that you have been engaged in the coal trade from a boy, have you not ?—Yes, a very young boy.

11,340. And you have gradually progressed from your initiative as a boy to being about the largest coal master in England ?—I went down the pit at a very early age, nine years of age, and I did the ordinary work of a collier at Penshaw in the county of Durham till I was 19 or 20, and after that I became a deputy, an overman, a colliery viewer, and so on, and since then I have become a coalowner. The number of persons employed by me I have already mentioned. The quantity of coal raised out of pits belonging to myself and friends and under my management is more than two millions annually.

11,341. In fact you have gone through every department ?—I think so, I have worked with my own hands at every description of work as a collier.

11,342. Therefore you have had a very considerable amount of experience, not only in the working of collieries, but in the management of large masses of men ?—Yes ; and very successful I have been in the management of men ; there has been a great deal of good temper on both sides, and I stand very well with them, I believe.

11,343. Has your experience enabled you to obtain accurate and extensive information as to the habits of colliers, as to their views which they entertain with regard to their occupation, and as to the nature of the various combinations between them ?—Yes, my experience has been very large of course.

11,344. In the course of this experience have you had much to do with the men in their connexion with unions ?—I may say that we have had some very large strikes, but they have not been frequent. For example, in 1831, there was a very large strike in Durham and Northumberland. I suppose not less than 30,000 people were out of emplyment at that time, (I was, of course, young then,) and the object of that strike was to shorten the hours of labour.

11,345. (*Lord Elcho.*) Forgive my asking you, were you yourself then a workman ?—Yes ; I was working the long hours at that time, and I was one of those who were much interested in the issue of that great contest. We used to work 16 hours a day, that was reduced to 14, but the great strike of 1831 was to reduce the hours of labor from 14 to 12 hours. It continued for many weeks and caused great privation and suffering. It was ultimately a success on the part of the workmen, and the hours of labour were reduced to 12.

11,346. (*Mr. Roebuck*). Was that strike under the conduct of the trades unions people ?—No ; we had not what you may call the organization of a trades union. We had a very able, clever man, called Tommy Hepburn, as our leader (we always had plenty of clever men to lead us), and it was under his powerful and able guidance that the whole of those two counties acted and succeeded in obtaining their object. It was a very great blessing to all the men, and no injury to the coal owners that the hours should be so reduced. Then in 1832, the year after, they thought they would have something more, and they had another strike. That strike was for a considerable advance in wages. That was resisted strongly and the men failed.

11,347. Did your great man aid you in that strike ? He did, but it had not his entire support ; he did not approve of it, but he was identified with it. As I have said, that failed, and it was not a long strike. Then we had peace till 1844, when we had a great strike, which lasted in both those counties for 20 weeks.

11,348. For what was that strike ?—It began out of a very simple thing. It was in reference to the introduction of wire ropes, the men refused to go down the pits upon wire ropes. When there is a disposition to strike, a very small thing leads up to it, and their grievance in this case was against the wire rope, and they refused to go to work, and they struck. I should mention that in that country, Durham and Northumberland, the men had from time immemorial been always

Mr. G. Elliot.
10 March 1868.

hired for 12 months. These men, in spite of their written agreement refused to go down the pit on account of these wire ropes having been put on. Then the masters thought, that inasmuch as the men were striking in spite of their written agreement, when the month of April, the time when people were hired, came round, they would not hire them again for 12 months, but that they would change the term and would not give them more than the period of one month, so that they should be servants from month to month, subject to notice. That was not a question of wages, therefore, but a question of the mode and form of hiring. The men stood out for 20 weeks in order that they might have their old form of agreement for 12 months, but we ultimately failed in that, and the monthly agreement was substituted for the yearly, and went on for several years. That was the strike of 1844. With regard to that monthly agreement, I may mention that on comparing it with the old agreement, I was so impressed with the error that the coal owners had made, that when I was the manager of the late Marchioness of Londonderry's affairs in 1853 and 1854 I strongly urged her to allow me to restore the yearly hiring, and I succeeded in restoring it. I believe that if we had gone on the monthly hiring one or two years more we should never have got them back. The yearly hiring is a great benefit to the workman and a greater comfort to the owner, and I believe that we have all been much more orderly and comfortable under that system than we were when we had that change to the monthly hiring.

11,349. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Are you bound by that yearly hiring to keep them fully employed?—There is a minimum: for example, we say, "We will find "from the 5th of April to the 5th of April a cer- "tain amount of work, such an amount as shall be "equal to 36*s.* or 33*s.* as the case may be per fort- "night, and failing to give you so much work we will "pay you those wages." I have had that to do in the present year, that is to say, I have not had work, but I have the paid the men, and they are content we find with the system. In that country, every man has his house, his firing, and his garden free of charge, which is a great boon. It makes them very contented, and better off, I believe, than pitmen in any other part of the kingdom.

11,350. (*Lord Elcho.*) Does that system of hiring extend to Yorkshire?—No, it does not. There was a great controversy amongst the coalowners there, and several of them did not embrace the opportunity then. In Northumberland, a great many of them have since tried it, but the time has gone by, and the men would not agree to it now. The unionists are very often, in fact every year, trying to impress upon the men that it is a kind of slavery when they bind themselves by the year, and I have been afraid, very frequently, that they may yield, because it takes away, no doubt, an element of discontent during the whole year. They make their own bargain, and fight hard enough in making it at the time, it is true, but it gets rid of the oscillation of prices and changes, and so on, and you can better make contracts for delivering coals.

11,351. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) The yearly hiring does away with the power of the union organization as I understand you?—It does so to a great extent, excepting at the time when the contract has to be made; the union operates then, and it operates very strongly. The men combine amongst themselves, but I am bound to say that the union is not a universal thing with us, though it crops up occasionally about the binding time. I do not think that a regular system of unionism prevails at any of my collieries, excepting societies for self support in sickness and so on.

11,352. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) That you encourage as much as you can?—We do, and assist the men in it.

11,353. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Have you been at all interfered with by the unions?—I will mention what has happened recently, in this present year 1868, only a month ago, at some large works of ours down in Wales. The trade there is very bad, it has been very unprofitable, arising from a variety of causes.

11,354. (*Lord Elcho.*) You are now in 1868. Is there anything to tell us which has occurred between the years 1844 and 1868?—I have had no general strike since 1844, in fact there has been no general strike since 1844.

11,355. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You are speaking of the North of England. In other collieries in England you have had strikes; I presume in North Staffordshire for instance?—We have not had a strike in North Staffordshire lasting more than a week, and that I do not call a strike.

11,356. Had you a long strike in 1861?—No.

11,357. Your neighbours had?—You had I know; I like to try to avoid a strike if possible, and a great deal may be done in that way. The case which I am about to state is very interesting, I am now going to speak of the Welsh people. Of course my experience of them, and their confidence in me, is not the same as in the case of those people I have lived amongst and known so long. There was a general suggestion, in fact a movement that there should be a reduction of wages in Wales. I was rather reluctant to do it, for during this last year the price of bread has been very high, in fact very nearly double what it was when I went into Wales.

11,358. (*Lord Elcho.*) Have you monthly hiring in Wales?—Yes. However the urgency of the case was such that it was necessary to give them notice. I went and consulted a neighbour and friend of mine there, Mr. Bruce Price, a very good man, and known very well among the people. I saw also Dr. Price, who is a great preacher and a very clever man, and has enormous influence amongst the people there, and told him what was inevitable. They both recommended me to take a different course from that which had been generally taken. The usual way there has always been to placard a notice, and soon there is an end of it. I did not want to take off the 15 per cent. What I wanted to do was to alter the mode of working. The system of getting the coal there is very expensive, and that arises from that which is really of no advantage to the men, which involves a great outlay to the owner and adds very much to the work of the miner himself. And you will see that in a moment from an explanation of it. We work there in a face of 12 yards, we have only a man and a boy employed in it, and the boy is very often not more than 10 or 12 years of age. A place with a 12 yards face does not yield more than an average of 4 tons a day. Into that place we have to make a horse road and it has to be supported with timber. There is an enormous expense therefore connected with the getting of the coal, and we have in all those pits three times more open face than we have in any other colliery that I have got. I am now referring to the system practised in South Wales in the Aberdare district.

11,359. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) I suppose it is the long wall work?—Yes, the long wall work.

11,360. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Has not Mr. Nixon suggested a plan to meet that?—This same subject bears upon what Mr. Nixon has tried to provide a remedy for by working double shifts. I do not think that he has had so much experience with pitmen as I have. I have told him that he cannot succeed and I do not think that it would be desirable for him to succeed if he could. His plan is that instead of one man and a boy working there 10, 11, and 12 hours as they do, they should work 8 hours, and that there should be a relay, two to follow two. In the first place that interferes altogether with the habits of the people. They would have to get up at 4 o'clock in the morning to go to work, they now get up at six and half-past. They would also work a shorter time, and it would so interfere I think with all the habits and the domestic arrangements of the houses, that I believe that there would be a greater difficulty to enforce it with the women and with the other people than there would be with the workmen themselves. So that considering the subject well, I thought it was better to say this. "Will you instead of two work "three men in a place. In the North of England I

"have got six men working on the same area, in every "other colliery I am getting six men to work on the "same area, but if you will only work three, I will "give you back 10 per cent. of the 15 per cent. reduc- "tion to be made. If you will go and work four I will "give you back the whole of your 15 per cent. And "the reason is that I can afford to do it; it will pay me "even if I gave you back the 15 per cent, if you will "only do it." I have been working at that for months. I took my friend's advice. I have seen the men and talked it over with them. I have been at their houses and had them to see me, and spent days in discussing it. We so far succeeded that I had more than 200 of them who actually began to do it and began before the reduction, and were doing it without the payment of the 15 per cent. I had a deputation from every pit and discussed it with them, and every one of them agreed and said that they would much rather do it and save the reduction. They began and they worked on the new plan, and then there was a great meeting and the men came over to it from Monmouthshire and other places. I was there, and I suppose that 12,000 or 14,000 people were there. And these men came home and told me that there was a resolution passed at the meeting that they were not to alter the custom and therefore they were afraid to do it, as it was against the general voice of the district, I said, "Well, "I cannot help it, you must go and have your 15 per "cent. reduction." There is an extraordinary instance of men willing and disposed to make the change, who are now going on receiving 15 per cent. less than they had before. They will not adopt the mode of working which I suggest to them with the offer that they shall have 15 per cent. as an equivalent.

11,361. Are you not working stall work in any of your pits?—In some of them. The stalls are 12 feet wide; there they work with a boy too.

11,362. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) How was this resolution obtained?—They were six hours at it; it was the resolution of a large meeting.

11,363. (*Mr. Harrison.*) It was a resolution not passed by a union but by a large meeting?—All the meeting. I do not think they have any union excepting the spontaneous combination which arises if there is the least interference with them.

11,364. (*Mr. Mathews.*) There are no organized unions I think in South Wales?—I think not.

11,365. (*Chairman.*) I cannot make out that the Welshmen were well advised in adhering to the old plan, they had a little more elbow room I suppose?—Yes.

11,366. What is the value of that elbow room under the ground?—As to the value of the elbow room, in other portions of the country there is no additional price paid in consideration of it.

11,367. Can you understand why people selling their labour should sell it at 15 per cent. less than they might get for it. Who sways them?—They were swayed by this great meeting.

11,368. But the great meeting was composed of atoms; there is always a wire-puller behind?—That is so. However, you have the fact.

11,369. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Some other consideration than that of money came in, probably it was a question of habit?—In the first place, I am not aware that these people have been well used, they seem extremely jealous, and they are apprehensive that there is always some liberty going to be taken with them whatever the proposed change may be.

11,370. (*Chairman.*) In Cornwall we always found that it was no use on earth for any Saxon to try and manage anything with the Cornish men, but if you had a Cornish man on your side it was easily done. Did you try a Welshman in this case?—They were all Welshmen that I had before me; we were three or four hours talking about it, and then meeting after meeting came to an unanimous conclusion that they would adopt my suggestion rather than have what they call the drop, and they were quite ready and pleased with it, because it was very much for their advantage. But when they had this general meeting they passed a resolution that they were to take the 15 per cent., but there was to be no interference with the mode of working. That is the most unaccountable part of the thing; I may say that in this particular district the coal is easier to get than any coal I know of.

11,371. (*Chairman.*) It is worked on the level, is it not?—Yes, and it is easier to work than any coal that I have anywhere else; but it costs more to get than any coal, and I think the people are worse off there than at any other of the places which I have.

11,372. (*Lord Elcho.*) It was simply a conservative movement on the part of the Welsh miners?—Yes.

11,373. And they sacrificed 15 per cent. for the sake of it?—Yes.

11,374. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) It is simply the result of ignorance I suppose?—Yes; I think so. There was no bad feeling about it.

11,375. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Do you find from your experience with Welshmen that they are more difficult to be controlled than Englishmen?—I believe a Welshman is a more squeezable, long suffering creature than an Englishman is, and he stands on his defence with some want of power which seems to belong to the race; he does not stand up with the amount of firmness and fight in him that an Englishman does.

11,376. (*Mr. Merivale.*) He has not had so much of unionism?—They have had great combinations; they are very clannish if a man departs from what they have agreed to; if he is called a turncoat, (the greatest penalty you can inflict upon him,) he is hooted and hunted down; they have what is called a hunting. They make a fellow run and hunt him down like a dog.

11,377. (*Mr. Booth.*) At this large meeting which you spoke of, what was the cry or the watchword, was it against innovation?—Yes; it amounted to this: We cannot help a reduction, but we will not have any change in our system.

11,378. (*Mr. Harrison.*) In point of fact you find in this Welsh district where there is no organised system of unionism, most of the practices which are laid to the charge of unionism, that is to say, you have unreasonable interference with the proposed mode of working of the employers, you have a certain persecution practised against obnoxious members, and you have a majority exercising influence over a minority just the same as if it were an organized union. It is not reduced precisely to the same system, and it is not under the same control, but you have the same thing. In point of fact it is a matter which arises where bodies of men work together?—Yes.

11,379. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) It is an unorganized union and inflicts pretty nearly the same mischief?—I happened to be there when the thing was going on. I thought it better to be on the spot, and what they did was this—they sent a bellman round the whole Aberdare Valley on the Sunday evening convening a public meeting announcing that the pits were all to lie off the next day, and every pit in the valley was off.

11,380. (*Chairman.*) Who sent the bellman round?—I do not know that, but that is their mode of convening a meeting, and a very successful one it is, for they were all off.

11,381. We have heard that in many of the Welsh districts the minister might order a whole community out; I do not know whether the minister appeared in any of these questions?—I do not believe in that, that is not my experience.

11,382. (*Mr. Harrison.*) In the northern districts in which you have collieries as well, there exist something like regular unions in portions of the districts, do there not?—It is not quite so, but they can get a union up in a very short space of time, for instance, if the binding comes round.

11,383. I mean any regular association that exists from year to year, any permanent society that exists on a large scale?—They have had more trouble in that way in Northumberland; the people in Northumberland are not bound by the year, and they are constantly disputing about wages, or at any rate very

M. G. Elliot.
10 March 1868.

frequently, and there has been a combination on the part of the owners as well as on the part of the men, and they have been resisting one another; the owners contributing to collieries out of work, and the men supporting their fellowmen against the owners; but the owners in all these cases have generally been too strong for the men.

11,384. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) The benefit societies are compulsory upon the men, are they not—that is to say, each man subscribes so much to schools and so much to a medical fund?—Yes, and I think that there is too much deducted for those objects.

11,385. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You have no experience of the South Yorkshire district, have you, having no colliery in Yorkshire?—I know the Oaks colliery district pretty well. I have to go there just now.

11,386. That comes within the district of the South Yorkshire Colliery Association?—Yes.

11,387. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You cannot speak very much of the organization of unions in South Yorkshire?—No.

11,388. You think we had better in reference to that get evidence from other sources?—Yes; I think so; I can speak with tolerable authority as to Durham and Northumberland, and South Wales and North Wales, and North Staffordshire.

11,389. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) With regard to the long wall work in North Wales, you are not limited there to a man and a boy, are you?—No, it is a habit that these people have got into, there they get the boys, and the coal is easy to work. They are not their own boys, but they empty the workhouses around so as to get boys to work with them. They enter into an engagement that the boy is to be attended to, and so on, and they take them and work with them in that way, this boy reckons as a man with them, and his work is so good and his price is so easy that he can work something like two turns, and that man and that boy get as much as two men do.

11,390. Is it the practice in your colliery in South Wales, as it is in some collieries, that the men limit the quantity that each man sends to bank?—No.

11,391. It is so down the Rhonda valley?—Yes; the Rhonda valley has been much more insubordinate I think than our district.

11,392. (*Lord Elcho.*) To what do you attribute the difference?—It is more recently opened out, and the men have not got located.

11,393. Customs have not grown up you mean?—Yes; you generally get at the new places a loose stray class of working people until you get more of them and then select them.

11,394. (*Mr. Harrison.*) What are the hours which the men work as a rule in your collieries, in Wales?—They work long hours, and that is one of the reasons why the double shift would not answer, because the nature of the work there is not like the hard laborious exhaustive work that the north-country people have. The coal is very easy to get, and their work consists more in loading the coal which requires time; they build it up on the trams almost like building a dry wall, and that requires time; and to oblige them to do the same work in a shorter space of time I do not think possible.

11,395. What is the average length of work?—From 10 to 12 hours.

11,396. And what is the average in the northern districts?—They will not average seven.

11,397. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Do I rightly understand you, that formerly the men were actually underground 16 hours in the north?—Yes; at the time of the strike in the north I have worked 16 hours myself underground.

11,398. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Comparing the wages paid in Wales and the north, do they differ much taking the average get of the same class of men?—The price we pay for getting our coals in South Wales, in Aberdare, is very much higher than what we should pay for the same work if we were doing it in Durham or in Northumberland.

11,399. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) The price per ton you mean is more?—Yes; it is at least 25 per cent. more; but you must take into consideration this, that in Northumberland and Durham we find every man his house, his firing, and garden and everything of that sort, whereas in South Wales it costs them 4*s.* a week to find those things.

11,400 (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Is the Welsh coal dearer to the consumer than the Durham coal?—The steam coal is just about the same price and I am inclined to think it is better, though my interest in the north is larger.

11,401. Though the wages have been different the price of coal has been the same?—The selling price. That arises in this way: we had the Welsh coals at a high price about 12 or 18 months ago much higher than the Durham price, but the large quantity of coal now thrown into our markets from the bad state of the iron trade, has brought down the price about 2*s.* 6*d.* a ton.

11,402. (*Mr. Mathews.*) What particular works are you alluding to that have thrown coal on the market?—The Dowlais works, the Cyfartha works, the Plymouth works, the Rhymney works, in fact all the large works.

11,403. All those large works have thrown coal, formerly consumed in making iron, upon the general market, and hence the reduction in the value of it by reason of the excessive quantity in the market?—Yes.

11,404. Have you any idea what quantity the Dowlais works are throwing on the market?—I do not know now. Mr. Clark, when I was talking to him on the subject, said he would have to withdraw about 1,500 tons a day to throw into the general market.

11,405. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Have you had much correspondence or communication with the trades unions?—No.

11,406. Therefore you cannot give us much information as to the effect of the trades unions upon the coal workers?—If the description of union which I have just been adverting to does not come under the denomination of trades unions, I cannot.

11,407. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You have not for instance had anything to do with the South Yorkshire Miners Association, or the Lancashire Association, or the Scotch Association; neither of them has come directly under your knowledge?—No.

11,408. (*Mr. Mathews.*) In North Staffordshire have you had much experience of them?—No, we have not been off more than once with strikes since I have had to do with North Staffordshire.

11,409. Many of your men there are in unions, are they not?—I may say they are, but they do not interfere with us. At that North Staffordshire colliery for instance, within the present year we had the men sent for and talked to them and pointed out the state of the trade, and they agreed to a reduction.

11,410. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Was it through trades unions that you effected that?—No; their leading men met us, we asked them to come and discuss the case, and we said, "Now here is the time when you ought to meet the case," and the men met it.

11,411. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You think that the system of continually changing the wages when the men are out of work, is a bad one for both parties?—I do not think it is a good one. I endeavour to keep the wages as uniform as I can, whether the trade is good or bad. A little of the paternal system is very useful, because you can then keep your men in times of difficulty. I am sure it is better not to be always changing you wages.

11,412. Do you think that the sliding scale in vogue in Staffordshire is a mistake?—I did not know that they had one.

11,413. I refer to the sliding scale in iron. The wages of colliers are ultimately regulated more or less by those of the iron trade, are they not?—I do not think that that has anything to do with it; what your prices are depends upon whether you have got abundance of labour or not.

11,414. (*Mr. Mathews.*) In North Staffordshire was it your own men with whom you had the personal

intercourse, or did they delegate any men from the union?—No, it was just our own people.

11,415. If the leaders of the union had proposed to have anything to do with you, you would have objected I suppose?—I do not know what I should have done under the circumstances; I should very likely have succeeded in showing them that it was unnecessary.

11,416. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) You have not told us the general earnings of colliers in these districts per week?—It depends of course upon the amount of trade you have got.

11,417. Taking the general average of earnings what is the position of these men?—Take Durham for instance, and all the places I have there. Taking the people on the average, they will average 4*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.* 9*d.* a day all the year round.

11,418. (*Mr. Mathews.*) But have they to find their own candles?—We generally use lamps and there is no deduction for that.

11,419. Do they find their own picks?—Yes.

11,420. Do they find their own beer in the pit?—I never saw any beer drunk in a pit in my life.

11,421. You spoke of colliers in Wales working 10 to 11 hours a day, whilst the colliers in the Northumberland district work not more than seven. Do the wages differ in proportion to the hours?—I think that the Northumberland people do more in seven hours than the Welshmen in the 11.

11,422. Do they get the same wages?—The wages are very much the same. The Welshman gets the same wages, but he has those heavy deductions, so that taking it altogether the North Country people are better off. For example, take the present case: I have the returns of my collieries in South Wales stating that they have many of them not worked more than two or three or four days this last fortnight. Where a man has his rent to pay and coal and so on, that slackness is very distressing; whereas in slack times in other works those things are guaranteed to them. If I am spared a few years I will try to make the pitman in Wales better off than he is, by getting him a cheaper house, and by getting those other comforts which seem to have vanished from him without an equivalent. They are under a disadvantage in ever point of view. The shops there charge a great deal too much.

11,423. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Are women employed at all in any part of the district at the pits mouth in Wales?—In Wales, but no women are employed by me in the North of England. I believe it is very common in many of the places. There are only two women upon the whole of our works, and I have turned them off once or twice, and they have cried to be on again.

11,424. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) They are employed in Lancashire?—Only on the banks.

11,425. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You do not consider it necessary to employ them for efficient work?—No, it is cheaper, and those who advocate it advocate it because it costs less money I believe.

11,426. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You never found out the influence of the societies upon the employment of women?—I have never had much experience of women being employed in that way.

11,427. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You do not remember the time when women were employed underground, perhaps?—Yes.

11,428. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Do you think that the habits and ménage and position of the working men have been improved by taking the women from underground?—I do, and I think that they ought not be employed on the pit's bank on that kind of work.

11,429. You do not think that it comes within the sphere of women's work?—I do not; in fact I have disallowed it in all but those two cases. In one case it is a poor girl who keeps her mother.

11,430. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Do you think it a worse occupation than that of women in agricultural pursuits?—I do not know that it is worse; it may be a kind of prejudice in my mind about it, but I would almost as soon see a ghost upon the pit's bank.

11,431. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Do you know anything about women being employed in the fields?—Our fields in the north of England are cultivated by women.

11,432. That is generally not laborious or painful work, I think, and do not the women like it?—They like it, they generally reap the corn, and do a good deal of work in the north of England and I never knew that it was looked upon as being derogatory until I read some accounts in the papers of what was stated before the Committee, because they are so healthy.

11,433. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Do not the women exhibit the same reluctance to be discharged from their employment on the pit's bank as they would from agricultural employment?—I think more so, because they get better wages.

11,434. In fact it makes them better off?—Yes.

11,435. And if you were to discharge them from the pit's bank it would be a confiscation of those wages?—Yes, and I think the Legislature is right in not prohibiting it, but I think that I am right also in my dislike of it.

11,436. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Does not the Legislature prohibit the working of women in mines?—Yes, but we are now speaking of working on the surface.

11,437. (*Mr. Booth.*) Would you have any objection to employ on the bank at the pit's mouth women who had no duties at home?—I would not like to do it, I do not know that I can give you very good reasons for not liking it, but I have a great dislike to it.

11,438. You think it is open to abuse?—It is open to abuse and the work is very laborious and very dirty.

11,439. (*Mr. Merivale.*) Is there any limit of age as to boys going underground?—Yes, 12 years of age.

11,440. And working on the bank?—They may be employed on the bank at a younger age. I do not know whether I sufficiently explained myself just now about the point which I referred to about the men's unwillingness to adopt a new system and take that 15 per cent. My great reason for proposing that is that with one-third of the excavation in the mine I could get the same quantity of coal. I should therefore you see have only one-third of the amount of wall face open. I should thereby reduce the necessity and use of ventilation to the extent of one-third, and economy would also be effected by having only one third of the area in the pit to support with timber, and one-third of the number of horse roads. If I could succeed in getting those men to agree to and have confidence in the plan which I propose, I believe that the saving I could effect myself upon that one occasion would be over 40,000*l.* a year.

11,441. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) They gave you no reason I suppose for refusing?—The reason was that they passed a resolution against it.

11,442. Would those three men whom you would put together not be likely to have some difference as to the quantity of coal which they might cut on the same face?—No, we select partners, and we do not ballot them together; it is always a selection; they are always brothers or friends, they work like reapers in a field of corn.

11,443. (*Lord Elcho.*) You have given us the sum by which you would have increased your receipts, and you have told us that the men sacrificed 15 per cent. What was the total yearly sacrifice made thereby?—I should think the sacrifice that they make is more than 20,000*l.* a year; in fact, if men will work in the way that I want them to work, I am willing to give them 20,000*l.* a year more for their labour than they are now receiving.

11,444. Rather than change a custom (it comes to that) they sacrifice that amount?—Yes.

11,445. And that prevents you making 40,000*l.*?—Yes.

11,446. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) How many men will that apply to?—This 15 per cent. only applies you must observe to the coal cutter, it does not apply to the other kinds of labour; I suppose the number is about 4,000.

11,447. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You alluded just now I think to a dispute which Messrs. Straker and Love

M. G. Elliot.
10 March 1868.

had with their men; are you acquainted with the circumstances?—Yes.

11,448. Will you state succinctly the origin of that?—The precise origin I am not perhaps quite clear about, but my impression, which I believe will be found to be somewhere near the truth is, that there was a union in that part of the country, at Brancepath, where they produced a very fine coke, and the union was very prominent, and these Messrs. Loves are very decided people. They had great reason they alleged to be aggrieved at the conduct of the men, and they came to a decision and gave the men notice that they would not employ a man of any description who was in the union, and when the notice was expired the men were ejected from the houses and there was a strike for many months, and Mr. Love succeeded. He got his colliery stocked with men who were non-unionists.

11,449. Was there not a dispute in the beginning in that case about the forfeiture of the corves?—Yes, there was; I believe the owners rather had the worst of it. It was something about the size of the tub and about the weighing of it; the men complained that they were sending more weight than they were being paid for.

11,450. Was not this the grievance which was alleged, that when the tub was sent up to the bank, if it was found on weighing to be below a certain weight, although it was almost up to it, it was forfeited and not paid for, although the coal itself went into the market in the ordinary way?—Yes, but that is not an unusual thing still.

11,451. I was going to ask you that question: there is a usual practice, is there not, of taking tubs which are short of weight, though three parts full, and not paying for them at all?—That is so.

11,452. Is that the practice in the whole of the northern districts?—I do not know whether it is so in the whole of the northern district, but it will be clear that there must be a point at which that must take place, and I do it in my places for this reason. Supposing a man was to take a fancy to send his tubs up half full, or supposing, for instance, they passed a resolution at a meeting to send the tubs up half full, the effect of that would be that inasmuch as I have to pay by the score, every other description of labour would be paid as though the tubs were full. The filling of the tubs entirely depends upon one man, and there is no reason except unwillingness and the spirit of doing what is not quite proper, to explain the sending of the tub up in that state, and therefore it is a regulation that the work shall be done in a certain way, and if it is not done in that way that is a penalty.

11,453. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) When you say, "If they passed a resolution," whom do you mean by "they"?—I mean the pitmen, supposing they passed a resolution one morning to send the tubs up half full.

11,454. Do the pitmen ever conspire together (I do not use the word offensively) or pass resolutions?—Yes; in the last 12 months I have known cases like this—if the fire coal which we give them is not good enough they will say, "If you do not send us better coal to-morrow we will not go to work until you do."

11,455. That happens without the aid of a trades union?—Yes.

11,456. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Passing from the mere sending up of light weights, it is necessary, is it not, for the security of the men, as well as of the machinery, that men should not be allowed to send up excessive weights?—Yes.

11,457. And therefore you do not pay for any excess of weight?—Yes, we pay a man whatever he sends up; but we say, "There is a point at which we experience loss, because every other kind of expense arises upon this half tub just the same as if it were the whole tub, and therefore if I mulct the man who does the work improperly of his payment I am still a loser by it."

11,458. You do not only knock off what he sends deficient, but you knock off the whole tub?—Yes, if it is only a half tub.

11,459. If he sends up excess of weight you do not pay him, do you; at least they do not in the Rhonda valley?—We pay him every ounce.

11,460. He might load the tub dangerously, might he not?—The tub is only capable of carrying so much. I do not know that I ever knew one capable of carrying more than 25 cwt. Our power of engines is equal to the largest weight that the tub could carry.

11,461. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Do you weigh every tub?—Every tub, and every man gets paid for every ounce that comes up.

11,462. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You will admit that the practice of confiscating a tub for being anything below the fixed standard might be worked in an oppressive manner?—Yes, but it is a matter of agreement, and you would be surprised how well the men know how to make their bargains; they are quite as well up to anything you have to say about what effects themselves as the master is.

11,463. In this particular case of the Loves colliery do you think that the men had no foundation?—I think they had some foundation for the course they took. I do not think that the owners, although successful, got well out of that; that is my opinion and I have often said so.

11,464. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Have the workmen any very great interest in sending up tubs fuller than they ought to be?—Yes, they have an interest in that direction for this reason—supposing there are 20 men working, they get the tub turn and turn about, and those men may get one-fifth more by loading it in that way.

11,465. Will not a man have the same time given him to fill it in that the other men have to fill the lesser one?—Yes.

11,466. Must he not work very hard to make it fuller than they do?—No, very often they have not half enough tubs, and they could send twice as many as they get.

11,467. You do not supply them with a sufficient quantity of tubs to send as much as they can?—No, the trade does not allow it.

11,468. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Have you in Wales a practice of employing a cheque weighman elected by the men themselves?—In many cases that is carried out; but they do not like to pay them, and then they give them up, and so on. That cheque weighman at the top of the pit is very often a great source of mischief. We never object to him when they send him.

11,469. You cannot object to him, can you?—If they sent a mischievous fellow there I would object.

11,470. You can object to the individual but not to the principle?—No.

11,471. It is sanctioned by law, is it not?—It may be, at any rate it is reason that they ought to have one if they desired it.

11,472. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Have your commission made a report on the coal trade yet?—No, but I think we will get it done this year.

11,473. (*Lord Elcho.*) During the many years you have had this large body of men under you you have not yourself had much trouble about the matter of wages?—I have myself, of course, had some trouble, but I am a great admirer of the pitmen. I do not think there is a finer body of men in the world than the pitmen in the country, and I think if you can inspire them with the feeling that you are fair and intend nothing but what is just towards them you can manage them.

11,474. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Do you speak not only of the north but of other districts?—I have been disappointed in Wales lately, but I believe I shall succeed there in time.

11,475. (*Lord Elcho.*) That is not a question of wages in Wales but a question of custom?—A question of custom.

11,476. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) In your endeavour to carry on your work or to settle questions between your workmen and yourself have you been much crossed by trades unions?—No.

11,477. Is that because your men do not work in

districts where trades unions exist?—We have had some disputes. Mr. Roberts used to come down; we called him our attorney-general, but those periods are so unfrequent that I should not like to see any legislation.

11,478. (*Lord Elcho.*) It was more in reference to questions of contract that Mr. Roberts appeared among you, was it not?—In 1844 he was the pitmen's attorney-general for nearly two years.

11,479. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You say the times are infrequent when these things have occurred, are they times of high profits on your part or of low profits?—That is a question which has often occurred to myself; when we have the most difficulty with our people we are always making the most money.

M. G. Elliot.
10 March 1868.

11,480. In fact you have very little interference with you when trade is bad?—Very little, because when trade is bad work is slack, and of course that takes a good deal of the power of the unions out of them.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to Tuesday next, at 11 o'clock.

1, Park Prospect, Westminster, Tuesday, 17th March 1868.

PRESENT:

The Right Hon. Sir WILLIAM ERLE.	JAMES BOOTH, Esq., C.B.
The Right Hon. the EARL of LICHFIELD.	JOHN ARTHUR ROEBUCK, Esq., M.P.
Lord ELCHO, M.P.	THOMAS HUGHES, Esq., M.P.
Sir DANIEL GOOCH, Bart., M.P.	FREDERIC HARRISON, Esq.
HERMAN MERIVALE, Esq., C.B.	WILLIAM MATHEWS, Esq.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR WILLIAM ERLE IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. CHARLES MARKHAM examined.

Mr. C. Markham.
17 March 1868.

11,481. (*Chairman.*) Are you the manager of the Staveley Iron and Coal Company?—I am the engineer and managing director of that company.

11,482. How long have you been acquainted with the Staveley iron and coal mines?—I took the management of them in March 1864. Previous to that period I was an engineer on the Midland railway for 13 years, and previous to that (in 1846) I was engaged in some ironworks in France.

11,483. Have you had opportunities of seeing the action of unions in any of these works that you have been employed in?—Not to a very large extent.

11,484. In the case of the Staveley Iron and Coal Company have there been unions and has the action of those unions interfered with you?—An attempt was made to establish a miners union in the Derbyshire district, in September 1866, and a great effort was made to induce all our colliers to join the union. We resisted it and told the men that we would not employ union men under any consideration.

11,485. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Was there any union existing at the Staveley works previous to this period which you are speaking of?—No, there has not been for 20 years.

11,486. Those works are ironworks and collieries together are upon a large and extensive scale, are they not?—Yes, we employ between 4,000 and 5,000 men and boys.

11,487. There were no unions existing there previous to the period which you now refer to?—Not for 20 years. An attempt was made I believe 20 years ago.

11,488. Had the intercourse between the proprietors of the Staveley Company, which I believe is a limited liability company, and the men been of a friendly character?—A most friendly character.

11,489. There was nothing in the relation of the employers and workmen to justify the formation of a union to rectify any abuses?—I think not.

11,490. There was no indisposition on the part of the employers to have the freest intercourse with the men for the rectification of any disputes or grievances that might have existed?—Certainly not.

11,491. What was the object of the formation of a union with regard to the Staveley works. Was there any intimation made to the company that it was done to rectify grievances?—We understood from what transpired that they wished to become dictators of our property, and to manage our works in their own kind of way.

11,492. Was that wish expressed by the officers of any of these proposed unions, or by the men themselves?—It was mentioned at some of the meetings that took place.

11,493. It was expressed at public meetings and not in any direct intimation to you personally?—At public meetings.

11,494. (*Mr Harrison.*) Was it in these terms that the men wished to become dictators of the works?—That they wished to have a voice in the management or the control, and they stated that we had far more managers than were required. They thought that if a great number of the managers were discharged and the money divided amongst the workmen it would be better for them.

11,495. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Those opinions were expressed at the public meeting which you speak of for the formation of the union?—Yes.

11,496. There was no grievance on the score of wages, but they said that you employed too many managers, and that the wages paid to those managers should be distributed amongst the workmen?—As far as we personally knew of it the delegates said that they did not apply for more wages or any alteration, only that they sought to establish a union.

11,497. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Will you make a clear distinction between what you heard the delegates say and what the men said?—I am stating what I heard that the delegates said.

11,498. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Was this intimation conveyed to you by the delegates?—No, I refused to see any delegates from the union.

11,499. You got it from public reports I suppose?—From the reports that were brought to me. I refused to see the delegates or to have anything at all to do with them.

11,500. You objected to see any delegates you say?—Any delegates that were not connected with our works. Of course if there were any delegates connected with our works I would see them, but I objected to see those who were imported into the district and had nothing to do with us.

11,501. What was the result, was it a strike?—Yes, a very violent strike. I may say that in September 1866 they organized a gigantic meeting at Chesterfield, composed, I should think, of many, many thousands of men. I should think two or three thousand of our men went to it. They stopped all our pits suddenly without any intimation, and the men ceased working all through the district. A day or two after-

M. C. Markham.

17 March 1868.

wards I sent for a deputation of the principal workmen, and I told them that whilst we were prepared to discuss with them any subject that might tend to our mutual benefit, we were determined that we would not allow a union to be established, and I warned them that if they insisted upon forming a union, we should take the strongest possible measures to resist it. They determined to establish a union, and after a week or two I ascertained the names of the chairmen and committee men and secretaries, amounting to 78, and I discharged the whole of them. I gave them a month's notice and they left. Subsequently to this there was a constant agitation going on, and whenever a person went to a meeting or took a prominent part in a meeting I discharged him. This led to 600 or 700 of the men giving notice to leave, and we kept giving notices to the men to leave and the men kept giving us notices, until at last we had nearly 3000 men under notice or on strike.

11,502. There was a battle between you representing that principle which you have described, and the men representing the union principle?—Yes; in November 1866 a great body of our men, who were never favorably disposed towards the union, came forward and formed a non-union movement. These men held meetings and gained strength from day to day, until I think we obtained at length 1,500 non-union men. Then it came to a point, and every man who was in the union had to leave or declare himself to be a non-union man.

11,503. A great number of the men whom you employ are still of opinion that a union was not necessary in your works?—The great bulk of them were of that opinion if they had not been excited, and I believe that the great body of them regret that that attempt was made; and if an attempt was made to form a union again, the great body I am satisfied would oppose it.

11,504. So that now the question has assumed this shape, you believing that unions are injurious to the works as well as to the men themselves, decline to carry on your works with the union men?—Yes.

11,505. You carry them on now with non-union men?—Yes.

11,506. Do you think that now that under that arrangement your works are conducted as well as they were before?—They are conducted on the same principle precisely. There was no union previously.

11,507. Your apprehensions were, that if a union were established it would be mischievous to the conduct of the works?—I apprehended that if a union were established we should be placed in the same position as the masters in Yorkshire, who never know from day to day whether the men are going to work or not. I believe that in Yorkshire two or three men may meet on the pit bank and have a conversation among themselves, and then order all the men to go away, and frequently the works are stopped without any tangible reason or any grievance that might not be settled in a kindly manner, and we apprehended that unions would cause a constant state of confusion with us, and be very disadvantageous to all parties.

11,508. So that from your observation where a union exists, the men are disposed to obey the dictates of their leaders rather than the dictates of their employers?—My belief is that it is so; but I am happy to say that I have not had much to do with union men in all my experience, and I have never felt any serious results from unions; but I know that a great many people have labored under immense difficulties, and that an immense number of employers of labor have been actually ruined by their proceedings.

11,509. So that you think that you go on much more amicably with your men, and that you conduct your works in a better way by its being understood that you will have no communication with organized officers of the union, but that you are open to communication with the men themselves?—Of course if there is the least grievance in the works we are always open to consider it and to reason with the men.

11,510. So that the operations of your works are carried on much more advantageously and in a much more conciliatory manner, employing as you do non-union men, than they are in the neighbouring works where they employ union men?—I may say with regard to all our works, that in Derbyshire and in Leicestershire there are no miners' unions established at the present time. There is a great struggle going on now in the Leicestershire district. The same people who created a disturbance at our works, when they found that they could not succeed with us, left and went into Leicestershire, and there they have carried on an agitation for more than 12 months.

11,511. So that the contention between the employers and the men in the neighbouring collieries, which you speak of, which has disturbed those works more or less for some time, you have been entirely exempt from?—Yes.

11,512. Your men get the general wages paid in the district, I presume?—I believe with regard to the wages in our district and in our works where the most perfect freedom of labour exists, that if you were to appoint a commission to enquire into the amount of wages, it would be found that the rate of wages in our district is higher than in any other union district in England. The population has increased during the last 10 years 60 per cent., and I believe that the people are better off than elsewhere. They have built more schools, the houses are much better, and the people are, I believe, better off in every way from the kindly feeling existing between master and man.

11,513. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You say, as I understand you, that these delegates went from your pits to other pits to create the same disturbance, do you know who they were?—I said that certain delegates came from Yorkshire. There was a Mr. Brown who came from Yorkshire into our district and created a disturbance there, and subsequently he left our district in Derbyshire and went into Leicestershire, where, I believe he is now.

11,514. Did you not say also that the men who attempted to make the disturbance in your pits went away into Leicestershire?—There were not a great number of our own men who were leaders in that.

11,515. I refer to the delegates?—They left and went into Leicestershire.

11,516. Did you know their names?—I did not know them personally.

11,517. Do you know where they came from?—From Yorkshire. Mr. Brown came from Yorkshire, certainly.

11,518. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Do you know to what union they belonged?—I do not; but Mr. Brown is a well-known man; he has been connected with strikes for years. I think he was in York prison; at all events he was tried at York some years ago for creating a disturbance with the colliers at Methley.

11,519. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Amongst all these men whom you employ have you any benefit societies organized for the use of the men employed in the works?—Yes, we have established an accident fund, which I have always thought very desirable, and we have contributed 2,000*l.* to start it, giving 500*l.* a year for the first four years, and after that period we subscribe 25 per cent. of the amount subscribed by the workmen. Each workman subscribes 2*d.* a week, and the boys subscribe half, and receive half the benefit.

11,520. Was that accident fund organized by yourself?—Yes.

11,521. How long ago?—I was arranging to establish a fund of that sort, soon after I went to the works.

11,522. Have you any rules of that fund to put in?—Yes (*handing in the same*).

11,523. Those rules describe, I suppose, the machinery on which your benefit societies are organized?—We have two funds—one is an accident fund. If any person meets with an accident, the committee, which consists of the officers of the company, together with a number of the workmen appointed by the body of workmen meet, and they can award a sum of money,

not exceeding 100*l.* to any person meeting with an accident. These rules have been examined and certified by Dr. Farr, at Somerset House. He has made a long report upon the rules, and is clearly of opinion that the funds are ample. The other fund is a sick fund, an ordinary benefit fund, in which the men pay 3*d.* a week.

11,524. Are these institutions managed jointly betwixt the officers of the works and people appointed by the men?—Yes.

11,525. They have a joint management with the officers of the works in the control and disposition of these funds.?—The first rule of the accident fund is this: "The managing committee of the fund shall "consist of the managing director, secretary of the "company, colliery viewer, assistant viewer, foundry "manager, superintendent of the works, accountant, "foreman fitter, surveyor and foundry foreman, "together with workmen from the several depart-"ments who have been employed by the Staveley "Company not less than two years, as under, viz.:— "one from each colliery, one from the ironstone pits, "one from the new foundry, one from the old foundry, "and one from the mechanics," and so on.

11,526. And you find that work satisfactorily?—Very.

11,527. Do you sustain a general and cordial relationship between the employers and workmen by the instrumentality of these societies?—I think so.

11,528. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) How long have these societies existed?—The sick fund has existed for a great number of years. I believe probably for 20 years, but I cannot say exactly how long.

11,529. Is it now solvent?—Certainly.

11,530. It has never been threatened with insolvency, perhaps?—If it were insolvent we should probably make up the balance. I think that at one time they got into debt to the amount of 400*l.* or 500*l.*, and Mr. Barrow, the proprietor, of the works paid the money.

11,531. Have you had the rules certified by any person authorized to certify such rules?—The accident fund has been recently reported upon by Dr. Farr. What is called the Field Club, or sick club. I do not think it has been certified by anybody.

11,532. So that you do not know, as far as actuaries could tell you, whether your sick fund has been established on proper economic principles or not?—We know that it is, because in the event of there not being sufficient monies we can make levies upon the workmen.

11,533. If you make a levy that argues that the rules are imperfect. But have you ever made a levy?—Never, I believe.

11,534. But you have never had them certified by an actuary?—No.

11,535. You have never been to Mr. Tidd Pratt, for instance?—No, I believe not.

11,536. (*Mr. Mathews.*) When the funds fall short do the principals contribute to the deficiency as well as the workmen?—Since I have been connected with the company the funds have always been sufficient to discharge all the liabilities.

11,537. Do the principals contribute to that sick fund?—No, the company do not subscribe to that fund—the men alone.

11,538. The workmen subscribe the whole of the fund, and the management of the fund is divided between the officers and the workmen?—The company do all the writing. They take the names of all the men, and collect the money and pay the people. There is a great deal of trouble and expense attending that, but that is all the company do towards that fund.

11,539. So that if the funds were to fall short you think that the obligation to meet the deficiency would be rather upon the workmen than upon the principals?—I think that if we found that the funds fell short we should subscribe a certain sum of money. The workmen and ourselves together would settle it.

11,540. There is nothing to render it obligatory on the part of the company to do so?—No.

11,541. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You said, I think, that there was a subscription some time ago towards the fund by the proprietor?—Yes.

11,542. Was that to the sick fund?—Yes.

11,543. Though he was not connected with the sick fund as he was with the accident fund, he still, when the funds ran short, subscribed a sum of money to make the amount up?—I alluded to the late Mr. Richard Barrow. He, as proprietor, was the treasurer, and the accounts were kept in the office. In the course of a certain time there was a deficiency in the account, owing to several hundred pounds more having been paid than the receipts came to, and Mr. Barrow paid off the balance—that is to say, he transferred a sum of money to balance the accounts.

11,544. (*Mr. Hughes.*) There is nothing making the payment compulsory upon the master, but upon the workmen the payment is compulsory, as I understand you?—Yes; we do not employ anybody that does not subscribe to the funds.

11,545. You deduct a certain percentage of the wages for these purposes from every man whom you employ?—Not a percentage, a fixed sum—3*d.* a week for the sick fund and 2*d.* a week for the accident fund.

11,546. (*Mr. Harrison.*) By the 13th rule of the sick club I see that a member giving notice to leave his employment forfeits all claim to the funds of the club. Consequently the effect of that is this, is it not, that any man who leaves the works forfeits that portion of his wages which you have compulsorily retained?—Certainly not, because it has been found from experience that the sum of money collected is just about sufficient to defray the current expenses from year to year.

11,547. Is that an answer to my question, do you think?—I think so.

11,548. You say that you do not employ any man at your works who does not consent to become a subscriber of this fund in fact?—Yes.

11,549. The first rule is this: "That this society be "called the 'Staveley Works Club,' and every work-"ing man or boy who may be employed at the said "works shall be a member, in conformity with the "following rules," and you tell us that he has no option. Therefore, everyone employed at the works is a member of this society?—Yes.

11,550. Then I presume that your pay clerks stop out of the wages of every man and boy weekly the sum specified by these rules?—Yes.

11,551. Therefore at the end of the year so many pounds have been stopped out of the man's wages; that is so, is it not?—A certain sum, whatever it may be.

11,552. Then by rule 13 any man or boy who leaves your employment, who gives you notice in the ordinary way and chooses to walk off, leaves that sum in your hands and has no claim to it?—There is no sum left in our hands. I have stated that so far as the expense of working it for some time past goes there has actually been a deficiency.

11,553. There must be a sum of money left in your hands, must there not?—No, because I state that there has been a deficiency.

11,554. A.B. is a workman who has entered your employment and become a member of this society; you have stopped so many twopences a week year by year until there is 5*l.* stopped off that man's wages, which he has not received?—He may have received it or not. If he has not been ill he will not.

11,555. Supposing that he has not been ill, he has never come on the funds, and therefore there is 5*l.* in your hands. He gives you due legal notice to say that he requires to work elsewhere and by rule 13 he leaves that 5*l.* in your hands?—That 5*l.* has been paid to somebody else.

11,556. (*Mr. Booth.*) He has been entitled to the benefit in case of sickness?—Yes.

11,557. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You have retained 5*l.* out of his wages which he might have had if he had been ill; but if he has not been ill you retain it?—I may

Mr. C. Markham.

17 March 1868.

say that I do not think that very much arises out of it. As to these rules, both the accident and sick fund rules, I believe that there is not a man on our grounds that does not approve of them in every point of view.

11,558. I will put my question then in this way: Are you aware that it has been made a very grave charge against the practices of most unions, of all unions, I believe, that a man who ceases to be a member of one of those unions by his own free choice forfeits all the benefits for which he as hitherto subscribed. That has been charged has a serious injustice, has it not?—I think it is a very serious injustice.

11,559. Then you think that when a member of the union leaves the union, and by the rules forfeits what he has subscribed whilst a member, that is an injustice; but when a member of your union by giving notice ceases to be a member of the union you consider that that is no injustice. You put it in that way?—No, I put it in this way: that there is no injustice in the case of our own society, because the men only subscribe such a sum of money as about floats and balances the account. But in the case of the union, if a man subscribes 1*s.* a week and a large fund is collected and accumulated, I think if that man has subscribed for a number of years he is entitled to a certain amount of that fund if he leaves the union.

11,560. In your case he is entitled to nothing?—I think that if instead of subscribing 3*d.* a week he had subscribed say 6*d.* a week, and he left the society and there was a large accumulation, he should have a portion of it.

11,561. You put it in this way then, that a man subscribes 3*d.* a week for several years, then by giving notice he forfeits his claim to that; but if he subscribes 6*d.* a week to a union and forfeits it you consider that that is a hardship?—I wish to put it my own way. I say that in my opinion if a man subscribes 3*d.* a week and that 3*d.* a week is found to be just a sufficient sum to balance the account both ways it is quite fair that he should forfeit any claim on leaving. On the other hand if a man subscribed 1*s.* a week and there is a large fund accumulated, and the man has subscribed to the fund say about 20 years, I think if he leaves the union he is entitled to a portion of that accumulated fund; and in our case, if we were to compel a man to pay double the amount and we had a large fund accumulated I think that he would be entitled to a portion of it on leaving.

11,562. When you speak of balancing the account there is no balance to the individual who pays in respect of the advantage he has actually received is there?—It is a mutual assurance.

11,563. Is not that exactly the principle on which unions go when they forfeit the money that has been paid by their members?—Every penny that the men subscribe in our case is appropriated to the society, and it is all spent by them; but with regard to the union it is largely spent in fights and struggles, I believe.

11,564. Is not there this distinction between your union and the ordinary miners' union, namely, that in your union it is compulsory, no man having the opportunity of refusing to enter, but in the miners' unions it is at any rate open to his leaving or taking, as he pleases; is not there that great difference?—We have no union.

11,565. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Are not the men fully aware of those obligations when they enter into a contract to work for you?—It is one of the conditions of our employment.

11,566. (*Mr. Harrison.*) It is compulsorily attached to the employment—a necessary condition of the employment?—In this sense it is not compulsory at all; a man need not come to us at all.

11,567. If a man were to refuse to continue to make the payments to this club you would turn him off?—Yes.

11,568. Do you publish balance sheets of this fund to the men?—Yes, certainly.

11,569. Are they printed?—No.

11,570. How are they published?—I dare say we shall print them for the future, but at the end of each year the accounts are balanced and certified and sent round to all the departments.

11,571. (*Mr. Mathews.*) When you say "certified" do you mean certified by the workmen on the one hand and the managers of the works on the other?—The principle of the management is that it is conducted partly by the men and partly by the officers of the company; it is a joint management. I took a very active part myself in forming that excellent fund on the Midland railway, which is formed on a similar principle. There the officers of the company and the men jointly manage the fund, and this fund was established on the same principle.

11,572. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Is there any foundation for a report which has been circulated to a great extent that the Staveley Works Club was a voluntary association, voluntarily formed by the workmen in your employment or in your district?—I believe it was formed 20 years ago, at all events, a great number of years ago, long before I knew anything about the works.

11,573. But in its present form it is entirely in the hands of the managers of the works, is it not?—No, it is jointly in the hands of the men and the masters.

11,574. In whose hands are the funds?—The funds are in the hands of the company.

11,575. Who makes the payments?—The company, or rather the secretary; there is a secretary appointed.

11,576. Who is the secretary now?—A man of the name of Hibbert.

11,577. What office does he hold in the works?—He is a clerk.

11,578. And nine of the officers of the company belong to the managing committee, do they not, officially?—Yes.

11,579. Rule 7 says: "The affairs of this club "shall be conducted by a managing committee, and "shall consist of the colliery viewer, secretary of "the company, foundry manager, superintendent of "works, accountant, foreman fitter, assistant viewer, "surveyor, and foundry foreman, together with nine "workmen who have been employed by the company "not less than two years."—Yes.

11,580. I suppose that the chairman has a casting vote, has he not, in the managing committee?—I suppose so.

11,581. Who is the chairman?—I generally am, whenever I am present.

11,582. The managing committee practically consists as a working majority, I presume, of the officers of the works?—It may or may not, just as it happens. The workmen always attend, because each workman is paid at the rate of 6*s.* a day for attending for half a day, and the officers seldom attend together.

11,583. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Are the officers paid?—No, certainly not.

11,584. (*Mr. Harrison.*) In the case of a club which is managed by a committee so largely consisting of officers of the company, and of which the company retains the funds, and makes the payments, and stops the amount out of the men's wages, you can hardly call that a voluntary association, can you, which the men have entered into because they have an objection to unionism?—I never called it voluntary; it is compulsory in this sense, that it is part of our engagement to require the men to subscribe to the fund for their own benefit.

11,585. Then the statement which we have seen in the newspapers that the miners in the Staveley district have associated themselves together for the purpose of resisting the ravages of unionism is rather a figure of speech, is it not?—Certainly not, it is true. The men did form a non-union association, and if an attempt was made again to bring the union into our district they would resist it, I believe.

11,586. That is your opinion?—I am sure of it.

11,587. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You stated that this accident fund, as I understood, was in existence long before you came into the company?—Not the accident fund, the sick fund.

11,588. Then the accident fund is quite a new establishment?—Yes, quite new.

11,589. And it is the accident fund to which the firm subscribed 2,000*l.* at starting?—Yes, and they will pay 25 per cent. of the money subscribed after four years.

11,590. That accident fund, which has been recently established, and of which I hold in my hands the rules, has the same rules as to compulsory payment as the other?—Yes.

11,591. Are these "Rules of the Staveley Works Club" the rules of the old club that has been established 20 years?—No, the old club was entirely in the management of Mr. Barrow, and was managed in the office. When I became manager of the company I took a different view of it, and thought that the men who subscribe the money ought to manage their own business, and I formed those new rules by which the men had the opportunity of appointing nine workmen to take part in it.

11,592. You introduced the element of nine workmen into the management?—Yes.

11,593. As to those workmen being paid at the rate of 6*s.* a day, by whom are they paid?—Out of the fund.

11,594. Is not that a very high payment?—No, I think not. Some of the men have to come six or seven miles to the committee.

11,595. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you know any union that pays its delegates so high?—I know very little of unions.

11,596. (*Mr. Hughes.*) What would those men ordinarily save?—Those men as colliers earn from 6*s.* to 10*s.* a day.

11,597. Then probably the payment for attending the committee would not be much more than they would earn?—In the first instance, we paid a small amount to begin with, and found that the workmen did not attend. I inquired the reason of it, and they said that if it was not worth their while to attend, and as I thought it was much better to have a certain number of workmen to manage this fund, I proposed that the payment should be increased to induce them to come, and as many of them have to walk a long distance and very likely to lose a day's work, the amount was raised. I believe it is at the rate of 6*s.* now.

11,598. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Have any complaints been made by the men themselves as to the working of this fund?—Certainly not.

11,599. Do you know whether any one has suggested to them that they have been ill-treated in the matter?—No, I am not aware that any question has ever arisen upon these rules or the management.

11,600. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Is your company in any way represented in any association of employers?—No, we are independent; we are not connected with any ironmasters' association or coalmasters' association.

11,601. And you have not been connected with any?—We never have been, and I totally disapprove of it. I think that freedom of labour and fair competition is the best for everybody.

11,602. You are not engaged in ironworks are you?—Yes, very largely.

11,603. (*Chairman.*) Is that pig-iron?—We manufactured last year nearly 30,000 tons of castings, and we have three blast furnaces besides. We have ironstone mines, and we furnish the iron in its manufactured state.

11,604. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You spoke of delegates from the union coming down, and that you said was the origin of the endeavour to carry the union into your district. What were these specific steps that were taken beyond the endeavour to form a union; did they make any demand upon the company with respect to the working of the company?—No. One of their arguments was this they said, "We want "nothing; we neither want advance of wages nor "any alteration at all, but we wish to establish a "union." I sent for a deputation of our men (I would not see any person not connected with our works), and told them that we were ready to discuss with them any subject or any grievances that they might have, but we would not employ union men. And we have quite made up our minds not to do so, be the consequences what they may.

11,605. What hours do your men work in the pits?—They do pretty well as they like; some of them work long hours, and some short hours.

11,606. (*Chairman.*) Are they paid by the quantity of coal?—Entirely by weight.

11,607. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Are the men paid uniformly by the ton?—I believe so; it may vary in districts. I am not practically acquainted with the details of the collieries, but I believe that as there may be more mining difficulties in one part of the pit than another the men are paid more in one part than in another.

11,608. What is the average of the hours of work do you suppose?—The pits now draw coal 10½ hours, but the colliers go into the pits and come out pretty well at what hours they like.

11,609. Have you ever had any question as to the hours of work?—Yes. The pits used to draw coal formerly 12 hours a day, and when the question was discussed after the union was all broken up I sent for a deputation of the men, and we talked the matter over, and we thought that we could do the work in 10½ hours, and our pits draw coal 10½ hours now instead of 12, as they formerly did. Everybody was paid by the ton, so that it made very little difference to us either one way or the other.

11,610. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Why did you change from 12 hours to 10 if it made no difference to you or to the men?—Because I thought it was better in every way if the work could be done in 10 hours. 12 hours was a long time for the pony drivers and the boys.

11,611. The pony drivers attended I suppose upon the men who worked, and the pony drivers worked long hours because the men worked long hours?—Most of the colliers worked, I believe, eight or nine hours, but the pony drivers, who have to bring the coal from one part of the works to the other, had to be in the pit 12 hours.

11,612. Out of consideration to the lads you altered the hours of working?—That was one object. The men advocated the cause of the lads, and we thought it reasonable.

11,613. So that perfect liberty of the men is an injury to the pony drivers. When your hours were 12 hours a man if he pleased might work 12 hours, and thus compel a boy to work 12 hours?—He can work 12 hours now if he likes, but the coal is taken away from where it is worked at certain periods, and it is not necessary because a man works coal for 12 hours that there should always be a pony driver there to attend upon him for a similar period.

11,614. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You stated, did you not, that one of the complaints of your men when there was this union agitation was the number of the managers in the mine?—Yes.

11,615. Had you a great number more managers than usual?—We do everything we possibly can for safety; we think that it is a great thing to attain to, and I think there is a greater number of managers in our pits than will be found in most districts, and I believe it is owing in a great measure to the good organization we have that we are so free comparatively from accident.

11,616. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) When you say that you are free comparatively from accident, can you tell us the sort of comparison?—I think you will get that better from the government returns. I believe they are freer in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire than in other districts.

11,617. Have you the double shift?—No.

Mr. C. Markham.

17 March 1868.

11,618. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Do the managers or deputies do any manual work?—No.

11,619. (*Mr. Harrison.*) What would be the greatest number of men at any time upon the sick fund?—I cannot tell you; sometimes it is very large.

11,620. On the sick fund only?—On both funds. There are a number of trifling accidents. We employ a good many Irishmen, and if they meet with the smallest injury they generally get upon the accident fund in one way or another.

11,621. What would be about the proportion?—I could send you a return of that, but I cannot give it now.

11,622. Does it go as high as 10 per cent.?—I could not say. I should think not.

11,623. Then the working of the thing is this, is it not. For every thousand workmen whom you employ, putting it at the outside, that one-tenth or 100 of them are in receipt of some benefit. As to 900 of them, if at any moment any one of those men desired to leave your employment he would have to sacrifice all that he had contributed whilst a member of the club?—I have spoken on that question several times, and I really can say no more about it. I say there is no accumulation in the fund. If there is one man that is receiving benefit he is receiving 5*s.* a week, whilst another man is only contribuing 3*d.* a week, consequently if one man in 20 is receiving benefit of course he absorbs the whole contributions of 20 men.

11,624. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You consider that accident fund to be a sort of insurance fund?—Yes.

11,625. Would not a man subscribing to that fund be like a man insuring his house; he would derive the advantage of his house not being burnt down, but if it had been burnt down he would have been paid for it?—Yes, unquestionably. A great number of men have never been on this fund. One man lately said that he had been in the club 15 years and had never been on the fund at all.

11,626. He derived the same benefit as I should derive in insuring my house, my house not having been burnt down by fire?—Yes.

11,627. (*Mr. Hughes.*) There is a free labour union in your works, as I understand you, besides this club?—We have no free labour union. When the union movement came to an end we broke everything of the sort up, and reverted to our former position.

11,628. Then as to the 1,500 non-union men in your works, who, you told us in November 1866 came forward and organized a movement antagonistic to the union movement; that dropped to pieces again and the men have not continued that?—Certainly not, we have reverted to our former position—the men are at perfect liberty to combine together and do what they like, and we are at perfect liberty to meet them.

11,629. Do they combine together?—No, there has been no combination.

11,630. (*Mr. Harrison.*) But they are not at liberty to combine amongst themselves, are they?—Yes.

11,631. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Is there any organization in your works at which the men can consider the question of an advance of wages, for instance?—Of course they can meet together and discuss that, and do what they like about it.

11,632. But is there any organization in which they can discuss it?—No, no regular organization; but if the men thought they were entitled to an advance of wages they would meet together and come to see us.

11,633. (*Mr. Mathews.*) They would naturally meet together on the pay day?—They always have an opportunity of discussing any subject they wish.

11,634. (*Mr. Hughes.*) In these conferences which you have had with them at different times, and at which you say they are able to bring forward any subject or consider any grievance they have, has the question of a rise of wages been considered between the managers and the men?—When the strike came to an end, of course our trade was very much broken up, and we soon found that we had not full employment for our men, and from that period there has been a great depression in the trade. An advance of wages has not been considered at all, nor have we at present considered the subject of decreasing the wages.

11,635. Then there have been no communications between you and the men as a body with respect to that?—At various times certainly there has been.

11,636. Not since the strike of 1866?—No.

11,637. (*Lord Elcho.*) How does that communication take place, is it with the whole body of men that you communicate?—The men generally send a deputation.

11,638. (*Chairman.*) Is there any term of hiring by the twelvemonths or any longer term considered advisable?—We either give or receive a month's notice.

11,639. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You make the contract subject to a month's notice on either side?—Yes.

11,640. It is perfectly understood that that is the case?—Yes, they have to sign the colliery rules, and that is one of the rules.

11,641. With respect to this sick fund, is it an object to accumulate any amount of this sick fund or do the men merely subscribe what is sufficient to carry it on?—The fund has been in existence a great number of years, and the amount subscribed appears to be just about sufficient to balance the account. There has been no accumulation, and no very great deficiency. What deficiency there has been was made up by the late proprietor, Mr. Richard Barrow.

11,642. If the fund were to accumulate to any great extent you would consider the propriety of decreasing the payment, I presume?—We should either increase the benefit or decrease the payment.

11,643. In point of fact there is no beneficial interest in the sick fund on the part of anybody?—Not at all.

11,644. And the men understand that there is no beneficial investment on their part to the fund beyond the weekly contribution?—Yes.

11,645. Is this sick fund distinct from the accident fund?—Yes, it is a separate fund.

11,646. With respect to the accident fund, does that provide for deferred payments in case of accidents?—The committee have unlimited power to deal with the fund as they think fit. There is at the present time the case of a poor man who was blind in one eye, and in our shop the other day when chipping a piece of iron he lost the other eye. The committee will probably award that man 100*l.*; they have given him 15*l.* already, and he, I believe, bought a mangle or something of the sort, and the rest of the money will be appropriated in such a way as the committee think for the true benefit of the family and the man himself.

11,647. But instead of giving 100*l.* at once; are there any deferred weekly payments?—The committee have perfect power to deal with that as they think fit. If any great calamity were to occur, they would be compelled to make deferred payments, because all the funds would be absorbed.

11,648. In case of deferred payments, if a man were to leave your employment, would those deferred payments be sacrificed by him?—If a man met with an accident in our works, he would be entitled to a certain sum of money whether he left our employment or not.

11,649. So that his beneficial interest would continue in fact under your rules, notwithstanding his leaving your employment?—Yes, if he met with the accident whilst working in our works.

11,650. (*Mr. Booth.*) He does not in fact subscribe more than his chance of benefit is worth?—He may or may not do so.

11,651. You propose to calculate upon this footing, that the subscription, whatever it is, shall just correspond to the amount of benefit a man is likely to receive?—It is calculated upon that basis, and the subscription of the company of 25 per cent. of the amount subscribed by the workmen, is supposed by Dr. Farr to cover all cases that can occur.

11,652. In fact he receives more than his own sub-

scription would be entitled to; he receives what the company give in addition?—Yes, and that addition may go forward perhaps to accumulation.

11,653. (*Mr. Mathews.*) In addition to this sick fund and accident fund, have you any fund for schools?—Yes, we contribute to nearly all the schools in the district; we have built schools that cost about 5,000*l.*, we provide a schoolmaster and schoolmistress, in fact several of them, and employ a Scripture reader, and we subscribe to nearly all the schools all round the district, and we have recently given 600*l.* to build another school at Staveley.

11,654. So that you, having the responsibility of employing this large number of men your ground for discountenancing these unions is that they may interfere very seriously and prejudicially with your sick fund, accident fund, and everything else which you do for the benefit of the men?—If a union were to be established at our works of course all such relations between ourselves and our men would entirely cease; we should break up our schools and let the men do what they like.

11,655. So that the christian obligation which now subsists between the masters and the men, the masters considering themselves responsible to do what they can for the benefit of the men, and the men looking up to the masters, would be broken up by the union?—Yes. We consider ourselves morally bound at present to do all we can for the benefit of the men and their children.

11,656. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You say that if a union were to be established at your works you would break up your schools; why should you break up your schools?—If a union were to be established we never could have any reliance upon our men; one day they might be working, and another day they might be doing just as they liked, and there would be no friendly relations between us, our relations would be disturbed by delegates coming from all parts of the country. I think we should then in all probability say to the men, "We shall simply employ you, and pay you your "wages, and you may take your own course and do "as you like."

11,657. Do you mean that in cases where unions are established men work one day and do not work the next?—That is the case in Yorkshire to a great extent, I believe.

11,658. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You consider that the effect of the union would be this, that the relationship between you in the case of the union taking the management of the men would be one simply of business, and that the social relationship which has existed so long would be broken?—I am clearly of that opinion and I believe that if you were to appoint a commission you would find that in union districts very little is done by the masters for the benefit of the men.

11,659. Under that conviction you have thought it best both for the benefit of the men, and in the interests of the work of which you have the charge to discountenance unions altogether?—Yes.

11,660. (*Chairman.*) Does the system of hiring by the month impede any such action as you would be likely to complain of on the part of the union men coming on suddenly and breaking off suddenly?—No, I think not for the same rule I believe exists in Yorkshire—there the men are engaged for a certain period but they may stop suddenly.

11,661. How can that be done without a breach of contract?—There is a breach of contract; but when 600 or 700 men cease working on a given day, you cannot take them all before the magistrate.

11,662. You do not seem to attach any weight to a breach of contract?—There is no doubt that it was a breach of contract, when the men formed on the 6th of September this great meeting at Chesterfield, which I have mentioned, and 2,000 or 3,000 of our men went away, we had the power of summoning the men before the magistrates, but we did not do so.

11,663. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) You have had to do with railways I believe?—Yes, I was for 13 years assistant engineer on the Midland.

11,664. And the same system is carried out there with regard to the sick fund as you have described, I believe?—Yes.

11,665. And that is compulsory upon the servants of the railway company?—It is compulsory upon certain servants of the company, but not upon all.

11,666. (*Mr. Hughes.*) When those 2,000 or 3,000 men of yours went to this great union meeting, you took the matter into your own hands I understood you to say, and discharged them?—I sent a day or two after the excitement had gone by for a deputation of all the principal men, and I dare say about 150 of them came, and I told them that be the consequences what they might, I would not allow a trades union to be established on our ground. They set me at defiance and formed their lodges, and I ascertained the names of the chairmen, secretaries, and treasurers, and discharged them.

11,667. Without regard to the contract?—No, I gave them a months notice.

11,668. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You have had some knowledge I believe of the condition of workmen both in France and Belgium, have you not?—Yes; from 1846, until after the revolution, I was the managing partner at Marquise.

11,669. What is your opinion of the relative efficiency of Belgian and French workmen as compared with the English?—In my judgment a Belgian or French workman is as good a workman as an English workman is. When I was a lad we used to talk of two Frenchmen being equal to an Englishman; but when we had those works we came to the conclusion that the French and Belgian workmen, in point of money value, were worth more to us than Englishmen. At one time we had from 500 to 600 Englishmen at Guines and Marquise, but when the French revolution came upon us I had only one Englishman with me at Marquise, because we found that we could get the work done so much cheaper by French and Belgians.

11,670. As to the relative remuneration which Belgian workmen get, what is it compared with that of an Englishman?—It is very different.

11,671. What percentage should you think a Belgian works cheaper?—I should think he works for half the money.

11,672. So that, given an equality of ingenuity and ability on the part of the Belgian and the English workman, the Belgian would work just that much cheaper by the difference in wages?—Yes.

11,673. And if the wages of English workmen were to advance very materially beyond the rate in Belgium work now done in England must of necessity go to Belgium, must it not?—With regard to the coal and iron trade, I do not think it would, because of the immense facilities we have in this country. The quantities of coal and ironstone here are so large compared with what they are in Belgium and France that I think we have advantages in this country so largely in favour of England that in coal and iron England will always maintain its supremacy. But with regard to machinery I am clearly of opinion that in the course of a few years there must be an immense change, and if I were to begin life again and to be the manager of mechanical works I should rather begin in Belgium than in England, because the Belgian workman (and the French workman too) is extremely steady and industrious, and there is no reason why machinery should not be manufactured much cheaper in Belgium and France than in England, chiefly because of trades unions.

11,674. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Are the Belgian and French workmen more docile than the English?—I have the most kindly recollection of the Belgian and French workmen; they are most civil and obliging and industrious; they have the best feeling in every kind of way.

11,675. Has there been any introduction into Belgium or into France of trades unions?—I am not

Mr. C. Markham.

17 March 1868.

aware of it. They had no trades unions when I was there.

11,676. When you speak of the Belgian and French workmen, you mean supposing them not to be interfered with by trades unions?—Yes.

11,677. (*Mr. Merivale.*) How long had you experience on the Continent?—I went to France in 1846, and I left early in 1849.

11,678. When you left those works at Guines and Marquise, did other capitalists continue them?—No. We made a large sum whilst we were there, and paid off the money which we had borrowed, and when the French revolution came upon us, there was an entire collapse in the trade of France, and ultimately we had to leave the country.

11,679. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Was there any attempt made on the part of the French authorities or workmen to drive away the English workmen?—No. The Guines works have never been carried on since then, but the Marquise works have been worked by a Frenchman, and were described in the "Times" the other day by Mr. Plimsoll.

11,680. If Belgian workmen are as good workmen as the English, and at the same time cheaper, what in your judgment is the reason why English capital has not gone there?—With regard to the Guines and Marquise, they are ironworks, all the coal which we brought to those works came from England, and except for the high tariff preventing competition in France in those days, we should not have succeeded so well as we did.

11,681. In your opinion, the reason why English capital has not continued to work profitably in Belgium and France is not the inferiority of the workmen, but the geographical disadvantages of the country?—Yes.

11,682. With regard to machinery, did you yourself ever engage in the business of machinery abroad?—No. Of course, I have been connected with machinery nearly all my life.

11,683. Do you know other English residents who have engaged in that business abroad?—Yes; I believe Mr. Cockerell has at Liege. But there is a very large locomotive establishment in Prussia, where they are gaining a very good position in the trade.

11,684. If it be true that the workmen abroad are as useful as English workmen or more so, and there are no other causes to the contrary, I want to know why English capital does not settle there in the machinery constructing business?—Take, as an example, the Exhibition of 1851 and compare the machinery exhibited there with that exhibited in the Exhibition of last year. In my judgment there have been most gigantic strides in the improvement of machinery in Belgium and Prussia, comparing 1851 with 1867.

11,685. That being so, why is it that English capital does not go out there to seek investment in the production of machinery?—I think it will do so, but an Englishman would naturally rather work in his own country not being acquainted with the language of the other country, and there are many difficulties to contend with. There was an establishment started at Rouen by some English capitalists, which has been a most successful affair.

11,686. Do you know who those capitalists are?—Yes; Mr. Allcard (who has since died) and Mr. Buddicombe, and they made large fortunes there. I was asked to go out and establish similar works in Spain, but I refused to go.

11,687. In fact this competition is prospective competition; you do not think that it has come to pass?—I think that with regard to machinery, the French manufacture is likely to be a powerful competition.

11,688. I rather wanted to know whether it had begun?—I do not think so.

11,689. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Has it not begun at the Creusot works in France in regard to engines?—Yes; they have brought some from those works, which are now running on the Great Eastern Railway.

11690. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Has there not of late years been a great demand for English capital in that particular branch of machinery, in this country?—There has been a great development during the last 20 years of machinery and tool shops in this country until the last year or two.

11,691. Now the times have changed; the French have improved very much; business in this country is getting slack, and the time is coming when the circumstances will be changed?—I think so.

11,692. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You say that the Belgian workman's wages are not so much as the English workman's. They are very much less, are they not?—The common labourers we used to pay in France a franc and a half a day, and a very good labourer 1 franc 75 centimes.

11,693. With respect to the docility of the Belgian workpeople, I suppose you saw the account last year of the calling out of troops there in consequence of the late strike?—Yes.

11,694. Are you aware that troops have also been called out within the last four or five years in Belgium on another occasion for the same purpose?—I have seen it in the newspapers.

11,695. That does not look like much docility?—I do not know that. A few men get together sometimes and they excite a large crowd, and a disturbance takes place, and in France and Belgium things are very different from what they are in this country, they make a great deal more of such a thing there; if there is the least disturbance there you find a great mass of soldiers brought from all parts.

11,696. But you would not refer that to the unions, would you?—I like neither one nor the other.

11,697. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You say that the low rates at which the Belgians compete with the English are due to the absence of unionism?—I am not aware that there are unions in Belgium. I am strongly impressed myself with the conviction that there ought to be the most perfect freedom of labour in every way. I believe, in regard to the shipbuilders in the east of London, that if there had been freedom of labour and no trades unions, a great number of those poor fellows would have been dispersed about the country and would have found employment, taking reduced rates of wages—the employers would have given employment to a great number of them instead of the men breaking stones to get bread.

11,698. Do you know anything about the shipbuilding union in London; do you know anything more, I mean, than what you have read in the papers?—It is chiefly that. I am informed that one man who was a very good workman, a boiler-maker, was offered employment in our district at fair wages. The man asked the union if he might be allowed to go, and they said, "No, the rate of wages which you are offered is "less than what we will allow you to take," and that man was actually at the time going from day to day to break stones. The trades union would not allow him to take work at a price less than that which their rules and regulations sanctioned.

11,699. (*Mr. Booth.*) I think I understood you to say that if your workmen have anything to complain of, either as to the rate of wages or otherwise, there is no difficulty whatever in their having communication with the manager of the works?—None whatever; we are always glad to see them, because we believe that if any difficulty or misunderstanding arises between the men and ourselves it is much better to talk the matter over and clear it up than let it go on to some chronic difficulty.

11,700. In that respect, then, they are as well off as the men in the union?—I think better, because they can appoint whom they like, and they can come themselves if they like, but in the union they would have to leave it to the delegates.

11,701. A rise of wages has occurred as much in your works, I suppose, as where there have been trades unions?—There has been no trades union in our district for 20 years, and I believe that if you were to appoint a commission you would find that the rate of wages paid by us is higher than in any other district of the country where unions are in existence,

or else I do not think that men would come from all parts of the country, as they do, to us.

11,702. (*Lord Elcho.*) You employ a great many Irish, I think; how does that happen? do you get Irish labour cheaper than other labour?—We have 700 or 800 houses of our own, but the Irish do not live in those houses. There is a special train that leaves Chesterfield every morning, and they come down in the morning by that train.

11,703. Do you take the Irish labourer from choice?—No, there is no choice in it at all. If anybody who is suitable comes to our works we employ him, whether Irish, Welsh, or English.

11,704. You do not employ an Irishman because he is cheaper?—No.

11,705. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You could not get him cheaper, I suppose, because he is paid by the ton?—Labourers are paid by the day generally.

11,706. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Do you get many skilled workmen from the Irish?—It is a very remarkable fact, so far as my experience goes (and I know most of the workshops in the country), that I hardly know a single Irish foreman. I rarely find an Irish foreman in any place of trust or great responsibility.

11,707. Do you infer from that that the general ability of Irishmen is on a lower scale than that of Englishmen?—I do not know what the reason of it is.

11,708. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Could you without trouble give us a statement as to the average of your wages during, say, the last five years, so that we should have an opportunity of comparing it with the average of other districts?—I think that it would be rather a difficult thing to do, because all our people are paid by contract, and we do not keep an account of what the men earn, and they do not like us to know what they do earn; some men earn a great deal more money than they wish us to know.

11,709. (*Mr. Harrison*). By "contract" do you mean the butty system, that one man takes a piece of work and engages a number of men under him?—Yes, a certain number of colliers take a stall and divide the money amongst them.

11,710. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) That is common to all England, is it not?—I do not know. That is the system we adopt.

11,711. (*Mr. Harrison*) Do you mean that the men working under a piece contract receive higher wages than the miners in Yorkshire working on their own account?—I believe it is on the same plan in Yorkshire.

11,712. Do you know that it is the same in Yorkshire?—No. I would be very glad, if you wish, to send our viewer here. He is a man who was right-hand man to George Stephenson, and George Stephenson had great reliance in him.

11,713. The company on their pay days pay directly the head man who has taken a stall, I suppose?—Yes.

11,714. They do not pay the men whom he employs under him or who works along with him?—No, they pay one man; we pay all the labourers individually, but there are a certain number of coal getters that are paid as I have described.

11,715. What is the average number of the men who work in a gang?—I should think three or four of them work together.

11,716. You pay one out of the four?—Yes.

11,717. Do you know officially what he pays the other three?—No; but as I do not know the details of this management, I would rather not give evidence upon it.

11,718. Your evidence is that the men, as a rule, throughout your works receive higher wages than what they do in other districts where there is a union?—I have no doubt of it.

11,719. Do you know I ask, and if so, how do you know what three out of every four of the coal getters receive?—I do not know that. All we know is this, that people come to us from every part of the country, and we are told that they come to us because they get more wages with us.

11,720. You do not know and therefore you cannot speak on that point, what the daily earnings are?—I cannot speak positively. I believe that many of the colliers make from 6*s.* to 10*s.* a day.

11,721. The undermen, do you mean?—No, the leading men.

11,722. Do not you know that it is an universal rule almost, that where that contract system is in vogue, the under hands receive lower wages than what they do when each man works alone and is paid for his own tub?—I do not know positively about that, but if they come to us and four or five men wish to work all together and divide their money, they do it just as they like.

11,723. But do you deny that where men work on this contract system, the under men receive lower rates by the week?—In all probability the most intelligent man who took the contract would get more wages as a matter of course. I believe in everything being done by contract and piece work. I think that it will become universal, and that the only mode of getting rid of trades unions will be by adopting an universal system of piece work.

11,724. You do not deny that these under men receive less than when they work each man on his own footing?—A man goes in as an inferior workman, with a skilled workman, and as he becomes more skilful he gets promoted and becomes a contractor himself in course of time.

11,725. Have you evidence as to the wages which the men are receiving in relation to these people who take the contract?—I speak of the whole of them. The only real question about wages is, can you get plenty of men? If there is no difficulty in getting labour, but men come to us from different parts of the country and say that they are better rewarded for their labour by us; that is the best test I know.

11,726. (*Lord Elcho.*) At the works which you managed abroad, was there a piece work system?—Yes, almost entirely; all the mines were worked entirely by piece work.

11,727. How many men had you there?—I should think 700 or 800 at Marquise and about the same number at Guines.

11,728. It has been stated in evidence here that the reason why men can be got at lower wages in Belgium, is that the men there have got land of their own. Are you aware whether your workmen had land of their own?—Our works were in France, between Calais and Boulogne. We employed a great number of Belgians, but of course they had not land in France.

11,729. Had the French workmen land of their own?—Yes; a great many of the French men no doubt had small plots of land.

11,730. What would be the extent of those plots?—Very small indeed. When a person dies in France the land is divided and sub-divided.

11,731. Would the plot of land be what would be equivalent to a garden here?—Yes, I should say so, nothing more than that.

11,732. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you think that the Belgian or the French miner manages to live altogether in as much comfort as the English?—Yes; I think they do in their way, but then their ways are so different. If they have a cup of coffee, soup, and bread, and an apple, they seem quite contented.

11,733. Without animal food?—They cannot afford animal food, at least they could not in those days. I would like to mention that I have a very strong feeling myself that there ought to be a great effort made to protect people in their right to work and labour wherever they think fit. During our strike we had to send for a large body of police to escort our men to and from our works, and I think it a great injustice that we were compelled to provide a police force for that purpose. I think it is the duty of the country to protect every man in his rights and liberties, and that, if a man chooses to work as a non-union man, he should not be insulted by a body of union men. I think that he should have perfect security to go along Her Majesty's high roads without being in constant fear of

Mr. C. Markham.

17 March 1868.

violence and intimidation. If we could only do away with violence and intimidation, and fear, I believe that trades unions need not be dreaded in any kind of way; at the same time the men should have the right of combining and forming trades unions so long as they did not interfere with freedom of labour.

11,734. (*Mr. Merivale.*) How would you do away with it?—I would make the law very severe—I would not allow picqueting. If a union man was to meet a non-union man and insult him, by calling him "black sheep" and so on, the law should be that he should be very severely punished.

11,735. (*Mr. Harrison.*) It does punish him now, does it not?—No; it is of no use at all.

11,736. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Would you punish him severely for calling a man "black sheep?"—I would certainly, because a person of education can hardly understand the feeling of a workman passing among a crowd of them and women, and children, and being insulted by them; it wants a man of very strong moral nerve and very strong determination to pass through it.

11,737. (*Mr. Harrison.*) The women are not members of the union, are they?—No, but often they are most active in it.

11,738. (*Mr. Merivale.*) Then it is not a change of the law that is required, but you think that the law is not administered as severely as it ought to be?—Not in that respect. In the midst of our strike I sent an agent down into Cornwall to engage a number of Cornish men. The moment the delegates heard that we had sent an agent down there we were followed there by Mr. Brown, and the most lively statements were made by him to prevent us from engaging work-people there. We did engage a large number, and brought them to our works in a special train. We took them to a colliery that was isolated from the rest. They arrived at the colliery about 10 o'clock, and I expected that next day that there would be a great demonstration of union men to drive these people away, and I arranged for a body of police to be in attendance. As I expected, they got a body together of 500 or 600 people, who came on purpose, with their drums and kettles to frighten and intimidate these Cornish people. We luckily met them with the body of police, who informed them that the road where they were was a private road, and that they would not be allowed to pass, and they withdrew. The same sort of thing happened in Staffordshire. We sent for a body of men, and when they arrived they were met by a number of men and insulted, and abused in a way that was very injurious indeed—it was very insulting and very degrading. I think it is very desirable that some strong law should be passed. I do not believe that the leading delegates are ever parties to violence or intimidation, but the system is that the union people generally combine together and they insult these poor people and drive them away, and carry on these strikes for a much longer time than they otherwise would. I have a very strong feeling also that these combinations of masters are very injurious to working men, and I think that the policy which has been pursued by trades unions of destroying small employers of labour has also been very injurious to them. Recently a large strike took place in the north of England to resist a reduction of 10 per cent. among the ironworkers. The masters combined together and beat the men. Immediately after this the masters combined again and reduced the men again 10 per cent., and recently there has been another meeting of the masters, and they have reduced the men again 10 per cent., and I believe that capital will always beat the men, and that it is the interest of men to have as many employers of labour as possible and perfect freedom of labour, and then I think everything would find its level, and people would be absorbed in various trades and they would do as they liked, and it would be better for working men in every way. Amongst the building trades, for instance, I believe that if when they are slack of work they were allowed to work at a lower rate of wages, they would build more cottages and it would be better for working men in every way. Previous to my being summoned to this Commission, there was a meeting at Mr. Gladstone's on the subject of trades unions, and I wrote a letter to Mr. Gladstone expressing my views on the subject, and if the Commission desire it I will put it in.

11,739. (*Chairman*). Will you read it?—The letter is as follows:—"Sir, I observe in the papers that you "are about to receive a deputation of trade union "delegates and to discuss with them the advantages "or otherwise of their unions. Having been con-"nected with the working class all my life, and having "been opposed to all those regulations that interfere "with the freedom and liberty of labour, I have pre-"sumed to offer a few remarks for your consideration. "In the first place I maintain that labour is a market-"able commodity, and is subject to the ordinary laws "that govern supply and demand. In making this "assertion I except those cases of what I call con-"spiracy. In many of the Sheffield and other trades, "men who exercise their right to work in defiance of "union regulations do so in the constant terror of "violent assaults. In my opinion the gigantic com-"bination of the engine drivers on all the principal "railways in England was also a conspiracy; and as "far as I am able to judge if the men had been true "to one another they might have stopped or mate-"rially interfered with the traffic of the country. "Having formerly been connected with the Midland "Company for 13 years as one of their engineers, I "can bear testimony to the steady and industrious "habits of the enginemen and firemen not only upon "that railway but the class as a body. For many years "past it has been the policy of railway companies to "employ lads as engine cleaners and gradually to "promote them to the position of drivers and to give "a preference by promotion only, and most railway "companies have not hitherto employed engine-"drivers, but have trained them on their respective "railways. On the ground of equity and justice, the "system has been fair and judicious, and has enabled "the industrious and steady youth to obtain a certain "position in course of time. The reward for this "kindness and consideration was met on the part of "the men with a combination, and which in my "opinion should be designated conspiracy, for all the "men were keenly sensible that if their business was "open to competition the supply of men would soon "be greater than the demand. The North Eastern "Railway with great determination and ability resisted "the conspiracy that was formed against them, and "having been successful they practically broke up the "combination. A great disturbance was created in "this neighbourhood about 18 months ago by delegates "from the collieries union in Yorkshire. I was in-"formed that the object and intention of the union "was to become practically dictators in the manage-"ment of our property. I told the men at once that "I was willing to discuss any subject that might tend "to promote our mutual interest, but at the same time "I would not under any circumstances employ union "men, as I was convinced they would sooner or later "destroy our trade and connexion, and more especially "as we were not connected in any way with a coal "and ironmasters union. A violent strike was the "result, and lasted for nearly five months, and ter-"minated by the men agreeing to our original deter-"mination. Trades unions have of late years "extended the basis of their operations, and if a "difference of opinion exists in any branch of trade "and a strike follows, the various trades of the "country are called upon to contribute and defeat "the employer. If he is in a small way of business "with a limited capital they may succeed, and the "fact is the unions have of late years destroyed and "broken up an immense numbers of small employers "of labour, and the trade of the country is gradually "drifting into the hands of large capitalists. Trade "combinations have been followed by an association "of masters in different parts of the country, and it

" necessarily follows whenever large bodies of manu-
" facturers combine against the dictates of the unions
" they must defeat them, as the capitalists can allow
" their works to remain idle whilst the poor working
" man is unable to obtain wages for the maintenance
" of himself and family. It has recently been urged
" in the public press, by Mr. Potter, that the combi-
" nations in the building trade have enabled them to
" raise the wages to a considerable extent. It is
" probable such has been the direct result, as the
" demand for labour in the building trade has been
" very considerable, but this result has probably been
" more injurious to the working man than to any
" other class. Houses have to be provided, and as
" they are generally the property of people who invest
" their savings, and to produce them a fair amount of
" interest, the direct result has been that the cottage
" accommodation is being gradually diminished. If
" 10 per cent. is added to the cost of building, 10 per
" cent. of accommodation is curtailed, and many fac-
" tories and workshops are not built, simply on
" account of the additional cost. We have built a
" large number of cottages and have provided three
" bedrooms to each house, and as we only charge
" 2*s.* 6*d.* per week for rent to our colliers, which
" also includes a garden and pigstye, we look
" beyond the simple interest for our investment
" in obtaining the most skilful and steady work-
" men. Limitation of apprentices is the most cruel
" injustice to the families of working men, most of
" whom however have been brought up in the belief
" of the benefits of such limitation. It is clear that
" where the number of apprentices is limited the
" children of the parents must become common
" labourers or soldiers, or be maintained by their
" parents or the parish. If the most perfect freedom
" of labour prevailed in every branch of trade every
" one would find his own level; the production of
" many articles would be materially cheapened, and
" no people would benefit more in the aggregate than
" the working classes themselves. In this district
" where the iron and coal industries have undergone
" a rapid development during the last 20 years, the
" most perfect freedom of labour prevails, and if a
" commission was appointed I believe they would
" find that taking all things into consideration the
" men earn more money, are provided with better
" schools, and are gradually becoming more intelligent
" than in those districts where the unions are almost
" omnipotent. Much has been said of the advance
" of wages by the trade union delegates, but they
" totally lose sight of the fact that wages of every
" description have risen during the last 20 years.
" Amongst domestic servants wages have probably
" increased 100 per cent. during the above period,
" and this great change in their position has been
" accomplished without combinations, and simply
" from the law of supply and demand. No manu-
" facturer can pay less for his labour than its proper
" value, if he attempts to do so he collects around
" him an inferior class of workmen, and ultimately
" gets beaten in the race of competition. I have long
" viewed with much misgivings the combinations of
" masters against their workpeople, and nothing
" would induce me to join such a combination except
" under the greatest pressure, but if I was connected
" with a small business and a limited capital, I should
" be compelled greatly against my will to join a
" mutual association for the protection of my property.
" A very recent reduction has been again made in
" the wages of the iron workers in the North of
" England, and it was I believe accomplished with
" little difficulty by the combination of large employ-
" ers of labour. Such combinations must be most
" injurious to the interests of working men. In this
" district the men go from one works to another, and
" they frequently leave their work with one employer
" in the evening, and make arrangements to begin
" work with another employer the following morning,
" and by this system they gradually raise labour to
" its marketable value. No one feels stronger than I
" do that some national benefit and provident
" societies should be established, by which working
" men could invest their savings and insure their
" lives. It is true that the Post Office Savings Banks
" are doing great good, but still the working man can
" only invest his savings at a lower rate of interest than
" any other class. A very small weekly payment is
" sufficient to insure workmen against accidents, but
" trades unions have not I believe dealt with this
" subject in a comprehensive manner. Mr. Potter will
" probably inform you that trades unions do not limit
" the rates of wages, although they fix the minimum
" rate. Such a statement is practically deceptive, as
" employers well know that if they were to give
" their best men a higher rate of wages than the
" average they would soon be compelled to advance
" the wages of the inferior workmen. By the rules
" of many trades unions the most experienced work-
" man receives the same amount of money as the idle
" apprentice who has recently served his time. With
" regard to the hours of labour I have always viewed
" that question as one open to grave consideration,
" but I believe it must ultimately be settled, in a
" great measure, by competition in other parts of the
" world. It has usually been considered by mechanics
" that 57½ hours is a week's work, and it has always
" appeared to me strange that trades delegates have
" not endeavoured to reduce the hours of labour to a
" considerable extent. At the same time I look for-
" ward to the settlement of this question by the
" adoption of piece work, which must in my judgment,
" sooner or later, become universal. The attempts
" that have been made successfully by trades unions
" to prevent a man from putting forth his whole
" strength and preventing him from earning such a
" sum as is suitable to his wants and requirements is
" a gross injustice against the skilful man. Some
" men can do nearly double the amount of work that
" an inferior workman can, but by the present system
" the skilful man is brought down to the inferior
" level. Every one must admit that the working
" man has the right of obtaining the highest remu-
" neration he can for his labour, and it is his duty to
" do so. I fear I have intruded too much upon your
" time, but as the subject you are about to discuss is
" one of gigantic importance, I thought under the
" circumstances you might not be indisposed to con-
" sider the opinions of one who believes himself to be
" as well a wisher of the working class as can be
" found amongst men engaged in commercial pursuits,
" and one who believes and has always expressed the
" opinion that the interests of the employer and
" employed are identical. The works which I have
" charge of probably support a population of 14,000 or
" 15,000, as we employ between 4,000 and 5,000 men
" and boys. I am sir, your obedient servant, Charles
" Markham."

11,740. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Are the statements in that paper based on any personal experience of the action of trades unions that have come before you in your own business.—I have been connected with the working classes for 25 years. I have had to do with large bodies of men all my life, and my sympathies and feelings are all with the working men.

11,741. Have you been manager or officer, or had the charge of works in which trades unions have actually interfered with the management?—No, certainly not. I have happily not been connected with any works where trades unions have been omnipotent in any kind of way.

11,742. (*Mr. Mathews.*) As a man of ordinary observation, would it be possible for you to live in a district where you were surrounded by trades unions without having a knowledge of their policy and results?—Of course I have always taken a great interest in the way they were carrying on their business, and always had a great dread of them. I was connected with the Eastern Counties in 1850, when the strike of the engine drivers took place, and a more wicked thing I believe was never done by trades union people. Mr. John V. Gooch, who was formerly the locomotive engineer of the South-Western, came to the Great Eastern, and some two or three men misconducted themselves, and were fined by him. Nearly all the engine drivers sent in their notices, and the result

Mr. C. Markham.

17 March 1868.

was a general strike upon the railway. I took a very active part in that struggle—the great body of the men left the service, and their places were filled up by others, and the difficulty was got over without causing public inconvenience, but the poor fellows that gave in their notices were dispersed over all the country, and they suffered great privations. I think a more wicked and wanton strike was never started than that.

11,743. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) How do you connect that with trades unions?—There was a trades union of these engine drivers, and they had a meeting, and they very probably thought they could stop the traffic of the railway.

11,744. It was distinctly a trades union meeting, and they struck as trades unionists?—Yes.

11,745. (*Lord Elcho.*) Have you any moulders and mill-men who are in the union?—Yes. Some of our moulders have been connected with the society for years, and they said that if I wished they would withdraw, but I said "you have not interfered with "our rights as masters, and so long as you conduct "yourselves in the same way in which you always "have done, I do not wish to interfere with you or "to make you withdraw, and I will give you an "indemnity, that in case any accident occurs to you "you shall receive the benefit from the fund, although "there is a rule stating that no person connected "with a trades union shall receive any benefit from "it."

11,746. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Then the only union men whom you actually employ have never given you the least trouble?—No, if they did we would not have them on the ground.

11,747. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Your collieries are on a large scale, are they not?—Yes.

11,748. Have you much piece work?—Yes.

11,749. In the manufacture of pipes, for instance, one man undertakes to make the pipes at so much per ton?—Yes.

11,750. In the case of the employment of men under this piece work system there is no obstacle to the men emerging to the condition of over men, is there?—They generally do. If a person has more aptitude for business in any kind of way than others he is put forward at once, and soon gets on.

11,751. So that is a very good school of emulation for the workmen, and helps any superior workmen to work themselves up gradually?—I think that almost all the foremen in the country have worked themselves up on that principle.

11,752. You consider that your work is better done on that principle than if you had no piece work?—We could not manage it without.

11,753. The men are perfectly satisfied with it I suppose?—Yes; they prefer it very much with us, because they are enabled to do as they like, and can earn either much or little money,

11,754. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Will you tell me whether the general education of your workmen (more especially of your skilled workmen) has improved of late years?—I have no hesitation at all in saying that in the education of our people a very great improvement has taken place in our district.

11,755. You do not think that any mischief arises from a boy going partly to school and partly being occupied in his business?—I think myself (and have rather strong views about the matter) that no boy should be allowed to go to work that cannot read and write—and if he can read and write, I think that the rest of the education should be done in a great measure by himself. I think that this new Act will be attended with great difficulties. In many cases lads maintain a poor widow and part of the family, and to withdraw them altogether would be a cruel wrong to the family. But if a boy can read and write well, with the facilities of a cheap press, and the use of libraries about the country, if he has any emulation in him he will rise to the surface in the present day.

11,756. Have you paid any attention to the late discussions that have taken place about what is called technical education?—Yes.

11,757. What is your view about that?—I think that there is a great deal of nonsense in it.

11,758. (*Mr. Hughes.*) I quite agree with you in your view about the boys not being allowed to go into the pit until they can read and write well, but that a little conflicts with your view as to unlimited competition of labour, does it not?—I think not. If I had my way I would not allow any lad to be employed that cannot read and write. With regard to technical education, I think that if you look into any of our large workshops where perhaps you may find 2,000 or 3,000 men, there probably will be very few men in that large body of men that will take any interest in it. For instance, in large factories now, everything is subdivided—labour is subdivided into various sections; an employer of labour wants a man to do merely a certain operation and no more; and, with regard to foremen, even amongst the superior class, you will find very few of them that will take any interest in technical education. I think that there ought to be great facilities in the way of models, libraries, and schools, where a person, if he has an aptitude and desire to receive technical education, should be able to do so. But to give all the mechanics of the country technical education, I think, is very absurd.

The following statement was handed in by the witness:

STAVELEY WORKS WORKMEN'S CLUB ACCOUNT.—Receipts and Expenditure for 10 years, from 1st January 1858 to 31st December 1867.

RECEIPTS.					EXPENDITURE.	Amount paid to members, including medicine, attendance, &c., &c.			Management and Stationery.			Total.		
1858		£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.	To Balance in hand this date -	163	13	2	1858 - -	1,322	9	5	25	7	7	1,347	17	0
1858	To amount subscribed by workmen this year - - -	1,248	8	2	1859 - -	1,713	17	8	10	0	0	1,723	17	8
					1860 -	1,610	12	6	19	12	0	1,630	4	6
1859	To do. - - - -	1,385	14	3	1861 - -	1,759	2	3	16	16	5	1,775	18	8
1860	To do. - - - -	1,763	11	4	1862 - -	2,034	18	0	21	13	0	2,056	11	0
1861	To do. - - - -	2,001	12	2	1863 - -	2,134	14	2	12	12	8	2,147	6	10
1862	To do. - - - -	1,897	14	11	1864 - -	2,029	3	9	10	0	0	2,039	3	9
1863	To do. - - - -	1,951	18	7	1865 - -	2,186	0	9	10	0	0	2,196	0	9
1864	To gift to the club, by the late Mr. R. Barrow - -	296	11	11	1866 - -	2,177	3	1	21	3	5	2,198	6	6
„	To amount subscribed by workmen this year - - -	2,171	12	9	1867 - -	2,250	18	1	26	12	3	2,277	10	4
1865	To do. - - - -	2,213	7	3		19,218	19	8	173	17	4	19,392	17	0
1866	To do. - - - -	2,086	16	3	1867									
1867	To do. - - - -	2,238	14	8	Dec. 31 By balance in hand this date - -							26	18	5
		£ 19,419	15	5							£	19,419	15	5

Note.—By this statement it is shown that the total expense of the fund for 10 years, during which nearly 20,000*l.* has been received from and disbursed among the workmen, has amounted to only 173*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.*, or to less than nine-tenths per cent. of the receipts.

E. BEDDOW, Accountant.

STAVELEY WORKS WORKMEN'S SICK AND ACCIDENT FUNDS.

Mr. C. Markham.

17 March 1868

I hereby certify that the amount received from the workmen on account of the sick and accident funds during the six months ending 8th February 1868, was as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
On account of the sick fund - -	1,149	18	7
On account of the accident fund - -	756	14	5
Add contributed by the Staveley Coal and Iron Co. Limited, (1st instalment of £2,000) paid 24th August 1867 -	500	0	0
	£2,406	13	0
Less, payments to members, medical attendance, and management:—			
On account of the sick fund 1,167 17 7			
On account of the accident fund - - - 422 15 0			
	1,590	12	7
	£ 816	0	5

The cost of management for the two funds being as follows:—Ten workmen are paid 3*s.* each and 1 workman 7*s.*, (the latter including railway fare,) for each attendance. Committee meetings are held once in each month, and if all the 11 working men attend each meeting, the yearly payment will be 22*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.*, which is equally divided between the two funds.

The salary of the Secretary to the sick fund is 15*l.* per annum, the salary of the Secretary to the accident fund is 10*l.* per annum, making a total of 47*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.* per annum for management of the two funds, or 23*l.* 12*s.* 0*d.* for the six months.

E. BEDDOW,

Accountant to the Staveley Coal and Iron Co., Limited.

27th March 1868.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. WILLIAM OUTTERSON WOOD examined.

Mr. W. O. Wood.

11,759. (*Chairman.*) Are you managing director or viewer of a colliery?—I am the manager at Messrs. Strakers and Love's collieries.

11,760. Where are those collieries?—In Durham.

11,761. How many men are there working in the collieries?—We have 2,925 men and boys.

11,762. Are they coal mines only, or coal and iron?—Coal.

11,763. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Is it Brancepeth colliery?—Brancepeth and Willington collieries.

11,764. (*Chairman.*) How long have you had the management of those collieries?—I have been with the firm for seven years.

11,765. When you began was there any action of unions in that neighbourhood?—None at all.

11,766. Since you began has the action of unions been felt?—In the summer and autumn of 1863 we had delegates from Yorkshire and from Northumberland who came into the district. The colliers in the district were all induced to join. Our collieries (we have five of them) were the last that joined.

11,767. What particular effect had that upon the relation between the working men and those who employed them?—It had a most unpleasant effect; it placed the men in an altogether antagonistic position to their employers.

11,768. Can you give specific instances to show when matters were at peace and amicable terms prevailed between you and your workmen how did the change begin?—Yes.

11,769. (*Lord Elcho.*) First of all, will you tell us for how many years those collieries had been worked without strikes?—Since 1844. I have already said that in 1863 delegates came from Northumberland and Yorkshire. The men were summoned to meetings, and the delegates asked the men to join the union, promised that they would obtain them higher wages and shorten the hours of labour; and, in fact, proposed a sort of Utopian scheme altogether—the men were to have anything they wanted almost. They used very strong expressions. They told the men that they were oppressed, that they were so many slaves, and so on.

11,770. (*Chairman.*) What are the wages now, and what were the wages then?—The wages at present are from 4*d.* to 6*d.* a day better than they were then. At that time the good men were making 5*s.* a day, they are now making 5*s.* 6*d.* With that they have their house and coal and garden free, except a small payment of 6*d.* a fortnight for leading their fire coal.

11,771. (*Lord Elcho.*) How long have the wages been so raised?—We raised the wages in 1865.

11,772. (*Chairman.*) You say that your men have house and garden and fuel free?—Yes.

11,773. And the fuel brought to their premises?—Yes, for 6*d.* a fortnight.

11,774. As much as they like?—Yes, as much as they can burn.

11,775. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) At the time of the strike what were the men making?—Good men were making 5*s.*, some of them 6*s.*, 7*s.*, and 8*s.*

11,776. Did the strike cause the rise of wages?—No.

11,777. Did that rise of wages follow upon the increased improvement of trade?—Yes.

11,778. A rise of wages would have taken place without any assistance from the union?—Yes, in fact there was no union then. When the wages were raised, the union had long been broken up.

11,779. (*Chairman.*) What was the way in which they began to interfere with what you describe as the happy course of management?—I was going on to say that the action taken by the union delegates or agents in all the collieries was as follows: they called meetings of the men, formed a committee for each firm, and a sub-committee for each pit. There was a secretary and treasurer for each committee. The delegates were paid so much per week, about 30*s.* a week, and the treasurers and secretaries about 25*s.* a week. They proposed to have the control of the works in a great measure. All disputes between the employers and the men were to be referred to the union committee for settlement. The collieries in the district were induced to join. As I have said, our collieries were the last that joined.

11,780. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You mean that the men of the collieries joined?—Yes. Emboldened by rapidly increasing numbers the delegates proceeded to unfold their plans. After a course of "Restriction" (which I shall explain to the Commission presently), the men on certain collieries which should be selected were to make certain demands. If these demands were not conceded the men were to strike. The other collieries in the district remaining at work were to contribute towards the support of those men who were on strike, and thus prolong the strike to an indefinite extent, expecting to be able to reduce the employers to submission. First of all, the trial properly commenced with several small employers. At one colliery, Inkerman colliery at Towlaw, the masters employed some men who were obnoxious to the union, and the leaders of the union told the colliers what they were to do. They turned out of work, stopped the pit, and refused to proceed to work until the men who had had notice were again employed. The same thing was the case with some men who were obnoxious to the union who were employed at Hunwick colliery. Two men were discharged, they were members of the union. The men turned out of work, and would not proceed to work again till those men were restored. At Spennymoor colliery the overman of the pit gave some offence to the men, and they insisted on his being discharged. The owners did not feel inclined to discharge him, and a six weeks strike ensued. Ultimately

Mr. W. O. Wood.

17 March 1868.

the owners were reduced to the necessity of turning the man off altogether; they had no fault to find with him at all, but the only reason was that they were compelled to discharge him by the union men.

11,781. (*Chairman.*) Did it appear how these men became obnoxious to the union men?—Because they were not members and would not join.

11,782. (*Mr. Harrison.*) What was the charge made against the overman?—The men said that he was not fit to have charge of the pit, and they wished to appoint a man of their own choosing.

11,783. (*Chairman.*) They must have said something specific, I presume?—That was all the charge they made, that he was not fit to have charge of the men, or of the pit, and they wished to have somebody whom they liked better. The fact of the matter was that they wished to have a man appointed who would favour them if possible.

11,784. Generally the overlooker, who is unpopular with the men, is so because he does his duty, is he not?—Very frequently so. I will further go on to state what was done at Bolckow and Vaughan's colliery, close to our Bitchburn works. Our Bitchburn men asked for an advance of a shilling a score, which would be equivalent to about 1*d.* a ton. The owners gave it to them. At Messrs. Bolckow and Vaughan's, men working the same seam and the same coal came out and made an application for 1*s.* 6*d.* per score. They gave it to them. Our men came out on strike again, but they did not get anything. They saw that it was of no use demanding those excessive wages, and they went in. Bolckow and Vaughan, whose iron works were dependent upon the supply of coke to keep them going, were obliged to give way. Ultimately they demanded as much as 3*s.* a score advance. The owners could not possibly comply with that, and a strike ensued which lasted about six weeks, and then the men went in again at the original price.

11,785. Was the strike founded on any other principle than that there was a chance of getting the wages if the strike was inconvenient. Had there been a rise in the price of the coal, for instance?—None at all; in fact, just at that time trade was rather slacker than it had been for some time.

11,786. They demanded it because they thought they would get it?—They demanded it because they thought they would get it.

11,787. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) How do you connect this with the union?—Because there was no demand of anything of the kind made previous to the establishment of the union in the district.

11,788. Then the establishment of the union being followed by this strike, you believe that the existence of the union was the cause of the strike?—Yes.

11,789. (*Chairman.*) What did the employers do; did they take any action against the establishment of unions?—They took no united action.

11,790. Did any individuals try to resist the introduction of unions?—Yes; Messrs. Strakers and Love, seeing what the result of the union management was in other places, determined to prevent, if possible, the carrying out of the principle on their collieries, of which I am manager. They are a wealthy firm, and the union delegates discussed the point as to whether a demand should be made first on Messrs. Strakers and Love's collieries, or on Messrs. Pease's, who are next to them. They wished to take the strongest first, so that if they could possibly defeat the strongest they would have the remainder at their mercy. They then carried out a principle which I have before named, that of "restriction;" each man's wages were restricted to 3*s.* per day; independent of the situation of the man or his family, he was to earn no more, and he was to earn no less. This was a very great loss to the owner. The mines produced considerably less coal, the same incidental expenses went on, pumping water, keeping the mine in proper repair, and so on. We found that we could not allow this to go on, and gave notice to the leading men, the secretaries and treasurers and committee-men, and altogether discharged about 42. We gave them 14 days' notice, that being the term of hiring with us.

11,791. (*Mr. Mathews.*) The leading men were in your employ?—They were the leaders of the union on our works. After we gave notice to these they were supported out of the union fund; they were allowed 15*s.* per week. They remained in their houses, which were our property, after their time was up. We were obliged to turn them out and make room for others. The men carried out the restriction principle. I should have said their idea was that they would limit the produce of coals from the mine, reduce the stock on the colliery in case of a strike, reduce the supply to the market, increase the price of coal, and thus raise the wages.

11,792. (*Lord Elcho.*) Have you any written papers stating those objects?—No; but I was told these things by the delegates and the men themselves. I was intimately mixed up with the whole affair.

11,793. (*Mr. Mathews.*) And those objects were avowed by them?—Yes.

11,794. (*Lord Elcho.*) The officers of the union told you that their intentions were to insist upon those things which you have just mentioned?—The officers of the union told me that they were restricting the men's wages to 3*s.* a day for the purpose of reducing the supplies to the market, increasing the price of coal in the market, and raising the wages.

11,795. (*Chairman.*) How did restricting the wages to 3*s.* a day diminish the quantity of coal raised? Were the men paid according to the quantity of coal they raised?—The men were paid according to the quantity of coal they raised.

11,796. And they were not allowed to raise more than 3*s.* worth of coal?—They were not allowed to raise more than 3*s.* worth of coal, whereas before this restriction men were raising as much as 6*s.*, 7*s.*, and 8*s.* worth.

11,797. (*Mr. Mathews.*) The restriction in the wages was equivalent to a restriction in the get?—Yes.

11,798. (*Chairman.*) Did that speculation succeed? No; it was a very foolish idea to attempt such a thing.

11,799. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What was the result?—They went on and carried the restriction principle still farther, and ultimately reduced the men to 1*s.* 3*d.* a day. We gave notice to the officials and discharged them. It was when we did that they reduced at our collieries the earnings to 1*s.* 3*d.* a day. All the collieries in the district were meanwhile restricted to 3*s.* The next thing was, they struck work without notice of one kind or another.

11,800. (*Chairman.*) What was the term of hiring with you?—14 days.

11,801. And they struck at the moment?—They struck without any notice whatever.

11,802. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What did you do?—We brought the ringleaders before the magistrates. They were discharged by the magistrates on account of a want of mutuality in the agreement and the loose way of hiring.

11,803. (*Mr. Mathews.*) The contract was a bad one?—It was not a bad one, but we had no signed bonds; it was a word of mouth hiring, on the custom of the country.

11,804. (*Mr. Harrison.*) A long report of that appeared in the local papers at the time, did it not?—Yes.

11,805. Perhaps you can let us have a copy of that?—I have no copy by me. I have merely a statement of the heads of the affair.

11,806. (*Chairman.*) Were your works stopped?—The works were entirely stopped, we had 1,056 men out on strike. 660 coal hewers came out first, and then induced the men working in the coke yards (we make a large quantity of coke) to come out with them. 396 came out with them, making a total of 1,056.

11,807. (*Mr. Booth.*) What was the immediate cause of that strike?—The discharge of the union

officials was the immediate cause of it. No demand was made until after they had struck work. A circular was then sent in to the owners of which I can give you a copy.

11,808. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Will you read it?—This circular was sent to the managing partner of the firm: "To the Honourable Joseph Love, Esq. "Honoured Sir—We the miners of Brancepeth "colliery do hereby desire the restoration of our "sacrificed men to their usual employment," (that refers to the men we turned off, namely, the officials of the union,) "and we hope that your benevo- "lence will be so kind as to grant us our request, "as we want to go to no stringent measures to- "wards their restoration. Also we want to have a "weigh on the bank top to weigh our coals with, and "a weigh-man of our own to see it justified, and to "be paid by ton." Then comes a list of the prices they wanted, which was an increase from about 25 to 33 per cent. "The under-named prices are a "list of what we want for yard work: siding over, "9*d.* per yard; winning head-ways, 1*s.* 4*d.* per yard; "walls, 1*s.* 2*d.* per yard, including stone; also "all narrow boards, 1*s.* per yard; holing a board "narrow, 1*s.* per yard; and for turning a board "away 2 yards wide, and laying her out wide, 3*s.* "The following prices for the coal per ton: the north- "way whole coal, 1*s.* 3*d.* per ton; the southway whole "coal, 1*s.* 1½*d.* per ton; and all broken 1*s.* per ton." The prices previously paid were 9¼*d.* per ton.

118,09. (*Lord Elcho.*) One of the things mentioned there is the weighing at the pit's mouth, is it not?—Yes.

11,810. Has any change been made in that respect?—We conceded that point to them at once.

11,811. That has been made the subject of parliamentary inquiry, has it not?—I do not know whether it has since then.

11,812. I think the subject of weighing at the pit's mouth was brought before the Mines Committee?—I daresay it was. We conceded that point at once, and it was of course followed up by the demand for the restoration of the "sacrificed men," that is to say, the men who were discharged, and also for this increase in wages, which amounted to from 25 to 33 per cent. It would have cost the owners 20,000*l.* a year to have acceded to it.

11,813. (*Chairman.*) Had it any effect upon the trade of the district?—It had a very great effect upon the trade of the district. Do you refer to the coal and coke trade?

11,814. I want to know any prejudicial effect upon the district which you think arose from the strike. It stopped the supply of coal, that is self-evident?—Yes, and we lost orders.

11,815. Then when they returned to work did not the consumers of coal come again for the article?—No, our sale is chiefly by means of contracts. During the strike we were unable to take up any contracts, and lost a great many of the contracts which we had. It thoroughly disorganized our trade, and almost completely destroyed the business.

11,816. Will you give us an example of what sort of contracts you mean?—We contract to supply so many hundred tons of coals or coke per week to either blast furnaces or railways, or anything of that sort, perhaps for 12 months, or a term of years.

11,817. All those contracts were stopped and your competitors had an advantage over you?—Yes.

11,818. (*Mr. Booth.*) Did it lead to the stoppage of any of those blast furnaces?—It led to a great deal of inconvenience.

11,819. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Did these transactions take place in 1863?—In the winter of 1863 and the beginning of 1864. It lasted for 17 weeks.

11,820. I believe it especially applied to the Brancepeth colliery?—Yes.

11,821. Was not the principal feature of that dispute that it referred to the question of total forfeiture of the tubs which were sent up short of weight?—That was one question in it.

11,822. Was not it the principal question?—No, it was not the principal question. That was the reason which was given by the men, but there was another behind it, namely, an increase of wages.

11,823. But the practice of the works at the time was, that if a tub under a specified weight were sent up it was not paid for at all, and it was forfeited out of the wages of the men?—Just so.

11,824. That had led for a long time to very great disputes, had it not?—No, it never had before; the question was never raised before.

11,825. What was the weight under which the tub was forfeited?—There were different weights according to the various collieries. We paid there by measure, and if the tub did not come to bank containing so much coal it was confiscated. The amount of confiscated tubs came to one per cent. of the total quantity drawn from the pits.

11,826. At the time of the strike, do you mean?—Yes, at the time of the strike.

11,827. (*Mr. Booth.*) As soon as the question was raised the point was conceded?—Yes it was conceded at once.

11,828. (*Chairman.*) Was there any attempt to get the sympathy of the public or subscriptions from them?—There was a great deal of gross exaggeration of the state of the case. Misrepresentations of every kind and description were made. The owners were abused and the agents under them also. Every description of epithet that could be possibly employed of an insulting and degrading nature was applied to them. The men gave up work. The houses were the property of the owners, but the men refused to quit the houses. We served a notice upon them, which I shall put in. Although they had no right to keep possession of the houses one day after they ceased their work, we served this notice upon them: "Take notice, that "by your having absented yourself from our service "you have determined and broken your contract of "hiring with us, and we do hereby require you to "deliver up to us the possession of the cottage house "which you have occupied as our servant before the "27th day of October 1863, and in default of your "so doing you will be turned out of possession." They took no notice of that; we gave them a week's grace, and then proceeded to eject a certain number of families at each place. We ejected 20 or 30 families in each colliery.

11,829. Did you go before the county court, or eject them by policemen?—We had a large number of policemen on the ground at the time, and we employed men who went in, brought out the goods, and took them wherever the people wanted them taken.

11,830. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Did the houses remain empty?—We wanted the houses to put other men into.

11,831. Did they remain empty?—For a short time.

11,832. (*Chairman.*) And you were enabled to put other tenants in?—We were obliged to turn them out on account of the intimidation going on. They abused the men going to work, and did everything in their power to annoy them, and we were obliged to barricade the houses, so as not to allow any of the union men access to the villages.

11,833. (*Mr. Harrison.*)—You did not actually fill the houses out of which you turned those men?—We could not do so at the time.

11,834. You did not want the houses, but you turned the men out?—We turned the men out to prevent them from intimidating the others.

11,835. (*Mr. Booth.*) You wanted to have the houses ready in case you should get other men?—Yes.

11,836. (*Mr. Harrison.*) They did not come, however?—Yes, they came. Then finding that this first notice was of very little use we gave to the men remaining in a further notice:—"Notice is hereby "given.—The owners of Brancepeth, Oakenshaw, and "Sunny Brow collieries offer to give each man living "in their houses and having given up their work 10*s.*, "on condition that he removes his furniture within

Mr. W. O. Wood.

17 March 1868.

"seven days of this date, November 4th, 1863. The "money will be paid on delivery of the key." We also gave them this notice:—"Notice is hereby given "that the owners of Brancepeth, Oakenshaw, Sunny "Brow, and Brandon collieries are prepared, in seven "days from this date, to remove by railway or waggon "the men on strike, with their wives, families, and "furniture, who are occupying the owners' houses, to "any village or town in the county of Durham, and "to give them 5*s.* towards paying their lodgings until "they have time to get work elsewhere." This was of no use, the men still remained in their houses under the direction of the union delegates. It was to obtain the sympathy and support of the public by being turned out that they took that course. As I said before we had a large number of policemen on the works. At one time we had 95 policemen on the ground and 96 specials sworn in, and it required all those men to protect the works. There were night attacks made on the collieries by men who had their faces blackened, armed with sticks and pokers, &c., and we were obliged to arm the constabulary to withstand their attacks. By order of the magistrates the police were allowed to wear their cutlasses during the time this was going on; there were 13 cases of intimidation brought before the magistrates, 10 of which were sent to quarter sessions, and a great many cases of violence occurred in which we could find no trace of the parties.

11,837. (*Lord Elcho.*) Were convictions obtained in all those 13 cases?—Convictions were obtained in all the 10 cases that were sent to the quarter sessions. We had to pay those policemen 15*s.* a week each; the average number of policemen on the works was 70.

11,838. For how long?—For 16 weeks. The strike lasted for 17 weeks, but we did without them the first week, and then they remained to the end. Every man at work received threatening letters, of which I have some copies here as specimens. They were sent in the form of a sort of circular. People were told to prepare for their death, and that their coffins were got ready, and graves were prepared for them, and so on.

11,839. Will you read some of those?—"Dear "Friend, this is to inform you that you are one of the "men that got the men to work, and you must pre- "pare to meet your God, for death is at hand, it will "come by night or by day." Another is, "My dear "Friend, I write these few lines to you to inform "you that Mr. Ruxton, the priest of Willington "church, has got orders to get some graves ready, "and you must prepare yourself for it, and you must "make the best of your time in praying to your "Maker, for your time is but short in this world, for it "will come to you by night or by day." Another is, "Dear Friend, this is to inform you that you must "get prepared for your death, for Mr. Ruxton has got "orders for some graves to be ready as soon as pos- "sible. Get prepared, for you are one that will "suffer. You are one of the men that has got the "other men to work, and there is other two or three "that must prepare, but they will get their summons "as well as you." These letters were sent to all the men working.

11,840. Did you make any attempt to trace them?—We put the letters into the hands of the police, but they could make nothing of them.

11,841. (*Chairman.*) Were they from your own post office, or were they sent to a distance to be posted?—Some of them came from Durham, some from Willington, and a lot were slipped under the doors. The consequence was that a number of the men whom we got at work, what the unionists call "blacklegs," were so frightened that they gave over.

11,842. (*Lord Elcho.*) Then those letters did produce some effect?—Yes, and we had to provide an escort of policemen to protect the men to and from their work. They used to have tin cans, bricks, stones, and other missiles thrown at them.

11,843. With regard to those cases in which the men were committed, were they committed for causing general disturbance or for some individual outrage?—For individual violence in many cases.

11,844. On person or property?—On person. We had our property so well guarded that they could not do anything there. They made two or three night attempts; bodies of men from 300 to 400 formed within a short distance of the colliery, and walked up to attack it, but found the policemen there with their cutlasses, and they could not face the steel.

11,845. Were they armed?—Yes, with sticks, and bars of iron, &c.

11,846. In these cases of outrage were the persons injured?—Yes, severely.

11,847. How?—By sticks and stones.

11,848. Were there any attempts to destroy any property by blowing up houses in that district, anything in the way of what they call "bottling?"—Nothing of that kind was done.

11,849. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Were you present on any of these occasions?—I was present. I was knocked down one day.

11,850. (*Lord Elcho.*) Was that one of the cases sent for trial?—No, that man got a month from the magistrate.

11,851. Will you tell us what happened in that case?—We had been turning the men out of their houses at Brandpeth; there was a tremendous crowd and a great riot; they were throwing sticks and half-bricks and stones. We were escorting those men who had been turning the men on strike out of their houses to a place near the railway station to get refreshment. I was at the head of a column of police escorting those men. Stones were flying about. I turned and walked backward, so as to be able to see what was coming, so as to stop any stones that I might see which might have hit me. On my doing so one of the men put his leg behind me and tried to throw me over. If I had been thrown over probably I should have been seriously injured. The policeman that was alongside of me saw the man who did it, and pointed him out; we got a warrant for him, brought him up before the magistrate, and he got a month for it. The stones and bricks were flying like hail.

11,852. (*Chairman.*) What particular thing fetched you to the ground?—The policeman just saved me.

11,853. (*Lord Elcho.*) You were only tripped up?—The man put his leg out to trip me up, and was going to strike at me; if it had not been for the policeman I should have been injured.

11,854. (*Chairman.*) The men resumed work, as I understand you, after 17 weeks, what was the state of things then?—The men did not all resume work then; I went into Scotland and got a number of men from there, a number of men were got from Cumberland, and we manned the collieries as far as possible with non-union men. The owners issued an order that no union man would be employed. They were willing, however, to employ the old hands that would leave the union, and we managed to get the collieries into pretty nearly full work about the end of the strike. Then a great many of the union men, seeing that there was no chance, came in. The others hung about the works for weeks, some of them emigrated, and some of them got work elsewhere. The effect of the strike on the tradesmen of the district was most disastrous, many of them failed afterwards, and there were a great many women and children about begging, and a great many families were reduced to destitution; as I said before the coal and coke trade of our collieries was thrown into a very disorganized state, in fact almost completely destroyed.

11,855. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What has been the state of things since?—This led to the dissolution of the union in the district altogether. They found that they could not beat us, whom they took first. During the time of the struggle with us, the other collieries in the district were at work, and a levy was made on the men working of so much a head to support the men on strike.

11,856. (*Lord Elcho.*) To how much did that levy amount?—From 2*s.* to 3*s.* a fortnight, I believe 10 per cent. on the wages of the men at work in the district round. These men got tired of supporting the men on strike, they saw that we were getting the

better of them. They found how far wrong the delegates were leading them, and they gave up the union in a great many cases.

11,857. Where did those delegates come from?—One of them came from Yorkshire.

11,858. Do you know from what colliery?—I cannot tell, but I can tell the names of two of the men. There was a man from Northumberland called Sheldon.

11,859. Do you know from what colliery he came?—I cannot tell.

11,860. Do you know what part of the county he came from?—From the coalfield of Northumberland, and the other man was called Thompson—Thompson and Sheldon were the two principal leaders; the trade of the district was seriously affected, the loss to the men in wages was calculated at 32,000*l.*, and the loss to the owners at 18,000*l.*

11,861. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You say that the union was broken up; what was the result?—As soon as our collieries were pronounced non-union collieries, men flocked to them from all parts of the country; we had far more men applying for work than we needed. The men in the other collieries in the district, seeing the result of the strike on our works, saw clearly that they were being misled, and they gave it up too, and now I do not think that there is a single union man in the district.

11,862. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Did all the men in your colliery join the union?—All the coal hewers and all the coke men.

11,863. Did you get any evidence which connected these outrages and violence that you speak of with any determination come to by the union to take them, or with any order that was given?—The delegates were much too careful to allow anything of that kind, whatever they did they did in secret. The men carried those things out in such a way that we could never trace them to the source.

11,864. I suppose, as to the great crowd you speak of which there was at the eviction of these people from their houses, and when you were yourself assaulted, that was a crowd of men all over the neighbourhood?—They were our own men principally.

11,865. Do you mean that it was confined to those on strike?—There were a great many people from the neighbouring collieries, but the great bulk of them were our own men on strike.

11,866. (*Mr. Booth.*) You say that your men were assisted by weekly payments from men engaged in neighbouring collieries, were those collieries under the same union as your men were under?—Yes, under the same union.

11,867. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You state that you had very great difficulty in getting any legal evidence of the connexion between the union and these operations?—Very great.

11,868. But you have no doubt that all these proceedings originated in the unions?—Not the slightest; the reason why we could not get any positive evidence was, that when the union held their nightly meetings they kept closed doors, nobody was admitted except officials.

11,869. So that you have no legal proof, only moral proof?—Yes. We had nothing of the kind before the union was established.

11,870. (*Mr. Harrison.*) But then you were not evicting people from their houses before?—No.

11,871. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Because I suppose they had not then done what you could complain of?—When they were turned out they had ceased work, and still they remained in our houses, which they had no right to do, as the houses were part of their wages.

11,872. (*Chairman.*) They had house and garden provided?—Yes.

11,873. (*Lord Elcho.*) What sort of garden, a quarter of an acre in extent?—Perhaps a tenth of an acre. Some of them do not take their gardens in at all; there are now many gardens lying waste that have not been cultivated for some time. There was something said about benefit societies. I may say that we have a provident society to which the men subscribe 6*d.* per fortnight, and we have an accident fund also.

11,874. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Do they subscribe voluntarily?—Yes, voluntarily.

11,875. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You are treasurers, I suppose?—I am treasurer of the fund. It is managed entirely by the men, with the exception of myself, who am treasurer, and one of the clerks, who is secretary, and who makes the payments. We have also the "Miners' Permanent Relief Fund" established on the works. It is an accident fund; the men subscribe 7*d.* a month, and their families are entitled to assistance in case of death by accident—the widow to 5*s.* a week for herself, and so much per week for each child.

11,876. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) For how long?—As long as she remains a widow.

11,877. And the children, I suppose, until they are grown up?—Until they are 14 years of age.

11,878. (*Chairman.*) Who settles the allowance; so long as the man is out of work is it so much per week?—On the sick fund, as long as the man is out of work he is allowed 8*s.* per week; in the case of any man meeting with an accident, we allow him 5*s.* a week from the colliery so long as he is out of work; and further, in the case of any man getting killed on the works, his widow is allowed to remain in the house on the works as long as she lives, and have her house and garden free.

11,879. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Is there any obligation on the men to join that fund?—Not the slightest.

11,880. How many do not join?—Probably about 40 per cent., they are so careless in providing for the future.

11,881. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) They are unmarried men I suppose?—Yes, unmarried men do not join. We further provide medical attendance for our colliers, which you may say is included in their wages, they have medical attendance for 3*d.* a week if they have families, and if unmarried men for 1½*d.* a week.

11,882. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Do the proprietors contribute anything to those funds?—Yes, to the accident fund they contribute 20 per cent. of whatever is contributed by the men.

11,883. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Do the men pay anything for their drugs?—Nothing at all.

11,884. How are they found?—We keep off each man with a family for 6*d.* per fortnight, that is handed over to the medical man, and he finds the family attendance, with drugs and everything.

11,885. (*Mr. Booth.*) Those that do not subscribe are not attended?—No, but we make it one of the terms of our hiring that the men do all subscribe to the doctor, because if they do not do so they are not able to pay their bill very probably, and then the surgeon has to attend them for nothing.

11,886. (*Chairman.*) And early attendance would very often prevent a long illness?—Yes. With all those advantages I think that our men are, I will not say the best paid, but as well paid as any in the county of Durham or Northumberland.

11,887. How much are the average wages at this time, when they are free to work as they like?—They are making from 5*s.* 6*d.* to 6*s.* and 7*s.* and 8*s.* a day, but the average wages of a good man are 5*s.* to 5*s.* 6*d*

11,888. (*Mr. Mathews.*) For which he does a certain amount of work?—Yes.

11,889. How many hours do the men work?—About 6½ hours on the average.

11,890. And if a man chooses to do more work he can, I suppose?—Yes.

11,891. (*Chairman.*) Is the sanitary condition of the men satisfactory?—Yes.

11,892. (*Mr. Mathews.*) What is the depth of your collieries?—Our collieries are not deep; the deepest of them are not above 70 fathoms, and we have a greater number of old men working more than you will find in deeper collieries and more fiery mines.

11,893. (*Mr. Mathews.*) To what age do the men

Mr. W. O. Wood.

17 March 1868.

work as hewers?—Till about 55; then we give them what we call shift work.

11,894. Till what age do they work at that shift work?—We have them up to 65 or 70.

11,895. And you find things go on well without unions?—Yes, very much better without them.

11,896. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) In fact you have got rid of trades unions altogether?—Yes. Prices have risen 10 per cent. since trades unions have been broken up, owing to the improved trade in the district, but lately there has been a depression.

11,897. (*Mr. Harrison.*) When you say "prices," do you mean prices to the public, or the prices of labour?—As soon as the prices of coal increase we raise the wages, because we find that if we do not pay men as well or better than our neighbours we lose them.

11,898. With regard to the hours of labour, you say that the men work 6½ hours?—The men are in the pit about eight hours, but they only work about 6½ hours.

11,899. (*Mr. Booth.*) But that is optional, they can work longer if they please?—Yes.

11,900. What are the hours of the boys?—The boys are down the pit on an average 12 hours.

11,901. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You employ the boys longer than the men?—Yes.

The witness handed in the following papers:—

HANDBILL circulated by WORKMEN during the strike.

CAUTION.

Upwards of 1,200 workmen are out of employment at the collieries belonging to Messrs. Straker and Love, at Brancepeth, Brandon, Oakenshaw, and Sunnybrow.

We respectfully appeal to the public for support in our present struggle. We have been labouring under an inhuman system of "rocking" the tubs, in order to make them carry more coal to bank. Such a system is not known elsewhere in the coal trade, and we are compelled to resort to the present unpleasant means for redress. The coke burners employed by Messrs. Straker and Love have been paid less for their work than other coke burners in the same district.

HANDBILL, in reply to the above, circulated by the EMPLOYERS.

TO THE PUBLIC.

A bill having been presented to me, stating that the number of men on strike at the collieries of Messrs. Straker and Love is 1,200, I beg to inform the public that this is a great exaggeration. The statement that the coke burners are underpaid on these collieries is an untruth, and this is the first time that I have heard it; and when these men applied for an advance they never made such a statement.

As to the complaint of the rocking of the tub, this is got up for a purpose. There can be no grievance in the mode of working if a man is well paid for his labour; and it is a well-known fact that the pitmen on the collieries have been in the receipt of higher wages than any colliery in the neighbourhood, and this the men themselves admit. Where, then, can there be a grievance? To meet this complaint, the standard weight has been reduced six stones below the weight that we have worked these collieries at for 20 years, making a fine impossible without design; and we now offer to pay by weight instead of measure.

But the real secret of the conflict is whether the regulations of the colliery are to be carried out by the owners or the union committee; the latter is impossible.

(Signed) JOSEPH LOVE.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. J. T. Woodhouse.

Mr. JOHN THOMAS WOODHOUSE examined.

11,902. (*Chairman.*) You are connected with collieries in Derbyshire to a considerable extent, I believe?—Yes.

11,903. Are you managing director or proprietor?—I am not a proprietor. My occupation is that of a colliery viewer, and I am engaged principally in the scientific arrangement of collieries; and in some collieries as the authorized agent and manager, particularly in some collieries in South Derbyshire to which I would respectfully beg bye-and-bye to call the attention of the Commission.

11,904. In the course of your management have you had occasion to notice the action of trades unions upon the workmen employed in the collieries?—I have had occasion in many instances to notice them as an observer, but I have only had personal practical experience, coming into collision, as it were, with trades unions on two occasions. The last occasion is the present dispute that, I understand, is just terminated in South Derbyshire; and the other was a dispute in the same district in the year 1842, when a similar occurrence took place.

11,905. What was the origin and progress of the strike in 1842?—In 1842 wages were very much lower than they are now in that district of South Derbyshire. I may perhaps here state that I have heard Mr. Markham's evidence this morning, in which he quotes Leicestershire. It is not Leicestershire that he meant but South Derbyshire. The coal fields run out of one county into the other; but the part where the dispute is immediately going on is in South Derbyshire, and not in Leicestershire at all.

11,906. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Is that at Church Gresley?—I am the principal agent at Church Gresley. In 1842, about the time when the Chartist agitation was started, a dispute occurred which was mixed up altogether with a rise in wages, and the people's charter as it was called, and beer. It was the custom in South Derbyshire, as it was for many years, and, I believe, now is in Staffordshire, to have beer supplied for the working men. This beer was not sent down into the pits, but was kept in stores on the pit's bank, and we found that it had a very prejudicial effect in this way: When the men came out of the pit hot and thirsty, they naturally went to the store and had some beer; that had the effect instead of doing them any good of sending them off to the public house, and they became more and more thirsty, and there were lots of instances of persons never going to their homes at all, but stopping fuddling all day and night in public houses and coming to work at the collieries the next morning, that we determined to put a stop to it. It was a concurrence of the circumstances which I have mentioned that resulted in a strike. I think it lasted two or three months. Trade was at the same time very bad indeed, and there was a great disturbance at that time all over England and North Staffordshire; but ultimately the thing subsided, and after a certain period trade became better. Wages have gradually risen to be pretty nearly double what they were then, and we have had no strike or any disturbance whatever in that district since that time until February of last year. In February of last year one William Brown came down into South Derbyshire and began to lecture, and got on from one thing to another, and tried to induce the men to join the miners' union. Things have gone on from bad to worse, until, I believe, that now from the last report I had, the thing has come utterly to a collapse. The union people had been paying men that were out of work at the rate of 7*s.* a week. That suddenly went down to 4*s.* a week, and now it is stopped altogether, I am told. There are a great many people out of employment; I may say some hundreds. The trade of the district was lost for the winter, and the collieries were losing money. It was altogether a bad state of things. There were innumerable acts of violence, smashing windows and beating people and intimidation, all of which I or my agent will be prepared to show in detail, and this has entirely arisen from the action of the union people. There was not a single complaint of any kind previously. I did not take any notice of it at the time that it took place, but I sent for two or three men from the Granville colliery, and I said, "What is it you men have to complain of? I have "been agent for more than 30 years, and I have never

" refused to attend to any working men; everybody is " open to come to me. If he has a complaint to make, " or anything is wrong, pray let me know in order " that I may put it right." I could of course get no answer. The people were dumb, and the men went away, and I could make nothing of it, and we have been forced to wait patiently for the development of it. Some of the coalowners have taken some trouble to import fresh hands.

11,906. I have set on a few fresh hands at Church Gresley, but not many, and they are remaining at work, but on the whole I thought it better to wait with patience until the thing was over, and then, perhaps, our people would come to their senses again, and would find we were their best friends, and that we should go on better hereafter. However, that was the state of things.

11,907. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) How do you connect this generally with trades' unions?—In this way; that this man Brown is, I was informed, (a great deal of this must not be regarded positive evidence in a strict point of view) is from South Yorkshire where the miners' union is in force now.

11,908. What is he?—He began by preaching, and took a building called the Peoples' Hall, which has been erected on the common at Church Gresley for sundry purposes. First of all it was, I believe, intended for an institution for educating workpeople. A philanthropic individual in our neighbourhood, I believe, was instrumental in having it built. By-and-by it fell into the hands of the Primitive Methodists, I am told, and from them the union party has been hiring it, and has been using it for a place for assembly. It has been the focus of the whole thing?

11,909. When you say "preaching," do you mean religious preaching?—*Quasi* religion, giving out a text and shouting from it.

11,909. How do you connect this preaching with what followed?—I connect this preaching with what followed by his advice to the working classes then and there attending to join the miners union with the view of working shorter hours, with less weight, more money, and so on.

11,910. Did the men follow his advice?—Many of them did.

11,911. What was the result of it; what did the men do?—The men became insubordinate and unmanageable altogether; not subject to rules, and as soon as we discovered that that was so, as far as I was personally concerned, I gave instructions to have them discharged.

11,913. And were they discharged?—Yes.

11,914. What followed upon that?—This went on, a good number remained, and after a time a good deal of intimidation went on.

11,915. When you say that can you give specific instances?—I will take care that the Commission have all the specific instances. I am sorry to say I cannot do it now. From the nature of my occupation and the short notice I received I am not prepared to do it now, but if the Commission will permit me I will read a statement which one of my own people has made out of what has taken place at the Church Gresley colliery, which at a subsequent meeting of the Commission he will be prepared to substantiate. This man's name is Robert Walters; he is the agent at the colliery and acting under myself. Some fortnight ago I said to him, " I have had an intimation that I am to be exam- " ined before the Trades Unions Commission. South " Derbyshire will be mentioned and you had better " state what you can afterwards substantiate as to the " proceedings of this strike." I said " Do not put down any more than is true or any less." I will produce the man so that the Commission shall have the opportunity of testing the value of what he says. This is dated " Church Gresley colliery, 10 March " 1868. In the beginning of February 1867, William " Brown, one Lee, and others came to Gresley and " commenced holding meetings, for the purpose of " forming a colliers' union. They had some very " strong meetings, making use of very abusive lan- " guage towards the masters and their agents, and " enticing the men away by telling them they were " badly treated, and that they must therefore join the " union, so as to insist upon getting 8*s.* per day for a " day of eight hours, whether they were filling bond, " dirt, (that is rubbish) or coals. These fine promises " so acted upon the men that they began to join the " union in large numbers, and they became so inde- " pendent and ungovernable that we could not keep " them in their places, nor could we tolerate their " abuse of the deputies, so we resolved to turn out all " those that did join the union and became so abusive, " and on the 30th March 1867 we gave notice to four " men (being all we knew of at that time), and on the " 13th April to 14 more. Meanwhile the men in the " union became more abusive every day, and began to " follow the men and boys that were at work from " their daily labour, both morning and night, groaning " at and abusing them, rattling cans, blowing cows " horns, tin horns, and other instruments of a noisy " nature, till it was not safe to travel on the roads; " so we applied for an extra force of police to guard " the men and boys at work. On the 27th April we " gave notice to 20 more men that had joined the " union, (matters going on worse than ever, and the " men becoming more and more abusive, particularly " after they had held a meeting,) on the 11th May to " 13 more, on the 25th May to 4, on the 8th June to " 5 more, on the 22nd June to 10 more, on the 6th " July to one more; on the 20th July to ten more; " and on the 26th October to two more, being the " last men discharged, numbering in all 83 men dis- " charged. The abuse of the unionists became worse " and worse, and about 100 to 150 men, women, and " children, constantly followed those at work, dinning " them with the above-mentioned instruments, and " they now began breaking the windows of the non- " unionists, and rewards were over and over again " offered for the apprehension of the offenders. But " these continued annoyances at length so dis- " gusted and frightened the men at work that they " dare not come, and 94 of them, men and boys were " obliged to give notice in order to obtain peace and " quietness; but before their notice had expired, we " got a large force of police (and the men seeing there " was more protection for them) 55 of them withdrew " their notices and resumed work, but the unionists " still meaning to stop the colliers, began to meet by " pickets in the night, and throw stones at the men. " Some of them were however caught, and nine got " sent to gaol for different terms of imprisonment; " after which we got quiet for a time, but soon began " again as bad as ever, picketing and stoning, and " beating three men so dreadfully that their lives were " despaired of. Breaking windows was again in vogue " and their meetings were held every other night " nearly, instead of once a week as before, the bellman " going round and giving notice that there would be a " meeting at such a time, and insiting" (this is the phraseology) "all miners 'Blacklegs, Funny Eyes, and " Bloodsuckers' to attend, with lots of other names " not fit for publication. They then became so bad " that we were obliged to get a large van to take the " Overseale and Linton boys home in" (those are vil- " lages near at hand) "but we found we dare not " start, for there were hundreds of men armed with " long sticks, and for ought we knew, with pockets " full of stones, lining the roads for three-quarters of " a mile, and the horses alarmed by the noise of horns, " &c., began to fly about and shy, so we were com- " pelled to give it up as a bad job, and to get the men " and boys home as well as we could, but not without " great trouble and abuse from the mob, and if the " police had not worked with great tact and caution " as well as patience, we must have had a very serious " collision, but they forbore all interference with the " mob. By this time they have succeeded in reduc- " ing the coal turning" (that is drawing) from 4,614 " tons per fortnight to 1,330 tons, for the men at work " could not make full time, for unless they could meet " with the police in the morning they dare not come

Mr. J. T. Woodhouse.

17 March 1868.

"by themselves, therefore we did not get full work out "of those who were loyal and wished to work. Then "we had the grand processions with two bands of "music disturbing the whole of the peaceable inhabi- "tants in the village, and yet still failing to accom- "plish their designs, tea meetings with great show "and pomp were tried, and the people (unionists) got "to such a pitch of excitement, that they were ready "for mischief at once. One-half of those assembled "were potters and clay getters." I may ex- plain that this is in the midst of an earthenware district, "who were as abusive as the rest, for "they were glad to get anyone to swell the mob "so as to show the country the 900 spoken of in the "papers." It was alleged by Brown that there were 900 men in pay from the funds of the union, and some people doubted whether all the money that was sub- scribed in other districts were spent judiciously or not, and it was hinted that money went the wrong way into people's pockets where it was not intended to go, and so it was done to substantiate that, "With "all these losses, &c., we have weathered through "the 12 months, and now do not let the police attend "their meetings." This was written in March. I have heard as I have told the Commission before that within a few days the thing has collapsed, and now a great deal of rioting is going on breaking windows, and so on. The unfortunate people who are out say that they will as soon go to prison as starve outside the prison, and I have no doubt the end of it will be a most lamentable state of affairs; there can be no question of it.

11,916. (*Mr. Harrison.*) There was some common action taken, some conceit, was there not, in the be- ginning of this affair between the employers in that district?—Yes, in South Derbyshire.

11,917. Were they members of an actual associa- tion, ironmasters, or coalowners?—No, we have had a kind of quasi association, I may call it, but never any well organised one. After this commenced the proprietors and agents of seven collieries, I think (but there is a gentleman in this room who will give a list of them) of those collieries, met, as they naturally would, to see what action should be taken in this emergency.

11,918. When was that—was it after Brown came down?—Yes after Brown came down—not till then.

11,919. A resolution was passed at a meeting at which these employers were represented or were pre- sent that in case any union should be started in the district the men should be locked out, was that it?—Very likely. I do not recollect that resolution.

11,920. The action taken upon the appearance of Mr. Brown was a resolution that if the purpose were carried out it should be put down by this association between the employers?—It should be resisted.

11,921. But a formal resolution to that effect was passed; I have seen it in print?—I have not seen it in print. I do not think that a single resolu- tion come to in South Derbyshire has been printed.

11,922. You may not know what has been printed. I did not say that I had seen it in a newspaper?—I am not aware that it was printed.

11,923. But an understanding was come to between the particular employers that you have been speaking of in the immediate Church Gresley district (I think you mentioned seven), that the attempt to form a union should be resisted by locking out the men who joined it?—That we would not employ the union men.

11,924. That was before the union was actually founded, was it not?—No, in fact, the union was never founded at all; there has simply been a series of efforts to form a union which have failed; there has been no union there formed. These people, Brown, and the others, have attended to endeavour to form a union, but they have not formed a union.

11,925. But an understanding was come to in February, was there not, that if the men were to join or attempt to form a union they should be locked out?—I think that was after February, but I cannot tax my memory.

11,926. That is to say this—a union of employers met together and decided that if the employed united themselves in union there should be a general lock- out?—No; instruction was given of the intention of the men to form a union before the masters met, not afterwards.

11,927. What notice?—Notice by the people who preached that they were going to form a union. Upon hearing that we then determined that we would not employ union men. We did not say that they might not form a union.

11,928. Having been in association some time pre- viously?—No. I say there was no association in South Derbyshire until after this Brown began to preach.

11,929. But upon the appearance of Brown, who came from Yorkshire, you associated yourselves, and decided that if the men did the same thing you would lock them out?—The fact was we suspected that it was the Yorkshire game over again.

11,930. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) It was not a lock-out in the usual sense of a lock-out, but you would not employ unionists?—Just so. We did not lock out the men. The very first pay day after, I said "Any man choosing to leave the union can come back."

11,931. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You previously closed the works, did you not?—Never, our works have never been closed.

11,932. When Brown came down and the men got so insubordinate as you say, what did they do?—They did that in the pit which is obstructive of labour. They were saucy, impudent, and disobedient. And there is no place where it is so easy as to be dis- obedient as a coal mine; and unless we could carry on the pits with decent discipline we knew that they could not be carried on at all: agents cannot be insulted, we know that.

11,933. Did you dismiss any men from any other cause except that of actual personal insubordination or bad language?—I have dismissed men lots of times.

11,934. I mean during this affair in March. You say that in March you dismissed a certain number of men. Were those men dismissed for separate offences or because you ascertained they had joined the union, or were at the point of doing so?—The number I have described in reading that paper were dismissed because they joined the union, but other men may have been dismissed for offences against the pit regu- lations. I will not say as to that, but they are not mentioned in that paper.

11,935. The associated employers bound themselves not to give employment to the men who were so dismissed?—There was no binding at all.

11,936. Was not that an understanding?—Cer- tainly.

11,637. And that understanding was come to before March, was it not, before the time when the men were actually dismissed?—I cannot say; I do not remem- ber the dates.

11,938. You have no doubt, have you, that the common action resolved upon was a prospective one, that is to say, if the men did carry out this intention, that should be done?—No, it was not prospective, but retrospective, inasmuch as some of the men would carry out this purpose of theirs.

11,939. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) It was after Brown came down that the men said that they would do certain things, and you said that if they did those things you would turn them out?—Yes.

11,940. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Can you speak to the date at which any union was formed in the Church Gresley district?—No.

11,941. You cannot say that your resolution or action was taken after or before?—Yes, I am certain that our action was taken after Brown began to preach. They began a lodge or whatever they called it. I do not believe that there was one man in any capacity in our district who was an officer excepting he was from a distance, either Brown as a preacher, or Lee as another preacher, or some of these people going about in an itinerant manner making disturbances.

11,942. What were the men dismissed for?—For joining the party.

11,943. I understood from your last answer, that there were no members of an actual union there, except Brown and some of the foreign men, that is to say, strangers to the district?—I was proceeding to explain that, I do not know that any of our men became agents of this union; they joined the union, but not as officers of it.

11,944. You dismissed the men on the ground of their becoming members of it?—We knew perfectly well that if the union were established in the same way that it is in Yorkshire, it would be impossible to carry on the works.

11,945. Why?—Because we should have had no influence or control over the workmen.

11,946. How do they carry on the works in Yorkshire?—On this point, to a certain extent, I cannot give you positive evidence, because, though I have been a good deal in Yorkshire and engaged in the Yorkshire collieries, I have not had to do with the control of the men directly. I see, however, what is going on. I see in Yorkshire that they are associated in this union, that they take their action from the direction of the union officers, whoever they are, that they work and play just as they please, that they work just what hours they please, and how they please. I see that, though I do not participate in the management of the men there at all, and I know, that being so, that we could not in our part of the country carry on the work at all to advantage on that plan, but that it would be a complete shut-up.

11,947. You mean to say that all works in Yorkshire, where unionism prevails as strongly as you say, cannot be carried on with advantage?—I have a very great doubt about the union existing very long in Yorkshire, and for this reason: the Yorkshire union has been established during a period of rapidly improving trade, arising from the state of trade generally; arising from the development of the coal traffic by railways, and arising also from the export of coal. That has created a very great demand, indeed, for labour in Yorkshire. Then, too, the Yorkshire seams are very easily wrought, and I believe that wages have got up to a high rate in Yorkshire. All that has been favourable for the union, but now wages will be lowered—must be lowered—for the people cannot work the collieries. They are now working short time at many of the places, and I believe it will have the effect of causing the union there to cease; unions cannot live in very bad times on the gigantic scale on which these miners' unions have been carried on, you could not find funds for them.

11,948. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) When you said that you could not work Derbyshire mines after the system adopted in Yorkshire, I suppose you meant that they work them badly in Yorkshire, which you would not do?—I mean this, that in Yorkshire the seams are easier worked as regards manual labour, that the machinery is more powerful, and that they are more capable of making a large output of coal in a given time than we are. They have erected very powerful machinery, and can put out a large quantity of coal in a very short time. They have an advantage over those districts that are working in the more old-fashioned way. What they do in 3 days in the week takes us something like 5½ or 6 days to do.

11,949. And you think that those collieries that have those peculiar advantages can bear with and support greater interruptions than you can do?—Yes.

11,950. And the interruptions with which you were threatened frightened you so much that you took these precautions to prevent their interference with you?—That is one reason.

11,951. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Will you give specific examples of the interruption to labour which you have observed in Yorkshire for instance?—I do not exercise any control over the men in Yorkshire. Please to understand my business is a totally different matter altogether. But I heard that at one of the collieries one morning, the men were all laid off work, and the pit ceased to work, and when the manager sent up to Barnsley to the union authorities to know what was amiss, the answer was that there were too many men employed in the pit, and that there must be a less number, and it ended in those men being turned out.

11,952. Could you give me the date of that?—No, not exactly.

11,953. What year was it?—Last year.

11,954. Do you say that you believe the secretary of the South Yorkshire Miners Association in Barnsley sent that answer?—No, I do not say that; I said the authorities. I do not know who the secretary is in Barnsley.

11,955. You say that the authorities justified the calling of a body of men out of the pit on the ground that there were too many men in it?—Yes, so I was told. I hope the Commission will enquire very strongly indeed into the working of the union in South Yorkshire, it will be exceedingly instructive, I think.

11,956. We want to know what your experience of it has been?—Unfortunately, as regards South Yorkshire, I cannot give you legal evidence.

11,957. You have taken of course a very serious step involving serious consequences to a number of people in carrying on a struggle for a year to resist the introduction of this system of unionism, and I presume you have done that upon very good experience of what its consequences are. Now I ask what within your experience and knowledge are the specific fruits of that system?—In the beginning of the examination I told you that in our own neighbourhood I had not come into conflict, if I may so term it, with the unionists, excepting in the year 1842, and last year, so that my own experience in dealing with these questions is limited, and is confined simply to that of an observer. What I have seen in other places is principally in Yorkshire, and in regard to Yorkshire, I merely gave you an instance of what I had been told. I cannot give that as evidence; I do not know the facts.

11,958. (*Lord Elcho.*) You are a civil engineer, are you not?—Yes.

11,959. Are you consulting engineer of the Oaks Colliery?—Yes.

11,960. Were you the consulting engineer of the Oaks Colliery at the time of the accident?—Yes.

11,961. Had you been so for a long time previous to the accident?—Several years; and my duties were confined entirely to the ventilation and management of the pit. I am consulting engineer there now.

11,962. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) As to that strike of 1842, what were the circumstances immediately preceding that strike; was one of them the coming down of this man Brown to lecture?—Not in 1842. In 1842 the strike arose in the first instance from political agitation, but it happened to be mixed up concurrently with a desire to have wages raised, and with the beer question which I describe.

11,963. When was the strike occasioned by Brown coming down?—Last year.

11,964. Now let me direct your attention to 1867. Brown came down, you say. What was the state of things before he came down?—The state of things was perfect repose; we had no dispute whatever; amongst the men there was no difference of opinion. We had a very good trade, and the whole country was in perfect peace, and we made from time to time alterations, and advanced wages as we found wages advancing in the country. There was no necessity for a union to have wages advanced, for the competition for labour in South Derbyshire was very great until this last strike took place, and we were going on improving gradually in every respect, and then this came. It is a matter now almost of history, but when I began life colliers used to work up to 9 o'clock at night for a day's work, and I have known scores of times when they worked up to 3 o'clock for half a day, and I was the man who made the greatest exertions to alter that state of things and to reduce the working hours, and we have been gradually through

Mr. J. T. Woodhouse.

17 March 1868.

that district reducing time, reducing labour, and getting everybody on to the best of our ability, and serving men in the best way that we could, and then this comes.

11,965. What I want to call your attention to, if you please, in order to meet Mr. Harrison's wish to know precisely the facts preceding your determination not to employ union men, is this: you say that before this man Brown came down there was perfect peace in your district, and that there was increasing prosperity and everything was going on well at that time and improving?—Yes.

11,966. Then he came down and he began to preach?—Yes.

11,967. Then I suppose your attention was called to him, and from him your attention was directed to South Yorkshire, or had been before directed to South Yorkshire, and you asked yourself what was the condition of South Yorkshire?—Yes.

11,968. Then you thought (I do not say why or wherefore) that the condition of South Yorkshire was a bad condition?—Yes.

11,969. And you were afraid that your pits and your business would be reduced to the condition of those in South Yorkshire if this man Brown went on with his proceedings?—Yes.

11,970. Thereupon you determined that you would not have anything to do with anybody that followed the directions and commands of this man Brown?—Yes.

11,971. And that led to your determination not to employ anybody connected with the union?—Yes.

11,972. (*Mr. Harrison.*) In the beginning of the year 1867, after Brown came down, did your men make a joint demand for a rise of wages?—No.

11,973. Did they make any other joint demand with regard to the working of the pit?—No.

11,974. Then there was no question between the men and yourselves, except the single question of unionism?—Not the slightest.

11,975. Which you thought a very grave question?—Yes.

11,976. You say that until Brown came down everything had been working well for a great number of years—that you had had no experience of unionism, and things had been in a very satisfactory condition?—Yes.

11,977. After Brown came down what was it you had to complain of, apart from this determination to form a union?—The first thing, as I have already told you, was the insubordinate state of those men in the pit.

11,978. Do you know that the belonging to a union or the formation of a union leads to personal insubordination of individual men, personal insolence.—Yes, I believe it does, and for this reason, that the union, and the doctrines they have taught, as I am told (for I never was at a union meeting) teach them an independence of action with their employers. It breaks entirely the old lines of good faith as between master and man, and they depend upon this union for counsel and advice, and assistance, and they lose all kindly feeling, and all the old lines are completely destroyed as between master and man, and it then comes down to a hard line, and from that moment all good feeling is lost. The master is soured, loses his temper, and will do nothing for his men. The men, on the other hand, go for consolation to the union delegates, or whoever they are, and it ends in a strike. It ended so in South Nottinghamshire. They were out three months in South Nottinghamshire, at Hucknall Torkard, immediately before this came out.

11,979. But I want to confine you to this particular case; I want to know whether you can show me what connection there was between unionism and this personal insubordination and insolence of the men in the pit. After going on for 20 years, as you say in perfect harmony, the men in the pit began to abuse the foremen and managers, and so on, and refused to obey orders. I say, can you in any instance connect such acts of insubordination and personal violence with any resolution that was come to by the union, or with any direction of union officials?—I can only say that the men who joined the union were the men who were insubordinate, but I do not think that I could adduce a single instance of the men carrying out the instructions of the delegates to be insubordinate, because they take very great care not to give such instructions.

11,980. There was no specific rule of the union which the men began to adopt which led to the particular matter for which they were dismissed?—I do not know what the rules of the union are—I never saw them.

11,981. Then beyond your belief that the men were at the same time members of the union or had just begun to be members of the union, and the foremen alleging that they were insubordinate, you have no direct connexion between the two things—that was the sole connexion?—Yes, my information was from my foremen.

11,982. Do not you think that, supposing that the associated employers had resolved to suppress the introduction of unionism by dismissing men who should belong to the union, the foremen and managers who were well aware of that determination of yours would be rather ready to find some grounds for speaking of the men whom they knew to be unionists as insubordinate?—I must in this case speak for myself, not for the other agents, and I say that in my case certainly they would not.

11,983.—Did you investigate some special cases of insubordination?—I merely inquired as to whether insubordination did exist.

11,984. What was the special form of it?—Disobedience of orders. I cannot give you the specific cases. I place confidence in my people, and they report to me, for instance, work being badly done. It is a very common complaint, for example, in mines that the works are not properly timbered, and if they are not properly timbered accidents occur, and perhaps loss of life, and then we get censured, and very properly, for it. But when there is no subordination we have no security that the works will be properly timbered, for so reckless are men (particularly if there is a little temper mixed up with it), that often they will not set the short props under the coal in the mines, and will not set the props in the faces. That is a matter where subordination is of the utmost consequence; the same is the case in regard to ventilation, in regard to the doors, and also in regard to our engine-wrights. If a man in a pit merely obeys his orders with eye-service, and does not seek to do his work well, he is worse than if he did not do it at all. I am as strict a disciplinarian as I know how to be, and if I saw a danger of that sort of thing arising, my duty would be to stop it at any cost, and you cannot stop it with men imbued with the principle of insubordination.

11,985. Did you come upon such cases?—I believed I did.

11,986. You investigated the cases of men who had neglected their work?—I investigated the cases. I found the men were in a state of insubordination. I found that it would rapidly increase, and I would not employ them.

11,987. Is not that equivalent to saying that you dismissed the men for belonging to the union and not for anything else?—The only men that were insubordinate were union men.

11,988. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Before Mr. Brown came down you say there was perfect harmony and good conduct on the part of the men?—Yes.

11,989. When Mr. Brown came down he preached, and he preached disobedience?—I do not say that.

11,990. What did he preach?—I cannot tell you what he preached; I did not hear him. He took a text and preached the same as itinerant preachers do, but in so doing I have no doubt he appealed to their feelings, and working people are very excitable, and when their feelings were up they would say, "Let us join the union."

11,991. He preached, and after his preaching you found disobedience?—Yes.

11,992. You say that for so many years there had been perfect obedience, there came this remarkable circumstance of the preaching of Mr. Brown, and then disobedience followed?—Yes.

11,993. Therefore you connect the two things?—Yes.

11,994. (*Mr. Booth.*) From what you knew of the way in which the works were carried on in Yorkshire under the influence of unions you felt that it would not be worth your while to carry on your business under those terms?—I did.

11,995. And therefore you determined to have nothing to do with unions?—Yes.

11,996. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you know that the discipline and personal conduct of the individual miners in the mines in South Yorkshire is bad?—I have seen it very bad indeed.

11,997. I mean as a rule, is it worse than it is in other districts?—I cannot say that.

11,998. Do you mean that a man there neglects the shoring up of the roof and otherwise neglects his duty?—I know that there has been and is a vast deal of neglect in South Yorkshire, but I cannot give you particular cases.

11,999. You inspect certain coal mines in South Yorkshire?—Very few.

12,000. The Oaks Colliery is in South Yorkshire?—Yes.

12,001. From your experience of those mines down which you go to carry out your periodical inspections, do you feel that the South Yorkshire miner is less obedient, less prudent, and less careful in his daily work than the men in your own district?—Yes; and let me add less amenable to control.

12,002. And less skilful?—I do not say less skilful; they are clever enough if they will only do as they are told, but they are not amenable to control; that Oaks colliery of which I am the inspector and which Lord Elcho has mentioned and which for so many years I have known is a case in point. At the time I commenced at the Oaks colliery there was not a shadow of discipline; they used the safety lamps just as they pleased. We have not a perfect lamp yet, but a safety lamp to be a safety lamp must be constructed in a certain way. If, however, the lamp did not give as much light as they wanted they would not use it, but would send to Wakefield, where these things are made and have another sort of lamp. There did not seem at that time to be any idea of discipline whatever. I endeavoured to introduce it as far as I could, but the task was so unpleasant that I simply confined myself to the care and safety of the works without regard to the ordinary discipline.

12,003. Has your experience been that unionism amongst the miners tends to greater recklessness?—Yes, I think so. It tends to the utter subversion of the necessary discipline in a pit.

12,004. What resolution or rule have you ever heard as existing in any union in the country the tendency of which is to check proper care?—I have said already that I do not know the rules of the unions.

12,005. Then you do not connect it at all with unionism?—I only say that these men who are in the unions are very insubordinate.

12,006. That is from your personal experience?—No, I say that I do not control any persons in Yorkshire at all.

12,007. It merely comes to this, that you have formed, like other members of the community, an opinion upon this question of trade unionism or non-unionism, and speaking generally you say you know what would arise if it were introduced?—I know what would have arisen if it had been introduced in South Derbyshire.

12,008. You can form an opinion like any one else in fact?—I am a responsible agent, and I have to form an opinion from long practice, and my experience was that to allow a union to be established and to have our pit under the control of strangers could not be tolerated. In addition to that it destroys all our old associations with our work people. Our work people have lived there for years and years, and we have always been on the most friendly terms with them.

12,009. (*Mr. Mathews.*) With regard to your experience—I have known you myself for many years, and from a very early period of your life. I think you have been engaged in mining occupations and mining supervisions from a very young man?—Yes, I began on my own account in the year 1831, and I have been engaged in mining ever since, and I have done nothing else. I was articled to a mining engineer in the year 1827, and then started on my own account in 1831.

12,010. Have you had any supervision of mines in North Staffordshire?—Yes.

12,011. In South Staffordshire?—Yes.

12,012. And in Warwickshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, South Yorkshire, and Nottinghamshire?—Yes. Of late years I have endeavoured to contract my practical government of these people, as I am not quite so young as I was, and to confine myself more to the scientific detail.

12,013. In addition to these sources of gaining information and experience are you a member of the Coal Commission?—Yes.

12,014. With all these extensive spheres of supervision that you have had the opportunity of exercising you of course have come in contact a great deal with the workmen?—Constantly.

12,015. With their habits and associations, their communications with their masters, and their communication with their fellow-workmen, and that has given you an opportunity of estimating the force of these unions you speak of?—Yes.

12,016. You have come to the conclusion from these sources of experience, that whenever the workmen combine to form a union they listen more attentively and more implicitly to the suggestions and advice of the leaders of the union than to those of their masters?—Yes, uniformly they do. There are a few exceptions, where they will not join at all, but it is the uniform natural tendency, and when people are told day after day of the very great advantages of forming a union, they naturally fall into the mistake, particularly when their sympathy is excited by pretty tales of sufferings and hard doings, and so on.

12,017. But in all collieries such as those that you have under your supervision, strict discipline and adherence to details is of great importance both for the men's interests and the working of the collieries?—Yes.

12,018. And you have found that when they listen to the dictates of the unions the discipline of the collieries is relaxed?—Immediately.

12,019. (*Mr. Harrison.*) I understood you to say that you had had no experience of unions?—I said that in South Derbyshire we had had no experience of strikes except in 1842 and 1867.

12,020. I thought I asked you what personal practical experience you had had of unionism, producing insubordination amongst the men in the works, and I thought you said that you did not know much about it?—I think that I instanced South Yorkshire, where I said that I had observed such and such to be the effects of unionism, but I had not the control of persons in South Yorkshire.

12,021. (*Mr. Mathews.*) With this experience before you, you came to the conclusion that the conduct of a large colliery is better carried on under the control of the masters than it is under the control of the union leaders?—Most certainly.

12,022. And with that impression you have always set your face against the introduction of the rules of the union to supersede those of the employers?—I have not seen the rules, but I have set my face against the union being the authorized parties to manage my affairs.

Mr. J. T. Woodhouse.

17 March 1868.

12,023. You have not seen the rules, but you know the general practice from your experience?—Yes.

12,024. Under those circumstances you thought it necessary to advise your principals (and as far as your present interest has gone you have followed the same course yourself) to employ men who do not belong to unions rather than those who do?—Yes.

12,025. And you think masters should be at perfect liberty to exercise that discretion?—Yes.

12,026. And you think on the whole that the unions have been mischievous to the general conduct of the collieries, and to the interests of the masters?—Yes.

12,027. Do you think also that they have been equally mischievous to the interests of the men themselves?—I think so.

12,028. Where the relation between colliers and employers is reduced to one of mere abstract interest, do you think that the cordial, friendly, and christian relation that existed between them before the introduction of the unions has been weakened by their introduction?—I think so; and it is impossible to be otherwise. No matter how painstaking; no matter how worthy or considerate of his workmen a master may be, the moment that a foreign party—a party from the outside—comes in, who tells his workmen that they are oppressed, that masters are tyrants, who regard nothing but making their fortunes, and that they ought to be better paid, and work shorter hours, and be better taken care of, there naturally arises in the mind of the master a spirit of opposition.

12,029. (*Mr. Harrison.*) That is rather a fancy picture, is it not?—No, a hard practical picture.

12,030. From your own experience?—From my own experience.

12,031. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Does your experience, which is very extensive in regard to collieries, justify you in stating that unions have been disadvantageous to the interests both of the masters and of the workmen, and to the conduct of the collieries?—Yes, the moment a man is taught that he can have relief or assistance from any power outside his master, that moment that man becomes careless of his situation, and becomes a bad servant; that is the influence these things have. It is something like what Mr. Markham described when he said that the masters would withdraw their schools and clubs. The moment that good faith is broken between the masters and the men (and it is broken by these men who go about agitating), that moment the sympathy between the two is lost. There was an unfortunate man whom I knew, who died recently, who was sadly plagued by these unions. I was once his engineer. He had a union at his colliery, and I know that it has been one series of strikes and struggles. The union people have been there, first raising the wages, then lowering the wages, then quarrelling about one thing and then about another, until there is no sympathy left.

12,032. (*Chairman.*) Have you known masters oppressive, and then a check to them resulting in benefit to the working men?—I have known times when masters have acted injudiciously and indiscreetly and attempted reductions when it has been very undesirable to do so.

12,033. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Have you ever offered advice to the masters under those circumstances?—I have told them they were very simple, and had better leave the men alone. I said the men knew nothing about the policy of the trade, and you had better pay them and abide the loss. In some cases my advice has prevailed, and in some cases not. In the coal trade there is this peculiarity, especially in the midland counties, that a great many people have rushed into the trade without any knowledge of it except as a means of employing capital, and those are the class of men that generally make the mistakes.

12,034. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) But would you be surprised that men in the position of working men, when that conduct took place which you call unwise, simple, and so on, should say that their masters were tyrannical?—No, not at all.

12,035. That is their mode of expressing the same thing?—If a man oppressed me I should say he was tyrannical directly.

12,036. There is no fault to be found with the men in that case?—Not in that case.

12,037. (*Mr. Booth.*) Those are instances which would fall under the question, What are the circumstances which justify a reduction of wages?—Yes, it was want of experience in the matter. When those men I have spoken of came to understand the trade and the fluctuations of the trade, and the competition of men for labour, and so on, they settled down into a quieter system.

12,038. But there was no further oppression on the part of the masters than thinking that the men were not entitled to the wages they asked for?—Nothing whatever. I may say that I am a very great opponent of fluctuations in wages. I think it is a very bad policy. The wages have gradually increased in this country for many years, (I am speaking of coal mines) and I think it is better except we are driven into extremities to let the men earn their wages and keep them within bounds. I do not like reducing wages if I can avoid it.

12,039. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Do you recollect the coming out of that Parliamentary Blue Book which contained drawings of people working in coal mines?—Yes, that was in the Children's Employment Commission. I myself gave evidence on that subject.

12,040. Do you not think that the masters were some of them, I do not say all of them, injudicious in their opposition to that movement?—Yes.

12,041. Would you complain of the men calling that tyranny?—No.

12,042. I want to know whether that insubordination of which you complain had not in some cases led to beneficial effects?—It may have led to beneficial effects in this way. I suppose that something or other led to the Children's Employment Commission. At that time there was a very grievous complaint indeed, but that of course does not exist now.

12,043. You see that insubordination has in some cases led to good?—It may have done so, but I do not admit that insubordination led to that Commission. I do not know that.

12,044. It was complaint that led to that Commission, and men of your way of feeling, said at that time that that complaint was insubordination?—I am rather inclined to think that that arose in great measure from the employment of females in Lancashire. When that Commission was opened, and they got at the root of the whole thing in Lancashire, then of course the inquiry was extended into other districts as far as Scotland.

12,045. My object in putting those questions was to show that there were complaints to be made of the masters as well as of the men, and that a great deal of the mischief has been produced by the shortcomings on both sides?—I daresay it has. I should not like to say that there was no fault in the masters.

12,046. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Was it any complaint on the part of the men that was the cause of that Commission?—I do not know what was the cause of that Commission, but I may say that it has occurred to me that it was through the exertions of a noble lord who has done a great deal for the working classes that it originated in Lancashire.

12,047. The employment of women in coal mines had been for a long time the custom in Lancashire?—Yes, it had been.

12,048. And it was almost exclusively confined to Lancashire and Scotland, was it not?—I think that it existed in Yorkshire too.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. James Haddock examined.

Mr. J. Haddock.

17 March 1868.

12,049. (*Chairman.*) Are you manager of the Ravenhead colliery, St. Helen's?—Yes.

12,050. How long have you managed it?—Since 1854, 14 years.

12,051. And how many men had you in the colliery?—About 250 colliers, actual coal getters.

12,052. When you began were there any trades unions in the neighbourhood?—There is a trades union agent or delegate in St. Helen's, and has been for a number of years. I do not think, however, that he has been so long as 14 years, but he has been for seven or eight years.

12,053. In the last few years has the action of trades unions been more felt in your colliery or in your neighbourhood?—In our district there are scarcely one-fourth of the men in the union, but they exercise a great influence at times. When we attempt to reduce wages they prevent the other men from working by threats or intimidation, or that kind of thing. I do not think there are one-fourth of the men of the district in the union.

12,054. Do the union men interfere with the wages which the non-union men are willing to take?—They are interfering now. There is an attempt being made in the district to reduce wages, and the non-union men would be willing to go in, but they are made afraid by the threats and intimidation of the union men.

12,055. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Are your men on strike now?—The men at our collieries have been on strike for a fortnight.

12,056. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What evidence have you of the interference of the union?—The evidence of our own men.

12,057. What have they told you?—They have been threatened.

12,058. What did the union men say to them?—They said that they would do for them; that if they did not give up "knobsticking," as they call it, they would do for them. There are a lot of them that dare not go to work. They are willing to go in at a reduction, but they dare not.

12,059. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Have there been any acts of intimidation recently?—It is of this recent strike that I am speaking. We have had no strike at St. Helen's for years. There was one of a few days (it only lasted a few days) in 1863.

12,060. What particular action of intimidation do you refer to as having occurred during the existing strike?—There were boys, for instance, driven back one morning by two of our workmen who belonged to the union.

12,061. What were their names?—John Johnson and William Corbett.

12,062. They were men you employed?—Yes.

12,063. And they belonged to the union?—Yes.

12,064. What did they do to the boys?—They drove the boys back as they were coming to work, but fortunately our watchmen caught them, or they would have lost that day's work.

12,065. Was there any other case?—One of our foremen was threatened by two men from a neighbouring colliery.

12,066. Were those union men?—I am told they were union men. Their names are Robert Lilley and Robert Bates.

12,067. They interfered with your foreman, I understand you?—They threatened him.

12,068. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What did they say to him?—They threatened him that he should not go to work. You cannot in these cases get the exact words from the men. They chased this man out of a public-house because they knew he had been working during the strike, and then afterwards he was threatened.

12,069. How did they chase him out?—Of course he would be afraid of sitting amongst them when they began to upbraid him for working.

12,070. (*Mr. Mathews.*) They began to bully him, in fact?—Yes, and they would have gone to worse than that if he had not gone away.

12,071. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Will you tell us what they did do, not what they would do?—I was not present. The man says they threatened him, those are his words.

12,072. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Have you any other case to mention?—Yes. In the case of another of our men a message was sent by his own sons; his name is John Eccleston. Then we had another man, John Briars, who was threatened by a person named Swift. Swift said he would smash his head.

12,073. Was Swift a union man?—I suppose so.

12,074. Did Briars report to you that he had been threatened by Swift?—He reported it to our foreman.

12,075. Did your foreman know that Swift was a union man?—He did not tell him that.

12,076. Have you had any threatening letters sent to you?—No direct threats myself; the threats have been just to incite the men not to resume work, so as to get this reduction question settled.

12,077. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Has there been any action taken against any of those men before the magistrates?—No.

12,078. (*Lord Elcho.*) Do you think that these threatened men if brought here would give evidence as to what passed between them and the persons who threatened them?—I really do not.

12,079. Does your knowledge of the men enable you to say that?—John Eccleston will not, he will not tell what the threats are, or who the parties are that threatened him.

12,080. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Do you believe that he has been threatened?—I do.

12,081. Do not you think that John Eccleston might have some interest in misleading you?—No, I do not think so at all.

12,082. Why does he not tell you?—Because he does not want to divulge any names for fear we might take action on the matter.

12,083. Do you think he is afraid?—He is afraid; he dare not go out at night, for instance; he is a man of quiet habits, but he used to go out at night.

12,084. (*Mr. Mathews.*) He is a steady man?—Yes.

12,085. And his apprehension is that if he came here to give evidence on these points they would do some mischief to him?—Yes, and I am sure they would.

12,086. (*Lord Elcho.*) You say that since he has received this threatening notice, or since the strike, he has changed his habits, that whereas he did go out at night, he does not now?—He told me himself that he durst not go to church last Wednesday night.

12,087. Having previously been in the habit of going to church on Wednesday evening?—Yes. I do not suppose that when the strike is over the men indulge in any revengeful feeling, but just at the time they are very severe.

12,088. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You have no letters or any written documents to show us which have been sent to you about your conduct in the matter?—No, they have sent no letters to me.

12,089. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Are these men who are on strike all members of the union?—No, not one-fourth of them. There is a turn out at all the collieries in the district.

12,090. Is not this rather indirect evidence of the intimidation practised by union men when you cannot tell us what has been said at all?—I know that John Johnson and William Corbett drove some lads back that were coming to the works one morning; our watchman, however, caught those lads; if the watchman had not caught them they would not have come to the works that day.

12,091. As union and non-union men are mixed up in this, whatever is to be said against one set of men is to be said against the other; is not that the case?—No. I say that three-fourths of our men would come to work now if it were not for the threats of the union men.

12,092. You cannot give us any evidence of that?—The union men are very cautious how they use their threats. The women are just as bad or worse than some of the union men.

Mr. J. Haddock.

17 March 1868.

12,093. In point of fact, then, the men would come back if it were not for the threats of the women?—To a great extent.

12,094. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) The threats of the women arising from their connexion with men who are connected with the union?—Yes, they are the wives of union men. The men in our district, I may say, have been getting very good wages.

12,095. I want to ascertain from you how you connect this with the union. You proposed, I think you said, to reduce the wages?—Yes.

12,096. What was the next step taken. You told your men, I suppose, that you would be obliged to reduce the wages?—The union men in St. Helens had a meeting, and orders were sent over to St. Helens by the union at Wigan not to accept the reduction.

12,097. What evidence have you of that?—That is common report. We pay one colliery one week and another another, that is to say, we pay alternately, not all the men at one particular time. In this case some of the union men (we suppose it was) sent the bellman round to ask those whose notice was not up not to go in to work, and not a single man came.

12,098. The bellman went round with that intimation that they were not to go to work?—Yes.

12,099. What evidence have you for coming to the conclusion that he was sent round by the union?—Because several of the union men had told me that they would do all they possibly could to resist the reduction, and that we should not carry it.

12,100. Have any of the non-union men told you that?—No, not one.

12,101. So that all the opposition of which you are cognizant came from the union?—It did.

12,102. And therefore you conclude that the whole thing comes from the union?—I conclude, and have very good reason for thinking so, that the men not only at our colliery, but at other collieries in the district, are influenced by the union.

12,103. Do you know any of the leaders?—Mr. Rymer is the agent in St. Helens; he has lived there about two years.

12,104. (*Mr. Mathews.*) He is the organ of the union in St. Helens?—Yes.

12,105. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Have you communicated with him on the subject?—No, I have not. I do not know him. I would not communicate with him under any circumstances. I have had conversations with the men in our own employ, and one of the men told me that the union intended to resist the 15 per cent., in fact they would not give in.

12,106. (*Mr. Mathews.*) There has been a reduction in the price of coals in your neighbourhood, has there not?—Yes.

12,107. How much?—In the Liverpool market coals since December have been reduced 2*s.* a ton.

12,108. Has there been any reduction of wages since then?—No; and then at home all coal as it comes out of the pit has been reduced 1*s.*, and slack 1*s.*

12,109. That reduction in the market price renders it necessary that wages should be reduced 15 per cent. as an equivalent, I suppose?—We cannot carry on the collieries without it.

12,110. Do you think that but for the union the men would accept the reduction and go to work?—I think the chief part of them would.

12,111. (*Mr. Harrison.*) The only case which you have come up from St. Helens to make against the union is that union men have told you that they intended to resist the reduction, and that if it were not for the resistance of the union you think the men would accept it?—I know this, from what different people say, that the men who are not in the union dare not come to us.

12,112. You say there are a large majority of them not in the union?—Yes.

12,113. And that the women are the worst in their treatment of those not in the union?—I say that the wives often jeer at them, and are as bad as the others, and no working man likes to be constantly jeered at.

12,114. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Others than non-union workmen do not like to be jeered at?—No, they do not. If our men were left alone many of them would go to work.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. William Pickard examined.

Mr. W. Pickard.

12,115. (*Lord Elcho.*) I believe you are anxious to be examined now, while the last witness, Mr. Haddock, is present, as there is one of his statements you can give a different colouring to, from circumstances which you know, and which perhaps he is not aware of?—Yes.

12,116. You are, are you not, president of the Lancashire branch of the Miners' Association?—I am the agent of the Wigan district, the centre of this present strike, and was at the St. Helens meeting yesterday, comprising 10,000 miners; and I wish to say respectfully that the Wigan miners have not dictated any terms whatever to the St. Helens miners; the question of this strike rests exclusively upon their own shoulders.

12,117. (*Chairman.*) Are they a branch union?—They are a branch union.

12,118. Then it is a branch strike, I understand you to say?—Yes.

12,119. There is a strike of the whole union, or a strike at times of the branch, the whole union supporting it if the whole union agree to it. You say that the board at Wigan, as I understand you, had nothing to do with this strike at St. Helens?—As regards the conduct of the men, whether union men or non-union men, they are free to take what course they think proper.

12,120. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Do you sanction the strike?—The men themselves sanction it.

12,121. Does Wigan support St. Helens in the strike?—Wigan co-works with St. Helens to resist the 15 per cent. reduction.

12,122. Do you support the men in St. Helens while they stay out?—The St. Helens men have funds of their own with which they are supporting their men, and the Wigan men have funds of their own with which they support their men. We stand independently.

12,123. Then what is your connexion?—Our connexion is in a national sense.

12,124. Then what the St. Helens people do you sanction?—No, what Wigan men do, the St. Helens men follow afterwards.

12,125. The St. Helens men have struck, do you agree or disagree with them; do you lend them the sanction of your approbation?—They simply go with the sense of the Wigan miners. They being the centre of the district they are guided by them; as they go they follow.

12,126. That means to say that the St. Helens men are governed by the Wigan men?—Yes, but the Wigan men do not dictate to the St. Helens men.

12,127. They only tell them to do it?—No, they do not tell them to do anything, they only form a ground of action for themselves.

12,128. (*Mr. Harrison.*) The action of the Wigan men was taken first?—Yes.

12,129. (*Lord Elcho.*) Did you, as head of the Wigan people, and as the head, apparently, of all the branch associations in that district, take any steps to prevent this strike at St. Helens, or since the strike has taken place have you done anything to induce the men to go in again?—Yes, all in my power.

12,130. That is to say that you recommended them not to strike against this 15 per cent. reduction?—I recommended them, not exactly against striking against this 15 per cent., but against a strike in a general sense. My influence has gone to use other means, but the sense of the men themselves, through

their representatives, decided that they would resist the 15 per cent. They consented that the masters should take off the last advance put on. In some cases that amounts to 10 per cent., and in some to 7½. And there is a paper which I should wish to put in, which was submitted to the meeting yesterday at St. Helens. The men were willing to accede to 10 per cent. reduction, where it had been 10 per cent. advance, and that as to the remaining five per cent. the dispute should be submitted to arbitration.

12,131. In one of your answers to Mr. Roebuck, I understood you to say that your association in the Wigan district was opposed to this reduction of 15 per cent. ?—Yes.

12,132. And that although you had taken no action in the way of telling the St. Helens branch, as a part of the general union, to resist that reduction, yet their practice was to take their cue from the Wigan association, and that knowing that you at Wigan had resisted this 15 per cent. reduction, they had resisted it at St. Helens ?—Yes.

12,133. Then it comes to this, that they have followed suit, as it were, the branch has followed the action of the head, and the head has done nothing in regard to that branch in advising it not to strike, or having struck not to go to work again ?—Yes.

12,134. But subsequently to that, since the strike has begun, there has been some large meeting of the colliers in the district, not confined to the Wigan district, as I understand you ?—Confined to the Wigan and St. Helens districts together.

12,135. Numbering, I have been told, 10,000 men ?—Y s.

12,136. And that meeting took place I have been told of yesterday ?—Yes.

12,137. And for some reason which you have not given, and which we have not asked, though originally it was thought advisable to resist the 15 per cent. reduction, you now think it desirable to make some reduction, and have recommended the men not to continue the strike but to accept a reduction ?— Yes.

12,138. And I understand that your feeling is that 10 per cent. might be accepted ?—Yes.

12,139. And that the difference between that 10 per cent. and the 15 per cent. should be settled by arbitration ?—Yes.

(*Mr. Haddock.*) The strike commenced first in St. Helens.

12,140. (*Mr. Mathews, to the witness.*) With your approbation as leader of the Wigan union the men are out to resist the 15 per cent. ?—I have no approbation in the question.

12,141. I suppose you as the organ of the union know what the men are doing as well as the men who are out know it in resisting the 15 per cent. ?—Yes.

12,142. You are willing you say to take 10 per cent. reduction, and willing to take another five per cent. reduction subject to arbitration ?—Yes.

12,143. And you have advised the St. Helens colliers to adopt the same policy ?—Yes.

12,144. And the only difference between you and the masters is now five per cent. There is a concurrence on your part to accept 10 per cent., leaving the five per cent. to arbitration ?—Yes.

12,145. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Are you responsible for this printed paper before us ?—No, it was submitted to the meeting yesterday as having been proposed by a well-wisher.

12,146. You recommended it, and urged it upon the meeting ?—Yes.

12,147. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) When was it that you came to the decision to accept the 10 per cent. reduction ?—When this dispute came on. The masters give notice according to the pay day coming on. After the decision of the Wigan masters and the St. Helens masters I had great work to get the men (and it has been my study and that of my colleagues in this room to-day to get them) to accede to the 10 per cent. They had a strong disposition to resist the whole, but we saw that the state of the trade would not justify that, and I have had interviews with some of the proprietors, but we have not got satisfaction. I may state that 21 proprietors have acceded to the men's terms, and the men are now at work.

12,148. Still you have not told me when you came to the decision to accept the 10 per cent. reduction ?—We came to the decision a fortnight ago, going on now for three weeks—previous to the strike, previous to the majority of the men being at work.

12,149. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Will you read that paper to which you have referred ?—"To the colliers of "St. Helens and its neighbourhood. Will you receive "a word of advice from one who is sorry to see you "on strike ? I do not counsel submission, but I "deprecate, for your own sakes, and your families' "sakes, a continuance of the struggle. I believe "you are disposed to listen to reason. I know "many if not all of you would gladly make terms on "what you believe to be fair and reasonable terms. "Such terms I submit for your consideration. Can-"not your differences with your masters be arranged "by arbitration ? Let each side appoint an arbi-"trator or arbitrators. Let these arbitrators con-"jointly appoint an umpire who shall decide in any "case wherein they disagree. The decision to be "final. Let this arrangement be permanent. Such "has been done elsewhere with success, why not "adopt it here ? Justice would thus be done to all "parties, and the fearful waste of time, money, and "temper, necessarily attendant on strikes, would be "heard of no more.—A Well-wisher."

12,150. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Did you recommend that to the meeting ?—I did, I put it to the meeting.

12,151. What does that mean, does it mean that the body of masters and the body of workmen are to submit to the consequences of the arbitration, that is to say, if the arbitration decides in favour of the masters the men are to agree to it, and if the arbitration decides for the men the masters are to agree to it ?—Yes.

12,152. How do you propose to enforce this decision. You can find the masters, there they are about 25 in number ; but the men are thousands. Supposing that John Thomas, a workman, goes away and will not be bound by the decision, what then, do you think that the masters and the men are on equal terms ?—I think as far as the men in the union are concerned they are.

12,153. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You think that in a case of this kind you can settle a dispute, where you have an organized union with its officials ?—Yes.

12,154. (*Mr. Mathews.*) What security would there be that the men, if you advise them to accept arbitration, would abide by it if the arbitrator decided against them ?—I may say that from the showing of their own hands in a large meeting I know they would accept it.

12,155. (*Mr. Harrison.*) As a matter of fact, if this arbitration were accepted would the masters be under any legal compulsion to carry it out beyond the understanding that they would do on their side what the men would do on theirs ?—No.

12,156. (*Mr. Haddock.*) Mr. Pickard is assuming that all the men are in the union, but in our district only a fourth of the men are.

(*Witness.*) I beg to say that both society and non-society men held up their hands at the meeting. The Wigan men did not dictate to the St. Helens men.

12,157. (*Earl of Lichfield, to Mr. Haddock.*) Have the masters heard anything of this proposal on the part of the men to accept the 10 per cent. and submit five per cent. to arbitration ?—I never heard of it before and I do not think it was mentioned in any of the speeches of the meeting on Thursday.

(*Witness.*) Yes, I mentioned it in this form, that I had seen no less a person than Mr. John Lancaster, who is the president of the Wigan Coal Company, and I asked him if he would use his efforts to get it adopted.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to Tuesday next, at 11 o'clock.

1 Park Prospect, Westminster, Tuesday, 24th March 1868.

PRESENT:

The Right Honourable Sir WILLIAM ERLE.
The Right Honourable the EARL of LICHFIELD.
Lord ELCHO, M.P.
Sir DANIEL GOOCH, Bart., M.P.
HERMAN MERIVALE, Esq., C.B.
JAMES BOOTH, Esq., C.B.
JOHN ARTHUR ROEBUCK, Esq., M.P.
THOMAS HUGHES, Esq., M.P.
FREDERIC HARRISON, Esq.
WILLIAM MATHEWS, Esq.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR WILLIAM ERLE IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. W. Gleadow.

24 March 1868.

Mr. WILLIAM GLEADOW examined.

12,158. (*Chairman.*) I think you are the general manager of the Gresley Wood and Swadlincote Colliery Company?—I am.

12,159. How long have you been their manager?—Four or five years.

12,160. Have you had any experience of the action of trades unions?—I have had very considerable experience of them during the last 12 months.

12,161. In what way has the action of the unions affected your collieries?—By drawing the men out from one of our collieries entirely for several months, and by acts of intimidation and molestation.

12,162. When was it that the men were taken out of your colliery?—About September the 28th of last year.

12,163. In what way; did they leave suddenly?—They gave 14 days' notice, and then they left.

12,164. How many men?—70 of them from that colliery.

12,165. What was the effect of 70 going; did it stop the colliery?—It closed the works entirely, and we have just been trying to open them lately.

12,166. Were those 70 men the total number of the men?—Yes, of those that were remaining there.

12,167. What was the reason why they left; did they assign any reason?—They had no grievance at all, they were well paid, they merely wanted to join the union, and we had resolved that we should have no union men.

12,168. Had some unions been established in your neighbourhood?—About February of last year some delegates came and lectured, and a great number joined the union, and we gave notice to our men that we could not employ union men, and that was the commencement of it.

12,169. You gave notice to your men that if they joined the union they would be no longer in your employ?—Yes.

12,170. What was the consequence of that?—We went on the whole of the summer, until September, when there was a meeting of the unionists as I understand, and we had notices sent us. The whole of the men were withdrawn from this pit which I have mentioned and also from another pit which we have, but it did not close the other works.

12,171. You gave to your men notice some few months before, that if they joined the union they would be no longer in your employ. What was the next thing which you personally had knowledge of?—The next thing was that in September they gave me notice, and when the trade was coming on the whole of them turned out.

12,172. In September you received a fortnight's notice from all the men in your pit, to the effect "at the end of the fortnight we are no longer in your employ"?—We did.

12,173. And they left?—And they left.

12,174. What was the next thing that you did?—We endeavoured to replace them with fresh men. We introduced a number of men into the district, but those men were very much interfered with.

12,175. You introduced them from what colliery?—From Staffordshire and from Warwickshire. We brought a number of men, but they were always interfered with by the unionists.

12,176. Did you send out agents for men, or advertise for men, or in what way did you get them?—I sent agents out into Staffordshire and Warwickshire for fresh men, and brought them up in bodies, and they were met on the roads by the unionists.

12,177. You brought them up in bodies of about how many?—5 and 6 and 9 and 14, as well as I remember just now.

12,178. According as you found men that you could hire?—Yes.

12,179. In what way were they interfered with?—The men would congregate at the railway station to which they came, and would mob them. I myself have been down to meet men that have been coming, and these men would get round me, and get in between me and these fresh men, and mob us entirely, so much so that the men were pushed and taken away from me, although I had laid hold of them and endeavoured to get them through the crowd. They pushed the men on so that I had not the slightest chance with them.

12,180. Who were the men who so interfered between you and the other persons?—The unionists.

12,181. Were they men who had been in your employ or delegates from other places; that they were unionist is an inference which you draw, I suppose?—They shouted "Union for ever;" they let me know exactly that they were unionists, because they shouted to these men, "You join the union; do not "come and interfere with us."

12,182. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) They were your own former workmen?—Part of them; they were men from all the collieries round.

12,183. (*Chairman.*) As to the party that you met at the railway, for whom there was this reception in store, what was the effect of it upon the men that your agent brought up?—Before they were taken away I said to them, "Oh, do not be frightened at them;" and they said to me, "I cannot go—I dare not go," and they turned off and went with the unionists.

12,184. What was the language addressed to them by the people whom you call unionists?—"You are "coming to take the bread out of our families' "mouths," and such remarks as that.

12,185. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Were there no threats of violence?—No, there were no threats of violence.

12,186. (*Chairman.*) Was there any threat by way of muscular action? I do not find that you speak of anything but their keeping you away from an opportunity to speak to the fresh men?—They would get in between me and the new men and persuade these new men. They dragged them, and got hold of their collars, and frightened them.

12,187. Were the words words of insult and indignity, or words only of persuasion?—There was strongish persuasion—I cannot say that there were any threats.

12,188. "You are taking the bread out of our "mouths" is persuasion. If they called them names that would bring them into hatred with their neighbours that is abuse, but up to the other point it is persuasion only?—Very strong persuasion.

12,189. If the persuasion is accompanied with movement of the fist I should call that muscular action—was there anything like that in this case?—It was muscular action so far that they laid hold of the men and got them from my grasp.

12,190. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Did they put it in this way: "If you go and take the bread out of our mouths we will do so and so?"—No, they did not do that.

12,191. (*Chairman.*) Up to that point, "If you "come here you are taking the bread out of our "mouths," that is only matter of persuasion. "If you come here it shall be worse for you," that is within the limits of intimidation. But I do not gather from you that they went over the boundary between intimidation and persuasion?—Except that by force they separated them from me.

12,192. So that you had no opportunity to use your counter persuasion?—No.

12,193. What happened with the other parties as they came up?—The men would surround them, and they would get between them and their work, and they would come all around the colliery works, so much so that we were in fear of getting some damage done to the works; and they would shout, do every thing they could to frighten the men. The men would not dare go to work, and many of them walked off the bank, and said, "I dare not go to work with all that." Although they were not threatened openly, it was done in such a form that the men were frightened.

12,194. I can well understand words of the gentlest kindness being accompanied with a voice and a countenance that would let a man know that murder was very near at hand if he offended the gentle speaker—was it anything of that kind?—It was intimidation; the men would not dare go to work. I had many men who walked off the bank in fear.

12,195. Did you get any body of men to escort the persons that you had hired to the pit?—Yes, I got some special constables to meet them, but they were of no use at all; they were pushed about in the same way that I was myself.

12,196. About how many were they who were acting in this way with a view to prevent the persons hired from getting to work?—Some hundreds.

12,197. And of those how many were able-bodied men, and how many were women and children?—No women at all, all men and young men.

12,198. Apparently working men?—Yes, the whole of them.

12,199. When you say that they were unionists, unionists are most of them working men. A union of colliers is a union of working colliers, I suppose?—Yes.

12,200. These men, according to you, were working men, able-bodied men?—Yes, able-bodied men.

12,201. Were you able to keep any of the men that were brought to you?—We have retained a few of them, but nothing like the number we have had. I should think not above one-third, if as many.

12,202. You say that 70 was the crew, if I may use the term, at one colliery?—Yes.

12,203. About how many could you get to stay of those men that you brought?—Not above one-third.

12,204. If you brought up 70 men you could only keep 23?—I think that that is about as many as we have kept.

12,205. Can you advantageously work your colliery with 23 men in the ratio of one-third of the work and of the produce?—That colliery is not fully at work yet; we have opened it out about a fortnight or three weeks ago, but we have not the complement of men, nor anything like it.

12,206. Is it necessary to have the complement of men to do effective work, with interdependency of working, one man being employed to keep the colliery dry, and so on?—Yes, You want a certain number of men to carry it on, and of course you work it at a loss unless you raise sufficient coal.

12,207. All the preliminary expenses must be spread over the smaller quantity which you raise?—Yes.

12,208. Did you try anything in the way of getting the Midland Railway Company to stop a train so as to mislead the persons who were interfering with you?—I tried in every way to deceive those men who could meet the new men, because I knew the trouble of passing them. I knew that the fresh men would not be able to stand the acts of these men towards them, consequently I got the Midland Company to stop the train at my siding at the bottom of our colliery incline, and I brought them up our incline there.

12,209. And let them get out at an unusual place?—Yes.

12,210. Those men you could get to your colliery, I suppose?—When I got them to the colliery, it was all over the district in a short time, and hundreds of men would come round the works, and when I have brought men late at night, those men have been all round the works peeping in at the bailiff's house and at the carpenter's workshops, and so on, so much so that we were in great fear of having some damage done.

12,211. Have you had any cases of intimidation brought before the magistrates?—Several.

12,212. Have convictions followed your applications to them?—They have fortunately, and that put a stop to the thing. It was getting past all bearance. We should not have been safe any of us, if we had not got some convictions.

12,213. Is this colliery the Gresley Wood Colliery?—It is the Swadlincote that has been shut. The Gresley Wood is another that we have been working with a partial number of men. We had a number of men drawn out there at the same time that these other men were drawn out, but the colliery has not been closed. It has been worked at a most serious loss however.

12,214. You have a list, I think, of the cases of molestation that came particularly under your notice?—Yes. About November I began to take notice of them; November the 12th, Edward Lee was stoned by a man Radford. We prosecuted him, and he had three months imprisonment for it.

12,215. What sort of stone was it, and what sort of effect had it upon him?—He was hurt by stones thrown at him on his way to work. This man Radford, as I have said, was convicted and had three months imprisonment.

12,216. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Was he convicted as a unionist?—Yes.

12,217. (*Lord Elcho.*) Was he the only assaulter of the man, or the most active?—The most active.

12,218. He was attacked by more than one?—Yes.

12,219. Was Radford the only one against whom any charge was brought?—His was the only case in which we had clear proof.

12,220. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Where was he proved to be a unionist?—I believe it was admitted.

12,221. You have not any report of the case?—No.

12,222. (*Mr. Mathews.*) When you say that he was punished as being a unionist, you mean for some act of aggression, not for the mere fact of being a unionist?—No, it was for the act of stoning.

12,223. (*Chairman.*) Words came from the party that these men were acting with indicating that they were earnest for promoting unionism; they appeared all to be acting in the same interests?—Yes.

12,224. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) But as I understand you, you say that it was never questioned by the man himself who was accused that he was a unionist. He acknowledged, as I understand, that he was a unionist; he acted upon unionist principles, and for the purposes of the union he endeavoured to drive that man from his work?—Yes.

12,225. (*Mr. Hughes.*) When you say he acknowledged that he was a unionist, when and where did he acknowledge it, was it before the magistrate?—I do not think that there were was any question about it.

12,226. He was summoned for throwing stones at Radford, and was convicted for throwing stones at Radford?—Yes.

12,227. (*Chairman.*) Except that there were men at work in the colliery, had those other men any grievance that you know of?—Not any.

12,228. Those men left your works and came away,

Mr. W. Gleadow.

24 March 1868.

and at the time when they so came out there had been men that you considered unionists, and delegates from unions acting in the manner which you speak of?—Yes.

12,229. And there was a difficulty in getting any men to go down your shaft after that time?—Yes.

12,230. And your colliery became empty, and among other things, some of the new men, as you believe, were assaulted by the same party, in the same interest?—These men openly admit that they are unionists. When they get hold of these men they say, "Come up to the People's Hall, we will pay your "fare back again," and these men that were turned back would be taken up to the hall and have money given them, and be sent off by train by the unionists.

12,231. Have you seen them sent off?—Yes, as to these men that I am speaking of now, I had men with me as special constables from my own pit who followed them down to the Hall after they had driven me from them, and they saw them enter the place and they disappeared afterwards.

12,232. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Although you have no legal proof of the fact of these men belonging to the union, there is no manner of doubt, but it is a matter of perfect notoriety in the district, that they did belong to the union?—Yes.

12,233. No sane man doubted it?—No.

12,234. (*Mr. Booth.*) You have no doubt that these men so interfered with were desirous of working with you on the terms which you offered?—No doubt of it.

12,235. And they were prevented from so working by the interference of other men?—Yes.

12,236. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is it not the fact, from your experience, that the moral influence which these men imparted into your district exercised is infinitely stronger than any physical demonstration could be?—Yes, there is a sort of underhand way of threatening the men. The women go to the men's houses and say, "Ah, if you do not come out soon I am sure you will catch it." It is underhand threatening.

12,237. There is a sort of intimation that these people convey to the new men that alarms the new men as much as threats of personal violence?—Yes. I have no hesitation in saying that if we had not got convictions we should have had something very serious happen in our neighbourhood. We have had our windows broken, and we have had men interfered with while going about in our neighbourhood. I should not think of going out in the dark there by myself.

12,238. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You have had your windows broken, you say?—Last week.

12,239. Windows of your firm, do you mean?—No; one of our men was working close to our works, and on Saturday week the men smashed his windows. And they lately went down to four houses that I tenanted with Staffordshire men; fortunately the police got some intimation of it and prevented them, or else they would have smashed the windows of these men's houses.

12,240. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) I understand you that the sole cause of quarrel between you and these men was that you said you would not employ union men?—Yes.

12,241. And that that led to all the subsequent rioting and opposition to you?—Yes; we required to have free labour.

12,242. Therefore, in your mind, you connected it distinctly with unionism, and said that unionism was the primary cause of your suffering?—Yes.

12,243. (*Chairman.*) If I understand you right your men never came and remonstrated; they never gave you notice that they were going to leave you until there had been this interference by strangers coming there?—I must explain that, as a district, we were quiet and peaceable, and doing well up to February of 1867. About February 1867 a man named William Brown came and lectured. He had open air meetings, and did all he could to get large bodies of men there, and lectured to them. That was the first start of unionism. He said, "You have not very much to complain of, but" (he said) "I will get "you short hours." That was the first thing he tempted them with. "I shall get you shorter hours "and more pay."

12,244. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Did you hear Mr. Brown lecture?—No, I did not; but I had it represented to me, and I said, "Well, this man is going to lecture; "we must take care of ourselves," and I said, "We "shall not employ union men."

12,245. (*Chairman.*) After that you received notice. Did anybody say that it was in consequence of that that they were ordered out?—The men shouted in my face "Union for ever" when they gave their notices in. I went to see them and reason with them. I said, "What do you want? your pay is right; "you are satisfied; you have no grievance at all." It was all of no use; they merely cried, "Union for "ever." They met me with shouts and nothing else.

12,246. Mr. Brown's exhortation had been pretty effectual then. It was your own men that shouted "Union for ever"?—Yes.

12,247. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Mr. Brown sowed the seed, but I suppose that the soil was quite prepared for it?—I suppose so. The chief men who supported the union have been men who were always bad workmen in the colliery; they have had most to say. They would only work two or three days in a fortnight, if so much as that. These men have been foremost, and in order still to get the allowance from the union which they have received they would keep the union alive for an indefinite time.

12,248. Has your experience taught you that the most active persons in the union are the most inefficient workmen?—They are lazy fellows; the bigger spouters, the worse workmen.

12,249. (*Mr. Mathews.*) The great talkers are little doers?—Yes.

12,250. You spoke of having your men protected by the police. Is the police very effective, on those large occasional gatherings, against the bustling and bullying of the men out on strike?—Well, we have not found them so effective as they should be; we have found very little good beyond the influence of the uniforms; perhaps that does something or other; but as for defending us from any acts of molestation or interference, or where men have been hurt, setting the police on to it, they have been of very little service to us.

12,251. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Are those policemen chosen from the people of the district?—I am not sure, I think that they are foreigners.

12,252. (*Mr. Mathews.*) They are the county constabulary?—Yes.

12,253. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Did you ever trace any sympathy between the police and the men out of work?—They fraternize with them.

12,254. Possibly you may think that that is the cause why they do not find out offenders better?—There is something the cause, they have been of very little use in finding out anything we want. Where men have blackened their faces, as they have done with us, and turned their collars up and put their hats down over their faces, and interfered with the men going to work, if we set the policemen on they would never be of any service to us in finding them out.

12,255. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You do not think that there is any sympathy between the union men and the police, beyond the ordinary sympathy of men in the same station of life?—I should not like to make a charge against the police.

12,256. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Do you mean to say that there have been actual cases of outrage not detected by the police?—Yes.

12,257. Many cases?—Yes.

12,258. Can you name some?—There is a boy of the name of Joseph Pope, who on November the 30th was threatened and sent back from work by three men, and they took his dinner from him, and told him that if he did not go back they would kill him. I offered 2*l.* reward for the apprehension of the offenders.

That was a very easy case to detect, one would think, because the police were all round the district, and this lad was coming to work at 6 o'clock in the morning. The police might have got on the track, but they never did.

12,259. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Do you think the boy knew the men?—No.

12,260. He would not have known them if he had seen them again?—No, they had got their coat collars turned up and their faces covered up. Here is another case, which occurred on November the 12th—Joseph Wardle beaten by three men disguised, and thrown into a brook. This man was coming alone against my instructions. I organized the system at one time that they should be escorted from the far end in a body. This man, however, wanted to get a little earlier to his work. Those men met him on the road, and kicked him and threw him into the brook. There is another case, that of Joseph Baker who was a Staffordshire man. He happened unfortunately to have had some drink, and coming home he was brutally beaten and kicked by three men, rendering him unfit to work for several days. We did all we could to find out those cases, but not a man could we find. James Hardy on January the 22nd 1868 was beaten and stoned, but we cannot find out the offenders. On January the 24th 1868 William Brotherhood was stoned on his way to work, and on the same day Henry Hinks was stoned.

12,261. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Name the cases in which convictions followed?—Patrick Ines was stopped and turned back from work. Thomas Wilkinson, who was the most forward person in the matter, we proved, and he was convicted and had one month's imprisonment. That man Joseph Baker, of whom I spoke just now, was a most fearless man. I have seen him stand and say to the men, "Why do not you go to work? I have come here for work and mean to have it." But that man was thoroughly frightened afterwards, so much so that, after this beating that he had, he came after 10 days and said to the bailiff, "The place is too hot, I cannot stop," and he was obliged to leave. I thought nothing would have turned that man off. On February the 27th of the present year John Wallbank was beaten at Swadlincote on his way to work. I believe that we have some clue to that case. Then, on February the 28th of this year, Joseph Stirland, a bailiff, was interfered with, and a number of workmen mobbed and obstructed him in passing from work. On March the 12th Thomas Bradbury was beaten, stoned, and threatened with certain death. That case is now being proceeded with; we have a summons out against the man. On the same day Edward Sherwin and constables with a quantity of workmen experienced a repetition of the offence committed on the 28th of February. This is at the colliery which has been stopped, which I have been trying to open. They threatened that blood should be shed before that colliery was opened, yet I could never get at the evidence of that; it comes to us through the women and the lads.

12,262. (*Chairman.*) Were they prosecuted for assaults, or under the statute against intimidation and obstruction?—For assaults, I believe. On March the 13th James Archer, at the toll-gate house, had his windows broken. This was done by a large body of unionists in various disguises, about 9 o'clock in the evening. And on the same day George Heywood, living near the toll-gate, had the woodwork and glass of his house made a perfect wreck, and they marched down to those four new houses which I had taken for the Staffordshire men; they marched down with the intent of smashing the whole of the windows, but the constables were before them.

12,263. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is it generally in the night or in the daytime that these things are done?—In the dusk; in the daytime they are as quiet as possible.

12,264. So that it is exceedingly difficult for the police to detect the parties?—Yes.

12,265. And the fear of these acts, and the indefinite threats of the workmen, have a greater effect in deterring new men from going into a district than anything else?—Most decidedly.

12,266. (*Chairman.*) Is the strike now going on?—I believe it is about finished; they have not got their pay for last week.

12,267. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Did the strike arise from the declaration on your part that you intended to employ no union men, or was it on a question of wages?—No, it was not a question of wages at all.

12,268. (*Lord Elcho.*) You have said that they have not got their pay for last week; was that owing to want of funds or to disapproval of the strike on the part of those who paid?—I think for want of funds. I think that there are men out in Yorkshire, and the funds, I fancy, are not forthcoming.

12,269. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) You have stated that in some instances the men have come to you and complained that they were afraid of going to work, although willing to work as non-union men?—Yes.

12,270. Would any of those men come here and give evidence?—I think so.

12,271. Will you supply us with the names of some men who would give us that evidence?—Yes.

12,272. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Do you think that they would run any risk by giving that evidence?—I do not know. I may say that I have asked men to go and appear against other men for acts of intimidation, and they dare not do it.

12,273. (*Chairman.*) In what way have they said that to you—"I do not dare," or "Really I do not remember much about it"?—They would say openly that they did not dare.

12,274. (*Mr. Booth.*) Are there any more cases of intimidation which you are desirous of stating?—I think not any that I can recall to mind now.

12,275. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You say that one-third of your men who came from Staffordshire remain with you?—Yes, I should think so.

12,276. Are any of those the men whom you have mentioned to us from that list as having been intimidated?—Baker was one of those men.

12,277. (*Mr. Mathews.*) When you speak of Staffordshire, do you speak of North Staffordshire or South Staffordshire?—South Staffordshire.

12,278. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Have you had complaints from other men belonging to that one-third besides Baker?—Oh yes, and I have to protect them in every way; I dare not leave them to themselves.

12,279. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) What number of men have returned to your employment?—Last week they were all applying.

12,280. You have opened the pits now in consequence of having a sufficient number of men to work them?—Yes.

12,281. What number of men have you now employed?—Perhaps 200.

12,282. Out of how many?—Out of 300.

12,283. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Do the men that come back, come back with the understanding that they are not belonging to the union?—Yes.

12,284. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Do you think that there are any men in your employment who do belong to the union without your knowledge?—I should not be at all surprised, but we do the best we can to learn whether they do.

12,285. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Do you allow, for example, any delegate from the union to come on your works?—No.

12,286. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Have you any personal intercourse with the delegates of the union?—I have had personal conversation with them.

12,287. You do not recognise them as arbitrators between you and your men?—No, they wanted to arbitrate the matter, but as the men had no grievance themselves, I would not open up the question with the delegates.

12,288. (*Mr. Hughes.*) What did they want to arbitrate?—I do not know. Whether the men should belong to the union, I presume.

12,289. They wished, in fact, to get from you a

Mr. W. Gleadow.

24 March 1868.

licence for union men to remain in your works?—Yes.

12,290. The original cause of quarrel being, in fact, whether the union men should or should not be employed?—Yes.

12,291. (*Mr. Mathews.*) They wished you to reverse your policy, in fact?—Yes, one person met me one day and said, "I am coming to see you to-morrow." I said, "What about," and he said "I am deputed by"—somebody else, I forget the name now—"to come and see if we cannot make this grievance right." I said, "What grievance?" He said, "Well we are coming on behalf of the union." I said, "Well you "need not come to see me if you are coming on "behalf of the union, as I have no question with my "men but what we can settle between us."

12,292. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Have you required any of your men to sign an agreement pledging themselves not to belong to the union?—Yes.

12,293. Is that the case with all the men whom you now employ?—With the old men I have not done that, but with fresh comers I have done so.

12,294. (*Chairman.*) During the four or five years that you have had the management, have you been on perfectly friendly terms with your men as far as friendliness extends between employer and workmen?—Perfectly so.

12,295. Since the action of the union has come in, has there been a different feeling?—Oh, decidedly; the men are not the same men, they are quite beside themselves; they rather look to the union and all that as a go between, and they are as insolent in their way as possible; they shout to you on the road and all that sort of thing.

12,296. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Before the union interfered was there ever any question between you and your men about wages?—Nothing but what has been conceded.

12,297. There has been some question then?—There have been advances during that time.

12,298. Will you allow me to put the questions in my order. There have been questions between you and your men about wages?—Yes.

12,299. They have been settled amicably between you and your men?—Yes.

12,300. And you have either agreed to what they desired, or have given them such reasons as satisfied them that you could not agree to it?—Quite so, and we never had a turn out.

12,301. The result has always been an amicable settlement of all the questions between you?—Yes.

12,302. That always happened before the union came?—Yes.

12,303. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Previous to the Union being established was there any obstacle to the freest possible discussion of these questions between you and the men?—Not the slightest.

12,304. There was a continued friendly relation between you and them?—Yes.

12,305. Has that been altered since the union came?—Yes, the men were always friendly and would say "Good morning, sir," but now there is such a look as is anything but pleasant.

12,306. Indicating an estrangement?—Most decidedly so.

12,307. Has there been any attempt on your part to revive that friendly feeling?—I am still always civil and pass the time of day to my men, but though I say, "Good morning, lads," they do not return it.

12,308. They do not reciprocate that feeling?—No, they greet me with a shout.

12,309. Not one of laudation, but a hostile shout?—Yes.

12,310. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) When you speak of the union, do you refer to any particular union?—No, I do not.

12,311. (*Chairman.*) Is Mr. Brown employed by the delegates?—He is the agent of the union who came and sowed the seeds in our district.

12,312. (*Mr. Mathews.*) What is the union called?—I do not know.

12,313. Do you suppose it is called the South Yorkshire Union?—We understand that they get money from South Yorkshire and that they have some connexion with it.

12,314. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Have you ever heard that they have any connexion with London?—Mr. Potter once came down, and I had a word or two with him, I think, when he was down there.

12,315. He came down while there was this dispute between you and your men?—Yes.

12,316. Did he come down with peace in his mouth?—No, certainly not. He was at the prosecutions in the Hall during the time that the magistrates were trying the men. Then there was a meeting at night of the unionists, and he used most extraordinary language as to the want of justice that was doled out by the magistrates, finding fault with them in every way.

12,317. (*Mr. Mathews.*) By whom were the men defended?—Some gentleman from Wakefield, a Mr. Wainwright.

12,318. It was not Mr. Roberts the solicitor?—No.

12,319. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Was Mr. Wainwright an attorney, and not a barrister?—I understand an attorney. I am not sure.

12,320. (*Lord Elcho.*) Do you know where Brown is now?—I can say that within the last two months or so he has made two incursions from our district—one to Moira, the other to Coalville. Moira is three or four miles from Gresley Wood, and Coalville about 10 miles. Both these districts were working on good terms with the masters, and working satisfactorily, when he tried to persuade the men to join him and defy the masters. He, however, got no success. At Coalville the men had such bitter experience of the union some years since, that they have scarcely now recovered from the strike made at that time.

12,321. (*Chairman.*) Was the trade bad at Moira?—No, very prosperous.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. A. Higginson.

Mr. William Eley examined.

12,322. (*Chairman.*) Are you manager of the Swadlincote Old Colliery?—I am, and of the Cadley Hill Colliery.

12,323. Is Swadlincote Old Colliery distinct from the colliery of Mr. Gleadow, of which we have just heard?—Yes, quite distinct from the Gresley Wood and Swadlincote collieries.

12,324. How long have you had the management of it?—I have been in my present situation 10 years, but I have been in the district nearly 20 years.

12,325. Till late times has the colliery been carried on without any interference on the part of unions that you know of?—During the 20 years that I have been in the district we have not played a day or an hour on account of any dispute with our men up to the time o Brown and others coming down to agitate in February 1867.

12,326. Did you know by report where Brown came from, what district he had been addressing before he came to you?—Yes, we knew of him, he was in North Derbyshire and South Nottinghamshire.

12,327. Had he continued there any length of time?—He had. I believe there had been a colliery standing there, the Hucknall colliery, for 17 or 18 weeks, from the effects of the union.

12,328. What induced him to leave the Derbyshire district and come to your district?—I cannot say, without it is that things were ill in that county, and he came into a good one where all was prosperity.

12,329. There might be an attraction towards you or a repulsion from them, which was it?—I believe there was both. As far as my observation has gone I find that the unions generally plant themselves where

there are good doings, where there is prosperity and all parties are doing well.

12,330. Unions prosper where the trade prospers?—They generally plant themselves there; but the prosperity generally, indeed, universally, I think, withers under their influence.

12,331. At your colliery what has been the result of their interference?—After Brown's giving a few lectures in the midst of the neighbourhood, holding forth to the effect that the coal kings must be put down and the tyrants of agents must be got rid of, I found that the men were unmanageable, and I did not require any information from any other quarter to find who were the members that had joined the union. There was a defiance about them; you could see that they were under no kind of restraint or discipline, and we were under the necessity of shutting up some of our works as the men were unmanageable, and they would not be safe under the circumstances. Knowing this from the speeches of the advocates of the union we determined on discharging at that time all members of the union, as it was impossible to manage the collieries if they remained. I found that our deputies or over-men were insulted, that the men would put us and all regulations at defiance. Consequently we discharged a number of men on that account. In March we discharged 10, in April 30, in May 35, in June 42, in July 8, in August 10, in September 10—total, 145.

12,332. When you had your complement of men working how many had you?—We had 500 hands when we had our full complement.

12,333. Was your hiring monthly?—Fortnightly. 14 days' notice.

12,334. That is to say you hire them and the contract is that either side may part with 14 days' notice?—Yes.

12,335. I observe that all your men were discharged in separate bodies. That happened accidentally, I suppose?—As they had joined they were discharged. In September there were notices sent to us which no doubt were written by the union advocates, inasmuch as a great number of the notice papers were written by one hand, and according to the statement of the men they had them given them when coming to work. At the end of September, with a view, as was stated then, that they would bring our colliery to a stand, I received 140 notices from the men. I have got a number of them here to show that most of them had been written by two or three hands, the men putting their crosses (*handing some notices to the Commissioners*).

12,336. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Were these notices given to you in the legal form?—The notices, you will see, were in many cases that I was to leave my employments in 14 days; but I suppose it was intended to mean that they were to leave theirs.

12,337. (*Chairman.*) Are the signatures written by the same hand?—Yes, a great number of them.

12,338. You mean that the signatures were written by a person who brought pen and ink with him into that district?—A great number of them are signed with crosses, and no doubt many of them have been signed by the delegates. Some of them confessed that they really did not know that they had got a notice paper until their wives had brought it from the meeting.

12,339. Having discharged these men did you try to get men to replace them?—I saw there was a great deal of difficulty and danger in that, and I did not go to seek out for fresh men, but if there were men that did come and volunteer to take work I found them work. In one instance I employed four men. As soon as these four appeared hundreds of the union men followed them to the dwelling, and I had a staff of 10 men on guard to keep the dwelling safe all night on account of the intimidation of the men, who were told it would be better if they returned, and all the rest of it. I kept them a fortnight; but ultimately they persuaded these men to give notice, and they gave them money to quit the neighbourhood. Afterwards they smashed the windows of the house they had lived in. I had found them a house and put them in.

12,340. That house was damaged?—That house was damaged. The windows were literally smashed in, and some part of the woodwork was also broken.

12,341. Have you tried to import other labourers?—I had seven others out of Warwickshire a short time ago.

12,342. You did not send for them?—I did not send for them. I gave these instructions to the men at work that if there was anyone that wished to have work under the circumstances we would offer him work and protection to and from work as long as he wished; and these men volunteered to come, but there was no peace for them. They were paid their fare by the union men, who sent them away again.

12,343. Those men came up in September, did they not?—Yes, we had the greatest struggle then.

12,344. Are the men out now or are your works carried on?—There are a great number of the men out now, because the trade has been ruined. We have lost our winter trade, and now we cannot send coal into the market. All the men would come to work now, we have been given to understand; but in consequence of the trade having been driven away there will be a good deal of poverty and distress I am afraid.

12,345. You say that trade is driven away. Consumption of coal must go on; why is not your coal consumed?—If the coal merchants make contracts for the winter, or for 12 months (it is usual for them to do so at the latter end of the year), and if you cannot take their contracts they send them elsewhere; consequently we have no chance of making the contracts in the spring, and we lose the trade.

12,346. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Can you give us any instances in which coal merchants have left you?—Yes, there was a customer of ours at Worcester who used to take from 150 to 250 tons a week who has not taken a truck since that time. But as our trade is spread over something like 200 miles area, of course it has the same effect elsewhere.

12,347. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Do you know where that customer gets his coal from now?—I sent him a great many waggons, and he has been getting his coal chiefly from Cannock Chase, using our waggons. We have not had any dispute at all with the men, I may say, and we have not given anything more for the work being done; but on account of the effects of the union, through our having a larger staff of men to keep strangers safe, and having a larger number of deputies for the quantity of coal raised, that quantity of coal has cost us 1*s.* 1*d.* a ton more than it would have done had the union not been in our district.

12,348. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) And that without raising the wages?—Without raising the wages.

12,349. (*Mr. Mathews.*) That is to say, if the colliery is half worked, the common charges are more by 1*s.* 1*d.* a ton than they would be with regular work?—Yes, but in this case there was more difference, because we require to have extra overlookers to keep the men safe whom we take from one part of the works to another.

12,350. The whole together entails an additional cost to the coalmaster of 1*s.* 1*d.* a ton?—It does at our collieries.

12,351. (*Chairman.*) What is the price of a ton at the pit's mouth?—Our average of sales at the pit's mouth does not amount to 6*s.* a ton.

12,352. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You mean taking small and large together?—Taking small and large together the average price would not exceed at any time 6*s.* a ton. It would be nearer 5*s.* 6*d.*

12,353. What is the rate of the highest?—The rate of the highest that we make, which is a very small quantity out of the main coal, would be 12*s.* a ton; the lowest is 1*s.* 8*d.*

12,354. And the mean between those would give you 6*s.* 10*d.*?—It never amounts to more than 6*s.*

12,355. (*Chairman.*) It costs you 1*s.* 1*d.* a ton

Mr. W. Eley.

24 March 1868.

more than it did, you say; do you add on that to the price, or are you obliged to lose it?—It is a dead loss to the proprietor. We have no chance of getting a penny of it returned. We did advance the prices of our slack 1*s.* per ton to *local* manufacturers during *part* of the time the strike was in operation, but in the aggregate our coals were not sold for a greater price than in the previous year.

12,356. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) During the strike have there been any acts of intimidation or violence?—I will read the list that has come under my notice in this immediate district. I may say that during November, December, and January I have constantly been out with the specials. We have had 30 to fetch men to their work in the morning and also to take them back at night. There have been hundreds of men lying beside the road during that time both at morning and night armed with sticks, and women with tin pans, kettle drums, and all sorts of annoyances possible. In November, as I was going to fetch two men at 5 o'clock in the morning, I found Mr. Bunting heading something like 80 men, and there were perhaps as many as 80 women who turned out with tin kettles, and drums, and cowhorns, and everything they could think of. During three or four months I do not suppose that I have been in bed after 5 o'clock in the morning, and it is very rare that I have found it safe to go to bed before 2 o'clock on account of the annoyance given by the men and the manner in which the passions of the men have been excited by the inflammatory speeches of advocates who have come from time to time.

12,357. (*Chairman.*) Have you heard any of them?—Yes; I have heard plenty of them. I have sat in my house and heard Mr. Brown shouting out in the hall, "Down with the coal kings and the tyrants," and he told the men that they were living in some of the houses which were their own, intimating that the capitalists had got it out of the hard earnings which the men themselves ought to have had. Pointing to my house, he said, there was a house built out of the blood and bones of the working men, and I sat within hearing four hours one night, and they said they would have it down stick and stone. I heard all those speeches, and there have been speeches of this inflammatory character going on for months and months, and it is a wonder we have not had a great deal more depredation, and I attribute it solely to the good sense of the colliers of our district over many others that we have not had more sacrifice of life and more sacrifice of property.

12,358. I do not understand what offence you gave except having a tolerable house?—What Brown said was this, that I was to be a marked man, because I came into the district with my boot toes out, and had since got a house; at least, that was the inference I drew.

12,359. Because you had saved money?—Yes, because I had saved money.

12,360. And that money was to be distributed among them I suppose that did not work for it?—He told them candidly that they must have some of the capital by hook or by crook.

12,361. These are men of great intelligence many of them, and it does not seem very rational to say that because a man has got some money you ought to take it away from him and keep it yourself. Did Brown give any reason to the men more than this: "Your "bones and muscles hewed the coal out of which the "profit was got that built that house, and that is a "reason you should take it back again." Was that the line of argument?—This was intended to be the lesson from his teaching, no doubt; that they were very hardly treated and that they must have some of the masters' capital. Although they could not particularly explain what was the grievance, yet they were told that if they did not join the union they would have occasion to regret it, and I think they were led to believe (at any rate the teaching had that effect upon those who were taught that wherever there was capital that capital was ill-gotten gains), and they filled the men with imaginary grievances which they could not explain, and if you asked a number of men they could not tell you whether they had been ill-used, nor what they wanted in any shape, but still they ought to have something that somebody else had. In the beginning of July or the latter end of June I was visited by the union delegates at my own residence, and they wished to know whether there was any chance of compromising the matter with the masters. I have some correspondence which took place with them afterwards, showing what they proposed on behalf of the men.

12,362. These are the elected delegates?—Yes, and for whom the union was finding the money. There was a portion of the money (5*s.* per head I was told by one of the delegates) coming out of Yorkshire; and 3*s.* a week from the Trades Alliance; the four delegates who waited upon me, were from those two unions. This correspondence acknowledges which, and gives their names and address.

12,363. Many of those delegates are remarkable men; were any of these men men of name and note?—I have got the names here. Shall I read the correspondence.

12,364. If you please?—After they had been at my house I received this: "United Kingdom Alliance of "Organised Trades, Randal Street, Highfield, Sheffield, "July 2, 1867. Mr. Wm. Eley,—Sir, Enclosed I forward you memorandum this day agreed to by the "deputation who yesterday waited on you and the "other gentlemen at your residence in reference to "the present dispute with the miners of Gresley and "the neighbourhood. I shall be glad if you will lay "the same before the masters as agreed last night and "let me know their decision thereon. Trusting that "negociations will be productive of good to all concerned, I remain, sir, on behalf of the deputation, "yours truly (signed) Wm. Dronfield, General Secretary to the Alliance. P.S. Mr. John Normansell, "Nelson Street, Barnsley, secretary to the South "Yorkshire Miners' Association, would be glad to "hear what decision is come to by the employers, or "to give you any information as to the working of "their association should you require it.—W. D." "Copy of memorandum.—At a numerous meeting of "the miners of Gresley and district held last night a "resolution was unanimously adopted to the effect "that the men agree to leave the settlement of their "case in the hands of the deputation from the Miners' "National Association and the United Kingdom Alliance of Organised Trades. With the view, therefore, "of bringing about a better understanding between "the employers' agents and their workmen we beg to "make the following suggestions:—1. That the employers and agents agree to withdraw their opposition "to the miners' union; 2. That all the men resume "work immediately afterwards, pledging themselves "not to make any demands on their employers or "agents, except such as are in common with the "working of the collieries of the district as may be "mutually agreed upon by both parties; 3. That no "advantage be taken by the employers or their agents "of those in their employment; 4. That in order to "give effect to the foregoing conditions the deputation "respectfully recommend that the same be mutually "agreed on, and strictly observed for a period of at "least 12 months from the present date. Signed on "behalf of the Miners' National Association, John "Normansell, John Nixon; on behalf of the United "Kingdom Alliance of Organised Trades, signed, "George Austin, president, Wm. Dronfield, general secretary. P.S.—In the event of any misunderstanding arising in carrying out the foregoing "suggestions the deputation will, if requested by "either party, be glad to offer their services with the "view of promoting a better understanding between "the employers and employed, which is essentially "necessary for the well being of all parties."

12,365. "That no advantage be taken by the "employers"—that does not convey a definite notion to my mind?—It says, "That no advantage be taken "by the employers or their agents of those in their

"employment." After we had heard the statements of the delegates, one stipulation they made was that we would take all our own men into our employ again.

12,366. You were to take no notice and make no change in consequence of the property being taken and distributed?—That is the view I took of it. In reply I wrote this letter: "July 3rd, 1867. Mr. Wm. Dron-" field, Randal Street, Highfield, Sheffield. Sir,—Yours " of yesterday to hand with memorandum inclosed, " which I will take the first opportunity of laying before " the proper parties, some of whom are now from home." I wrote him again on July the 11th: " Dr. sir,—In " further reply to yours of the 2nd instant enclosing " memorandum, I beg to say that having laid them " before the coalmasters as promised they refuse to " entertain the matter in any way whatever." This, I think, goes to show that this is strictly a union movement, and the support that the men have been having I believe is out of Lancashire. I had also a deputation from Lancashire. Allen, I think it was, came and said that he was a representative of a large number of miners, and also large funds to the extent of some 10,000*l.*, and they should bring it to bear if we did not make some concession to the union men; but I did not feel inclined, nor was I deputed by the masters to do so; and I believe if it were given way to it would not be possible to work our district under their rule and domination. Consequently, I told them I thought as an individual that there was no chance, and I suppose we have had to bear the weight of the three unions.

12,367. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is it your impression that if these unions prescribed their own rules and had their own way as to getting the coal, the cost of getting the coal would be increased materially?—I would not accept of any colliery in the district on those terms. To show the difficulties that we have to contend with, here are some rough sketches (*producing the same*), showing the nature of our work, and if we had to go to the men to have a council, and the agents and proprietors had to wait for their decision to know what was to be done in the working of this coal we should be always at bay and our works would be stopped. A colliery is completely intersected with these things (*pointing to a sketch*). It is not like a level plain, and that would all be subject to the dictation of men who would very likely know nothing about the district. That is another section (*producing the same*).

12,368. You produce these sections to show the Commission that you have not only the ordinary difficulties of coalmasters to contend with, but peculiar difficulties in your own colliery?—Yes, and we have difficulties in our district through the spontaneous combustion of our mines.

12,369. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) I think you use the phrase "fiery mines," do not you, to signify that class of mines in which combustion takes place in that way?—The fiery mines contain a large amount of gas that is inflammatory, but combustible mines are those that ignite themselves.

12,370. (*Mr. Merivale.*) What is the rock from which you have to cut this proposed incline from one seam to the other (*pointing to the sketch*), is it limestone?—Part of it would be stone, part of it would be bind or soft strata, and the other clay; you could not cut six yards there but that it would vary in its quality, and it must be left to a practical man on the spot to manage it, and he cannot work his colliery unless he keeps up a good understanding with his workmen.

12,371. (*Mr. Mathews.*) All collieries have difficulties of that sort, faults and dislocations more or less?—Yes, and without a good understanding being kept up between the employers and the employed, it would be impossible to go on, and I do not think that a third person however wise can have the necessary knowledge.

12,372. You think that in your case you have more than the usual allowance of difficulties?—Yes. At the side of every one of those faults there would be a fire, and one of the arguments used by the delegates in their advice was that if they could only stay out a week or two our pits would be all on fire, and we should be compelled to shut them up.

12,373. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) I think you said that the delegates used the phrase "If you do not make conces-" sions to your workmen." They never asked you to make any concession, I think, excepting that one, that they should join the union?—I think when that suggestion says that the men should pledge themselves not to make any demands for 12 months it presupposes that something should be done then. Mr. Brown told them that they should ask for 10 hours first and then for 8 hours, and that every man should have a shilling an hour who went down in the pit whatever he did.

12,374. (*Mr. Merivale.*) Were these demands made to you?—They were said in the hearing of the men.

12,375. (*Mr. Mathews.*) The liability to spontaneous combustion would be greater in a colliery of your sort than in ordinary collieries?—Yes.

12,376. And you think that if the union were to frame regulations to supersede your regulations for the safety of the colliery you must close it?—Yes, it would be commercially valueless.

12,377. (*Chairman.*) Do you pay by the day or by the fathom?—Where we can, where the workman knows what strata we are going through, and the agent knows what stratas are before him, he can generally set it by the piece or by the yard, but where that is not the case you must agree with him by the day till it is known.

12,378. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is there any disinclination to work at piecework?—No. I have been able to keep up an understanding with our men that they will go to piecework or day work as the case may require. I do not bind them to their contract if we find that the work is not what we thought it was when we set it.

12,379. Do the unions discourage piecework?—As far as the effect on the men goes I think they discourage work altogether.

12,380. (*Mr. Merivale.*) Did Brown talk about piecework among the other grievances?—I do not know that he did, except about getting an extra weight per ton. I should explain that it is merely a ready way of reckoning. Every person knows how much he has to get before he commences work, that he has so much for so many hundredweights which are called a ton. It is a perfect understanding with the men in all our accounts. We get 24 cwt. at one colliery and 25 cwt. at another. The reason why I made the difference of the cwt. was this, that there was more waste at one colliery than at the other, and it has a better appearance in book-keeping when you can show that you can sell as many tons as you pay for getting, and if there was not extra weight got in that respect it would look as if you were paying for more than you can sell. If we sell 20 cwt. out of the 24 cwt. we are satisfied.

12,381. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Whatever regulations you make for the weight that you sell the men clearly understand the regulations as established as to weight betwixt you and them as to the quantity they are paid for?—Yes, that is a strict understanding when they commence work, that they get so many hundredweights for so much money.

12,382. And if they were to say, " We will not con-" sent to get so many hundredweights for a ton, " whereas formerly we got 24 hundredweight," you reduce their wages?—Yes, supposing it amounted to a penny a cwt. it would be 1*s.* 8*d.* a ton instead of 2*s.*

12,383. (*Chairman.*) What evidence have you to offer with regard to intimidations?—I have had a list of the intimidations we have had to deal with that have come under my notice and that of other people in the district. On July 12th William Smith was convicted for an assault with intimidation on William Pickering—one month's imprisonment. October 22d, Jonas Hooper was convicted by the Swadlincote bench of magistrates for intimidation—one month's imprisonment. November 21st, William

Mr. W. Eley.
24 March 1868.

Harris was convicted for intimidating John Sidwell—sent to gaol for seven days. George Chamberlain convicted for intimidating John Sidwell—sent to gaol for seven days. Abraham Bateman, convicted for an assault and intimidation—six weeks' imprisonment. John Holdman, convicted for assault and intimidation—six weeks' imprisonment. Charles Bass, convicted for assault and intimidation—six weeks' imprisonment. William Swain, convicted for intimidating Thomas Mousley—three months' imprisonment. Edward Swain, convicted for intimidating Thomas Mousley—three months' imprisonment. November 21st, Thomas Wilkinson, convicted for assaulting Patrick Hinds, with intimidation—one month's imprisonment. William Radford, convicted for assaulting Edward Lee, with intimidation—three months' imprisonment. (I think that those were not referred to by Mr. Gleadow.) Also on the 21st, one square of glass broken by a stone in Thomas Twiggs's house at Newhall. Two windows were smashed in at Hall and Boardman's house in Newhall—not detected. In December three squares of glass broken by stones in Francis Buxton's house at Newhall—not detected. John Hoult, for assaulting Wardle—convicted and sent to gaol for 14 days. January 15th, 1868, eight squares of glass were broken in the windows of the house occupied by Joseph Smith on Gresley Freehold, stones and brick ends were thrown into the house—a reward of 10 guineas was offered, but the offenders were not discovered. Eight squares of glass broken in the windows of the house occupied by George Brealey at Newhall—the offenders were not detected. On January the 16th, a brickbat was thrown through John Adey's window at Church Gresley—two squares of glass were broken, and Mrs. Adey was struck by the brickbat—a reward of 11 guineas was offered, but the perpetrator was not discovered. On the 17th, as the workmen from Cadley Hill colliery were returning home to Cauldwell and Rosliston, a number of union men appeared on Cadley Hill railway bridge and threw down a quantity of large stones, tools, shovels, mattocks, &c., upon them as they passed under the bridge. Some of those stones were 6 or 8 lbs. weight, boulders which evidently must have been carried some distance as there were no such stones as those lying in the immediate neighbourhood. On the 20th, as the workmen above named were returning home a number of union men came out of a shed between Cadley Hill and Cauldwell and threw stones and brickbats after them and pursued them into Cauldwell village, a distance of two or three miles. On the 24th, shortly after 6 o'clock in the evening, a number of persons attacked and violently assaulted and beat with sticks and stones Thomas Lea, of Church Gresley, collier. A reward of 20 guineas was offered for each and every person committed, but they were not discovered. On February the 12th, William Sales's windows broken. Four squares of glass broken in Joseph Billings's windows at Newhall. Six squares of glass broken in in John Lawrence's window at Newhall. On March the 13th, Samuel Whittaker's windows broken. A large number of union men assembled in the Market Place, Swadlincote, at 7 o'clock in the evening. It was a dark night and they were armed with formidable sticks, &c. A stone was thrown through Charles Goodwin's window. (Goodwin is a collier in work.) Another stone was thrown through the window of Mr. Faulkner at the Granville Arms Inn. They then proceeded along the street and sent a stone through the windows of one of Hall and Boardman's houses. They then proceeded to Catchem's Inn, and literally smashed in the windows of the toll-bar house and an adjacent house. The furniture and a quantity of pots were broken, the floors of the house being strewn with stones, brickbats, broken crockery, &c. On the 14th, William Sales's door broken open; and on the 18th, William Sales's windows were broken for the third time. Those cases have come under my immediate notice; and I may say that on one occasion a person was nearly beaten to death under my own windows. He woke me by his groans. I thought it might be a ruse to get me out. I watched the man till he got up and staggered to his lodgings. and he was brutally beaten, and I do not know when I have seen a man's face so literally cut to pieces. Richard Bunting, one of the delegates before alluded to, was brought before the county bench of magistrates at Derby, on 28th of February, and was committed for trial for attempting to bribe a police officer named James Newton (who was stationed at our colliery), on the 15th of January, by giving to him ten shillings, and also giving him money at other times, and requesting him to neglect his duty and to take no notice of the union men who wanted to "pull a job off" at our colliery. After a patient hearing at the March Derbyshire Assizes the case was dismissed by the jury.

12,384. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Was there any conviction n that case?—They could not get the perpetrators, We had special constables sworn in at the time. and they were very efficient guards. The magistrates swore a number of our workmen in and they have been of great service to us, inasmuch as I find that the men have a greater dread of recognition than of the county constabulary. I have had as many as 25 of the constabulary in the morning with 30 special constables, and they used to billet the constabulary off in different quarters, taking a few specials for recognition, and the men dread those men more than they do the county constabulary, because if the constabulary do not exactly catch the men they do not know them, and the men take advantage of that. One man from the village acting as a special constable with the policemen is a greater safeguard for that reason than a great number of the other police.

12,385. Because he has a greater knowledge of the men?—Yes; I may state that I have not thought it safe for me to pass out of my house for the last eight months without having a revolver in my pocket.

12,386. Have you shown it?—On one occasion, when I was surrounded by 80 men, I told them that I had such a thing with me and that I hoped they would not have recourse to any brutal force. "If you do," I said, "you may possibly find that you may be "taken in; and I wish you to understand that the "police go out with staves and they have strict "orders." We have impressed forbearance on the minds of the constables and the constabulary, and I can testify to their forbearance, although they have knocked their hats on one side with a tin kettle or brushed it off. The forbearance that has been shown by the police and specials to these men has been of great service in keeping the peace, or I do not know what the disasters might have been.

12,387. (*Mr. Booth.*) Do the special constables become marked men?—I do not think that they are more marked than any other man that goes to work; any man that is known to be at work is in danger of being molested.

12,388. (*Chairman.*) The unionists that come over are strangers to the workmen that work in the collieries, but they attack them because they work?—Yes.

12,389. It is on account of the difficulty of recognizing who it is that strangers come to you and attack the men working in the collieries?—They have been partly our own men, but we know them all in the district. Some of them are those who have gone out of the neighbouring collieries.

12,390. (*Mr. Merivale.*) Do you mean that the men who have actually committed the assault and beaten others in this brutal way were strangers, or men of the district?—Men of the district.

12,391. (*Chairman.*) Why cannot you identify them?—In those cases they have been identified, or the greater portion of them. But supposing a window was broken; if you saw 20 men there, unless you can swear that you saw one person that threw a stone there is difficulty in getting a conviction. And there has been great difficulty in these cases, especially when they have occurred in the dark. I thought at one time our colliery would have had to stop through intimidation and fear. The men seemed in fear of

turning out at all, and had we not been at the expense of sending men to fetch them to work and take them from work they would not have come.

12,392. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Did they not molest the men on coming home?—No, but their windows have been broken.

12,393. (*Mr. Merivale.*) What sort of men did you hire to act as guard?—We took our men out of the workshops.

12,394. (*Lord Elcho.*) Do you know where Brown is now?—I do not.

12,395. Have you heard of his doing at other places what you say he has been doing at this place?—He has just done in our district. No doubt we shall hear of him again, and you may depend on one thing, that he will pitch on some place where prosperity prevails.

12,396. Do you know where his head-quarters are?—Nottingham.

12,397. Is he a native of Nottingham?—His address is there. He did write to me once from Queen's Chambers, Nottingham.

12,398. What is he?—He is an agitator.

12,399. Was he brought up to any trade before he took to agitation?—I cannot say positively, but I understand that he was a greengrocer for some time. I may say that he stated that he intended to build a wall from North Derbyshire into Warwickshire, round by Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire, and to enclose us in that large wall he was going to build. He was going to take us all in rotation.

12,400. (*Chairman.*) I do not understand what the wall typified?—He said that he was looking after bricks, and he called those men who joined the union hard burnt bricks, and he said that he wanted to build a wall with these hard burnt bricks all round those counties. I should like to make one statement in reference to wages to show that in our district it is not essential to have unions to regulate the price of wages. Although we have not had a strike or had a word about the union in our district the wages have advanced in our district from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 1*s.* 8*d.* a day.

12,401. (*Mr. Merivale.*) When?—During the 20 years we have had peace.

12,402. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) And are the wages in your district where there had been no unions less than the wages in those districts in which the unions existed?—I believe we should be able to compare our wages, taking the amount of work done, against any county in England.

12,403. (*Mr. Merivale.*) Do you mean that the whole advance that has been made in the last 20 years is from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 1*s.* 8*d.* a day?—For picked men wages have increased by 1*s.* 6*d.* or 1*s.* 8*d.*

12,404. What has been the advance in rents during that time?—I am not aware there has been any advance in rents. Twenty years ago I could have picked the whole district at 3*s.* 4*d.* per day, and now I could not get the same men for the same work under 5*s.* per day, and this has been done without any strike or any dictation.

12,405. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Or any quarrelling?—Or any quarrelling; nor have they played a day on account of any dispute, but there has been a mutual understanding between employers and employed, and the employers have been willing to give the fair market price.*

12,406. (*Chairman.*) I think the second resolution in the memorandum which the delegates' committee left with you was, that the terms that should be mutually agreed upon between employers and workmen should not be departed from during a twelvemonth without mutual consent. What was the meaning of terms "that should be mutually agreed on"?—I do not know what the views of the delegates were on the subject.

12,407. You had an interview with them, I think you said?—Yes, I had an interview with them, and Mr. Normansell was one, and they came to this conclusion, that had they had the union set forth in the same way as we have had in our district they would have acted in the same way as we have done.

12,408. My question was as to what they meant by "terms mutually agreed on." Was it that you should fix for a twelvemonth with the men the way in which your colliery should be worked?—I think the views of the delegates were these, from what I could gain of them, that they thought of establishing a sort of council chamber in our district, so that the men could appeal to them and we should have had to work our collieries under their dictation.

12,409. (*Mr. Hughes.*) But they did not propose, did they, that this board or council, or whatever it was, should be composed of workmen?—I really never understood their proposition at all. I am one who believes that the intervention of a third party would be mischievous to either side.

* The witness subsequently added the following statement:—"At our own two collieries we paid near 6,000*l.* less in wages "during the year the strike was in operation than in the pre- "vious year; and we had a new colliery ready to be opened "out, but the strike has prevented it for the present, or we "should have paid a much larger amount in wages. There are "five other collieries here which would be equally affected, "and a general depression of trade being caused in the neigh- "bourhood, there would be a large deficiency also in the amount "of wages paid by manufacturers."

The witness withdrew.

Mr. Arthur Higginson examined.

12,410. (*Chairman.*) What are you?—I am partner in the firm of I. and N. Nadin & Company, Stanton Colliery, near Burton-on-Trent, in Derbyshire.

12,411. Are the Gresley Wood and Swadlincote and Cadley Hill collieries that we have been hearing of all neighbouring collieries in the district?—Yes, all neighbouring collieries. There are eight altogether, worked by six firms, within a few miles.

12,412. Is the coal subject to the same incidents as to fire-damp and spontaneous combustion?—Yes.

12,413. (*Lord Elcho*). What is the general name for that district?—South Derbyshire.

Mr. Eley. If you will take a mile radius from Swadlincote that will include all the collieries mentioned.

12,414. (*Chairman to the witness.*) Have you been troubled lately with unions?—In precisely the same way as the other witnesses. We have had no dispute whatever with our men; they have made no demand upon us, up to the time that Brown and these other agents came into the district.

12,415. Have you been as man and man, having some fellow-feeling and liking towards your fellow mortals?—Yes, the men have worked with us from my grandfather's time and downwards without any ill feeling whatever.

12,416. As far as you knew by their countenance and voice they had friendly feelings towards you?—The most friendly feelings possible.

12,417. Did you ever speak to them in a friendly way. In some concerns the master never speaks except to give commands, but if you were on very friendly terms you would inquire for their families, and have some acquaintance with them?—Yes, we had known them all their lives and grown up together.

12,418. Then delegates came down into that district such as have been described before?—Yes, shortly after the Staveley business was over and the strike at Hucknall colliery, the same men employed in that district as delegates came into ours. I have here some balance sheets sent to me showing the amounts they received in the Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Miners' Association, and the same men named here, with some few exceptions, are the men who have been troubling our district since. In that union they give each member a book of this description (*handing in a book*) when he joins the union, and the first date

Mr. A. Higginson.

24 March 1868.

is January 1866. They did not come into our district till February 1867. I produce that simply to show that it is a branch of the same association—that these men who receive that money are dependent for their livelihood upon continued agitation in some district or other. These are fortnightly balance sheets. This is the balance sheet for January 31st, 1867 (*producing the same*), in which I find these payments to agents: "William Ball, 3*l.* 19*s.* 0½*d.*; R. Bunting, 4*l.* 13*s.* 0*d.*; H. Clarke, 4*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.*; William Brown, 6*l.* 16*s.* 7½*d.*"

12,419. (*Lord Elcho.*) Is that *the* Brown?—Yes. In the next fortnightly account I find the following sums entered as paid to the same agents: "H. Clarke, 4*l.* 7*s.* 0*d.*; W. Ball, 4*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.*; J. Lee (omitted last time), 3*l.* 19*s.* 11*d.*; J. Lee, 4*l.* 1*s.* 11*d.*; R. Bunting, 4*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.*; W. Brown, on account, 3*l.* 3*s.* 7*d.*" and then for the fortnight ending February 28, "J. Lee, 4*l.* 3*s.* 10*d.*; W. Ball, 4*l.* 0*s.* 2*d.*; R. Bunting, 3*l.* 16*s.* 3*d.*; H. Clarke, 4*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.*; W. Ward, 8*l.* 6*s.* 5*d.*; W. Brown, 9*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.*"

12,420. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Are these all officers of the union?—Yes; they are entered here as delegates.

12,421. (*Lord Elcho.*) Do you know at all where William Brown spent that last fortnight, and can you say whether his work had been much greater during that last fortnight than the first, because his wages appear to have risen 3*l.*, I see, in the last as compared with the first?—I do not know. Then appended to this there is the agent's plan, giving a list of the places where they are to go on certain days.

12,422. (*Chairman.*) If agents get men to join the union the income of the union is increased thereby. Is a shilling a week what men joining the union would pay?—I believe that is the case in our district.

12,423. Is there any rule that the agents that go round have a per-centage upon the number of men that they induce to join?—I should think not. I have no reason for thinking so.

12,424. Why is Brown paid 6*l.* one fortnight and 9*l.* the next?—I am sure I cannot say.

12,425. What account is that from which you have been reading?—It was sent to me through the post. It professes to be the Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Miners' Association balance sheet. There is first of all the balance sheet, then the agent's plan, and then minutes of the council meeting held at Chesterfield.

12,426. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) I suppose some traitor sent it to you?—I imagine so.

12,427. (*Mr. Merivale.*) That is the union with which you have had to do?—Yes; they attempted to introduce a branch of this union into our district.

12,428. (*Lord Elcho.*) Have you any reason to doubt the accuracy of that balance sheet?—No, it was published in the district, and has not been contradicted. I have published it in the form of a hand bill.

12,429. (*Mr. Booth.*) Are the items in print?—Yes, I have been reading from printed sheets.

12,430. (*Chairman.*) All the unions have fortnightly or monthly accounts, have they not?—They have not issued any balance sheets such as those since they came into our district, but I imagine they have such accounts. I have never heard of one being seen by any one of the men that have come back to work at our works.

12,431. (*Lord Elcho.*) With regard to that account in which Brown's name appeared, the payment to him was not for work done in your district?—No, not for South Derbyshire, for North Derbyshire.

12,432. (*Chairman.*) The same men were at Staveley I think who came to you?—Yes.

12,433. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Do you attribute the disturbances in your colliery to the fact of the Staveley union men coming into your neighbourhood?—To the delegates coming.

12,434. Did any number of men refused employment at the Staveley colliery come to seek employment at your colliery?—I am not aware of any.

12,435. Your observation applies to the delegates entirely?—Yes.

12,436. (*Chairman.*) Will you state the result upon your colliery; did Mr. Brown address your men?—He addressed the men generally in the district, and also held meetings in the village where most of our men lived.

12,437. And did you hear any of his addresses?—No, I never heard him speak.

12,438. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Have you had any personal intercourse with the officers of the union yourself?—Yes, I have had a call from two of the members of the union. We had refused to see the delegates.

12,439. Then you have had intercourse with the union?—One interview, on February 14th, Mr. Halliday, Miners' Agent, of Little Lever, Bolton, and Mr. Dronfield, of the Trades Alliance Association, called on myself and partners; that was the only interview.

12,440. What was the result?—They said, "We "wished to know the masters' view of the case." We talked about it for an hour or two, and I think we satisfied them; in fact they admitted that the men had no grievances, they merely wished their union to be established. We said that our determination was not to employ union men. They admitted that we had a right to say that, but that was when the district was almost exhausted through loss of trade and the thing just at an end. There is one case near Burton where we supplied coal to a brewery and they have been obliged to go elsewhere.

12,441. (*Chairman.*) About how many tons per fortnight did you supply them with?—I should think our bill would be about 150*l.* a month; something of that sort; it is not one of the largest breweries.

12,442. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Whose brewery is it?—The Burton Brewery Company's.

12,443. Are your men out on strike now?—No; at least there are some men still out that we have no employment for owing to their having driven trade away, and trade being slack now, Brown being gone, last week they received no pay at all, and he announced, I believe, that unless they sent for him they would not see him again, and the men are in many cases almost starving.

12,444. There was no question of wages in the matter?—No, it was simply a question of union or no union.

12,445. Before the introduction of the union into your neighbourhood there was the fullest intercourse between you and your men?—Yes.

12,446. And no obstacles intervening between you?—No.

12,447. And now you find that there are obstacles intervening?—I think it is over now. For the 12 months that it lasted when I had to ride through the district I was always hooted.

11,448. (*Chairman.*) Now are you?—Not now.

12,449. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) They have changed their demeanour now?—Very much. Everything is done to order. For a long time I was hooted as a "black-leg." All at once I was saluted as a "funny-eye." I inquired why that was, and I found that Brown had told them that "black-leg had become stale."

12,450. (*Chairman.*) Have the different words a meaning?—The black-legs are the men who stick to work. But now they are very civil to me.

12,451. (*Mr. Mathews.*) No difficulty now exists in the way of resuming the ordinary relation between you and your men?—No; I think 40 or 50 of these misguided men came to the colliery last week to say that they had seen the folly of their conduct—in fact, they were literally starving, and are now applying to the Burton workhouse for relief.

12,452. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Were there many instances of violence or intimidation during that twelvemonth.—Very many. I have a list here of men who were convicted before the magistrate. I may say that I think I was present at all the cases. The first case that arose on which any action was taken, or the first with the exception of one, was at Lord Chesterfield's colliery. He introduced a number of men from South Staffordshire—that was in the latter end of September. I happened to go to Burton on the 1st of October,

and saw the disturbance. The whole road was lined for two or three miles with pickets armed with sticks and stones. Jonas Hooper, who was a delegate, and one of the leading men, evidence having been got against him, was brought before the magistrates shortly after, and sent to prison for one month. He appealed to the sessions, and at the sessions the masters, through a mistaken view, I think, as it turned out, agreed to compromise the question, and he was set at large on his undertaking not to offend again; but he did, and was brought up on a subsequent occasion.

12,453. (*Chairman.*) You say he was a delegate ?—Yes, not a foreign one but a home-made delegate; one of the leading men from the first. That was on the 7th of October. The offence charged against him was preventing persons from working by molesting.

12,454. Do you remember what was the form of molestation that they used against that man ?—It was hindering the man and taking him by the collar, and saying, "Do not go to work, do not take bread out "of our mouths, we will pay you your fare back," and acting with a mob of 200 or 300 men at the time.

12,455. He laid his hand upon the man and hindered him ?—Yes; there has been a great difficulty in our district in connecting the molestation with the purpose of making them leave their work, and the evidence has failed in one or two cases, but in that case it was clearly proved. Then on the 19th of November 10 men were brought up, and sentenced to various periods from ten days to three months.

12,456. Was it for obstruction ?—"George Cham- "berlain and William Harris, preventing persons "working by threats—seven days hard labour. P.S. "There was also another charge against these two "defendants but the case was withdrawn." The masters did not press it. "Abraham Bateman and "John Oldham, preventing persons working by mo- "lesting—six weeks' hard labour; Charles Bass, pre- 'venting persons working by force—six weeks' "hard labour; Thomas Wilkinson, preventing per- "sons working by force—one month; William "Radford and Edward Carter, preventing persons "working by violence, Radford three months and "Carter discharged; William Swain and Edward "Swain, preventing persons working by threats, "three months' hard labour." On the 4th of February 1868, James Hooper, the same man, was again brought up for preventing persons working by molesting, and the case was dismissed, and he was also brought up for assault, and the case of assault was dismissed. They brought a large number of men who were in the procession who swore that he did not do what two witnesses swore he did do, and the magistrate gave him the benefit of the doubt. On the 4th November 1867 Herbert Newberry and William Herbert, for assault, got two months hard labour; William Schreeve and John Potter, for stealing coal (they were union men), had one month's hard labour. There are also, during that twelve months, upwards of 230 cases against colliers in the neighbourhood for stealing and so on. That shows the state that the district was brought into.

12,457. (*Mr. Hughes.*) When you say that it shows the state that the district was brought into, the initiative was taken by the masters, was it not ?—No.

12,458. There was no action taken until the masters said they would employ no union men ?—They said they would employ no men who belonged to the union.

12,459. That was the beginning of it ?—No, the delegates coming into the district.

12,460. But that act of the masters was the first open action ?—Yes.

12,461. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) And that they did on account of the doctrines laid down by the delegates ?—Yes.

12,462. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Were there any masters' meetings to settle what should be done in the district ?—We talked it over in the district.

12,463. And they then determined to take that policy ?—Yes, for this reason, that the policy of the union men is to concentrate their force on one colliery and then go to the next.

12,464. So in fact you thought you would strike first ?—We did not strike first; we thought we would defend ourselves.

12,465. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) They gave you to understand distinctly what they were about ?—Yes.

12,466. And thereupon you took action to defend yourselves ?—Yes.

12,467. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You exercised your privilege of combining too ?—Yes.

12,468. (*Lord Elcho.*) You said that you had an nterview with Mr. Halliday and Mr. Dronfield, and you had an hour or twos talk with them, and they ended by saying that you were justified in not employing union men. When they said that, did they mean that you were free to do so, or that the circumstances justified you in doing so ?—That we were free to do as we like.

12,469. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) This acknowledgment on their part was after the strike was defeated ?—It was on its last legs.

12,470. When, in fact, experience had brought them to their proper senses ?—They found that the game was lost, and they were ready to admit anything.

12,471. (*Chairman.*) To be ready to admit anything that is proved is advice often given in court, perhaps it was something like that ?—Yes, I may say that one day last month, at about half-past 5, I met a number of men mobbing some Staffordshire men who were working for Mr. Gleadow, I interfered, and they stopped. That is what the state of the district has been; they have lived partly upon the funds furnished by the association and partly by begging.

12,472. (*Lord Elcho.*) At the commencement of your interview with these men did they try to make out that you had no right to exercise your discretion in this matter, and that it was an injustice or wrong on your part to confine your employment to non-union men ?—They did not open with that, they said that they had not seen any of the masters, and that they wished to hear the masters' side of the case. I was not aware of the fact at the time, but they had had a large meeting at the People's Hall the night before, and their interview with ourselves was in consequence of the resolution come to at that meeting. I was not aware of that when I saw them.

12,473. (*Chairman.*) I do not understand what purpose was proposed by them in that interview ?—They wished us, if possible, I imagine, to allow the men who had been locked out and struck to come back to their work.

12,474. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Having failed by violence, they then endeavour to gain their end by persuasion ?—Exactly, when they found that violence would not do. A considerable correspondence had been going on about referring it to arbitration. They made no offer about referring it to arbitration at first.

12,475. What did they want to arbitrate ?—That is what they cannot say. I have asked them that over and over again.

12,476. The real fact is that your determination not to employ union men was the sole grievance of which they had to complain ?—That it was the sole grievance, has been generally admitted; in fact, I can speak for our people, we have had no difference with them.

12,477. These delegates live by agitation ?—I imagine so.

12,478. If the agitation ceased they would starve or work, both of which are disagreeable things to them ?—Yes.

12,479. And therefore your determination not to submit to arbitration, but to manage things in your own way militates against their chance ?—Yes, that was their only chance, that they might get an arbitrator to say that we ought to allow the union men to work for us.

12,480. Did they tell you when they asked you to submit to arbitration how they were to enforce the arbitrator's decision ?—No.

Mr. A. Higginson.

4 March 1868.

12,481. Did they undertake in any way to act for the men or to be answerable for the men?—I almost think that in some correspondence which has been going on between Lord Chesterfield and Mr. Bass it was to be secured by some legal means.

12,482. You, the colliery masters, are a small number well known?—Yes.

12,483. But the men are a large number not known at all?—With some exceptions that is so.

12,484. And therefore you would not come upon equal terms to arbitration with those people?—Certainly not.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. H. C. Briggs.

Mr. Henry Currer Briggs examined.

12,485. (*Chairman.*) Are you of the firm of Messrs. Briggs, Son, and Company, of Whitwood and Methley Junction collieries, near Normanton?—Yes.

12,486. How long have you had the management of that business?—Since about the year 1852. Till the 1st of July 1865 the collieries were conducted under a private enterprise. Since that they have been conducted under the Limited Liability Act of 1862, and we retained about 6,000 shares out of the 9,000 into which it was divided.

12,487. With regard to the 3,000 shares that were left, are those disposed of to any purchaser that chose to buy, or do you dispose of them as you prefer?—I will explain that afterwards—it will come in due course because it brings in the subject of the peculiar system which we have adopted. We employed in 1858 about 500 hands, in 1860 about 700, and now we have 1,300 employed at those works. Our collieries are situated in the West Yorkshire district. The district which is now taken by the West Yorkshire trades union comprises about 40 collieries and 7,000 miners, of whom, according to the speakers at recent meetings, about 2,000 are in the union and 5,000 not in the union. It is the West Yorkshire or Leeds district, not connected with the South Yorkshire district, but separate from it.

12,488. (*Mr. Mathews.*) How many collieries are there in which your men are employed—what number have you in your occupation?—We have three—Whitwood, Haigh Moor, and Methley Junction.

12,489. (*Mr. Hughes.*) When did you begin to have troubles with your people?—The first trouble in the district occurred in the year 1853, at least those were the first since I knew anything of the district. There was a demand made upon Messrs. Pope and Pearsons for an advance of wages. I cannot ascertain exactly the amount of that demand, but it was a considerable advance that was demanded. The men struck work, and the strike lasted for five months. Previous to that date no association of masters had existed in the West Yorkshire district, but on that demand being made they met at Leeds, and they arranged to support Messrs. Pope and Pearson whilst their men were on strike by a monthly contribution. And the unionists on their side supported the men who were on strike at Messrs. Pope and Pearson's colliery. This strike, as I have said, lasted for five months, but there was no strike or lock out that occurred at any other colliery in the district. It was a fair stand-up battle, and I think there was no unfair dealing on either side. At last the price of coals advanced very considerably in the end of the year 1853, and the first month of 1854, and the wages were advanced about 30 per cent. during that time.

12,490. What brought about the end of the strike?—The trade improved very much at the end of that five months, and we gave an advance of wages, and we gave several consecutive advances afterwards, and the price of coal was advanced from about 4*s.* 7*d.* per ton to 6*s.* 8*d.*

12,491. Then in the view of the unionists, I suppose, that was a successful strike on their part; they got the advance which they demanded?—They did, after five months.

12,492. (*Mr. Booth.*) The advance would probably have taken place whether there had been a union or not, I suppose?—I believe it would.

12,493. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Was it conceded by you in consequence of the pressure put upon you by the men?—No, I do not think it was; it is a long time since, and I do not recollect the exact circumstances, but I believe the advance was given by Messrs. Pope and Pearson, and it was followed by the other masters at the other collieries without any strike.

12,494. (*Mr. Hughes.*) That the unionists would represent, whether rightly or wrongly, as a success on their part?—Yes.

12,495. What was the next case?—From that time up to 1858 there was no special collision at all. In the interim both the miners union and the masters association fell to the ground, or at least they took no action and there was no battle. The market price of coal slightly fell during that period until the early part of 1858, when it had fallen to an average of about 4*s.* 7*d.* to 4*s.* 10*d.*, nearly the old price. In the month of March the employers again met, and they sought relief by reducing wages 15 per cent. (and there was a notice put out to that effect) out of the advance of 30 per cent. which had been given in former years of prosperity. That proposal was resisted and a strike occurred in April 1858 which lasted for 35 weeks. During that period I believe that nearly the whole of the men in the district were in the union. They formed the union at that time. I do not think that there had been actually a union during the intervening time. It had died out, but they made a union at that time in order to resist that attempt to reduce wages, and the men at three collieries turned out, about 800 in number, and were supported by about 2,500 who were working at other collieries. At that time the district was smaller; there were only about 3,500 miners in the Leeds district then.

12,496. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Then the union formed at that time was not confined to your district?—Yes, it was a separate union, separate from South Yorkshire or any other.

12,497. And was it confined to the district you speak of?—Just to the West Yorkshire district, but the district was rather smaller then, it did not include the collieries round Bradford which are now included in the union district. There were only about 3,500 employed in the district at that time.

12,498. (*Mr. Hughes.*) How did that strike end?—We supported the masters whose men were out and the miners supported the men who were on strike, and it lasted till October 1858, when the whole of the collieries were stopped. The men were locked out in the whole of them in October 1858, the strike having begun in April.

12,499. That was a lock-out of the whole district?—Yes, a lock-out of the whole district in October.

12,500. (*Mr. Harrison.*) By concerted action?—Yes.

12,501. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Bringing things to a crisis?—Yes, bringing things to a crisis. That lasted for two months, when it was compromised by the men for a reduction of 7½ per cent. instead of 15.

12,502. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Had there been a reduction in the price of coal in the meantime?—There had been a reduction previously, nearly to the old standard. In 1853 the price was about 4*s.* 7*d.*, then it advanced to 6*s.* 7*d.*, and then in the end of 1858 it fell to about 4*s.* 7*d.* and to 5*s.*

12,503. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) You had given 30 per cent. increase of wages in the meantime?—Yes.

12,504. (*Mr. Harrison.*) The men had offered 7½ per cent. compromise during the dispute had they not?—No definite offer was made.

12,505. (*Mr. Mathews.*) When you speak of the price of coal you mean the average price?—Yes.

12,506. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Some basis of compromise had been put forward, had there not?—I think there was a meeting of masters and men at Leeds during the continuance of that strike, but there was nothing very definite.

12,507. (*Mr. Hughes.*) At the end of 35 weeks, as I understand you, a compromise was come to by which the men gave up half, and you met them half way?—Yes.

12,508. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) What was the price of coal then and at the time the strike commenced?—The price of coal rather increased during the strike, because it caused a scarcity of coal.

12,509. Was it in consequence of the increase in the price of coal that you conceded the demand?—No, but because the winter was coming on. It is calculated that during that strike there was a loss of wages to the men of 40,000*l.*, which sum would have covered the proposed reduction for two years and the compromised reduction for four years.

12,510. (*Mr. Hughes.*) After that you had peace?—After that we had peace for some time. In March 1859 the coal trade again improved, and the men applied to have given back to them the reduction of 7½ per cent., and it was conceded without a strike, so that the reduction only lasted really from November 1858 to March 1859. During the succeeding five years the miners union was maintained, and there were occasional meetings of the employers, but there was no combined action taken on either side, there was a long peace. But in the meantime there was a demand made in February 1861 for an advance, which was conceded to the extent of 7½ per cent. by the employers without any strike.

12,511. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Would that make an increase of 37½ per cent. beyond 1853?—Yes.

12,512. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Do you think that the men were fairly entitled to an advance of 37½ according to the trade?—I do not think they were entitled to that last advance.

12,513. (*Mr. Mathews.*) What was the increase in the price of coals in the meantime coincident with the period which we are speaking of?—There was not much increase in the price of coal, but the trade of the district was extended considerably by several railways being opened, and our having more outlets for our coal.

12,514. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) You had the Great Northern open?—Yes, we had the Great Northern open, and other things increased the demand for coal, though the price had not increased.

15,515. (*Mr. Mathews.*) In consequence of the increasing demand you had a larger area of outlets for your coal, and in consequence of that larger area of outlets your common charges were diminished?—Yes, many of the expenses are fixed, being pretty much the same in a large business as in a small one.

12,516. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Should you ever have given that last 7½ per cent. but for the existence of the West Riding Union?—We feared the battle—we did not wish to engage in another battle like the one which we had before, but I believe that it would have been given notwithstanding. There was a great demand for men, a great scarcity of men, and we were all fighting for men at that time.

12,517. (*Mr. Booth.*) It would have been given if the state of the market had allowed it?—I believe it would.

12,518. (*Mr. Mathews.*) The state of the market not allowing it, it was a diminution of your profits?—Certainly, it came out of our pockets. We had frequent stoppages, especially at Methley Junction Colliery at that time. There was one in 1862 which lasted for six weeks, and arose from our desire that the men should separate the large coal from the small. This change, though it gave really an advance of wages for the work done was resisted by the unionists because it was contrary to the usual custom, and the usual rules, but eventually they submitted to the terms proposed. At that time it was a frequent threat on the part of the colliers against any employer who wished to make any alteration in his mode of working, or to interfere in any way with the trade regulations, that they would "set him down," as they termed it, which meant that his colliery should be selected as the one which should be stopped, and that the men working at the other collieries should support those who were on strike.

12,519. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Equivalent to the striking in of a shop in the building trade?—Yes, they took one at once; they thought that we were a bundle of sticks altogether, and they might select one stick at a time.

12,520. (*Mr. Hughes.*) At this time Mr. Henry Briggs, your father, was the chairman of the Masters Association, was he not, he had become chairman in 1862, I think?—I think he was not chairman of the Leeds District Association. He once was of the General Coal Masters Association, but that was in 1844 when there was a great strike.

12,521. That was before the time you remember?—Yes, but I do not remember exactly who was chairman then. There was no real West Riding Masters Association at that time, but they met when there was any special action taken on the part of the men, or when it was thought necessary to have a reduction or an advance in the price of coals. There was not any strict association of the masters, and not any strict association among the miners; the unions were got up just to resist any reduction or maintain any advance almost at a few days notice.

12,522. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Did the Association of Masters, which you speak of, fix the price of coal from time to time?—They met occasionally to discuss the price of coal. No real price was fixed, but when the trade was very good there were occasional meetings of masters to decide as to whether any advance should take place or not, and to discuss various subjects connected with the trade.

12,523. Did they agree as to the price of coal that it should be a certain price for a time?—Yes, we agreed when there was any advance thought to be obtainable.

12,524. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Then after 1862 what occurred?—The next serious strike that took place was in June 1863, and that arose chiefly from our desire to adopt the riddling of the coal underground. Instead of filling the coal large and small altogether it was to be riddled. The other masters at that time reduced the rate of wages 7½ per cent.; there was a demand for a reduction of 10 per cent., and then it was compromised into 7½ per cent.

12,525. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Would this riddling of the coal underground instead of above ground be an economical process to the coal master?—It was in order to make the men get the coal larger. We had a good demand for the large coal and very little for the small or slack. For every ton we had to draw of slack it was a loss of so much per ton.

12,526. So that it was for the purpose of getting a larger proportion of marketable coal?—Yes.

12,527. (*Mr. Harrison.*) The objection that was made to it was that in many pits it adds to the danger, is not that so?—They said so, but I never could understand how it could add to the danger.

12,528. For instance, where there is danger from the falling in of the roof, the miner is in the habit of listening attentively to any indication of a crack, is he not?—There are plenty of noises in colliery working.

12,529. Let me tell you how it has been put to me. There are certain pits in which the roof is very much in the habit of cracking, and stones and so on coming down. The pitman at work is careful to listen for the least indication of a crack or a fall of the roof. If he is riddling with a sieve and making great noise, he runs the risk of disturbing the wall or roof, and also he cannot hear sounds so well. Do you think that there is anything in that?—It is a most ingenious idea. I never before was able to ascertain what the ground of objection was.

Mr. H. C. Briggs.

24 March 1868.

12,530. I do not know that I state it quite properly, but I have been told over and over again by a great number of people on the men's side of the question that their objection to riddling is not to riddling in all pits, but in some where the danger is of that kind. You do not think that there is anything in that?—Nothing at all, and certainly it did not apply to that colliery. At that very colliery they had riddled until a few months before when there was a considerable demand for slack, and we took out the riddles and we took off the same price that we offered them afterwards to put on when we put the riddles in again. But none of our men ever objected to it on the ground of danger at all.

12,531. What do you think was the objection?—The objection was that it is rather extra work, rather more trouble, and that the men were obliged to get their coal on a system which would produce larger coal. They were obliged to hole under further to get better coal.

12,532. A man was not paid more for the ton of the riddled coal, was he?—Yes, he was paid 1*d.* per ton more; that was what we offered.

12,533. They thought that not enough?—They thought it not enough, but it was what they agreed to at first. They did not like the riddles being put back again at the same advance that they had had before. To proceed with my narrative, the men at the Methley Junction Colliery accepted that compromise of 7½ per cent., and they took the riddles, but they only worked for one day, and then they came out and came to us and said that they found they could not work the coal on that system; and they again stopped, and the men at all the other collieries stopped likewise.

12,534. (*Mr. Hughes.*) What was the end of that?—The end of it was that the strike went on for 20 weeks.

12,535. This was confined to your collieries?—For the greater part of the time it was confined to ours, and to Messrs. Pope and Pearsons. During that one day that the men worked there were only 14 of them that went down out of 93 to try the riddles. Three came out in two hours, 11 stayed for eight hours, and they earned 57*s.* 6*d.*, or an average of 5*s.* 3*d.* for the eight hours work, the lowest of them 2*s.* 11½*d.*, and the highest 7*s.* 11¾*d.* That was the trial which they made of the riddles, and they came to me the following day and said that they had resolved not to work with riddles at any price, and that they should likewise wish men who did not subscribe to the union to be dismissed or compelled to pay.

12,536. (*Mr. Mathews.*) That was dictating to the masters the character of the men whom they should employ?—They attempted it.

12,537. And compelling the masters to be parties to the formation of a union?—Yes. After the continuance of the strike for sometime we took measures to clear our houses and to import colliers from Staffordshire and Derbyshire, who were willing to work the coal on the principle which we wished to adopt. Some hundreds of these men were brought into the district, Then a system of intimidation and bribery commenced on the part of the native unionists which drove back a great part of the men into their own district, and it became necessary to protect the men, and we had a very strong body of police for that purpose. Among others there was a lead miner from Derbyshire who came for some short time; he was assaulted by two men of the name of Poskitt, and they were taken up before the magistrates, and I think they were fined, and the trades union paid the fine and the expenses out of their funds. I think Mr. Pickles paid the money, but he is here now and can give evidence on that subject. He was connected with the union. This culminated in a serious riot which took place at Whitwood on the night of the 24th of September 1863, when the ubiquitous Mr. Brown was very prominent on the scene. He was in our district before he favoured Staveley. The first appearance of Mr. Brown was in 1858. At that time he was employed as a collier at Mr. Fenton's Waterloo colliery, near Leeds.

12,538. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) He was not a greengrocer as has been stated?—No, he became a greengrocer afterwards. I think no one would employ him after the 1858 strike.

12,539. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Was Brown a working collier in 1858?—He was before the strike of 1858 a working collier at Fenton's Waterloo colliery, and, as I say, I think no one would employ him afterwards. Then he became the paid lecturer of the colliers' union, and he lectured at Whitwood on the day of the riot. There were a number of unionists from the neighbouring collieries who attacked the cottages which were occupied by the non-unionists and the house of the colliery steward who used firearms in his defence. For that riot a number of men were committed to York for trial at the assizes, and amongst the number William Brown. Of these men seven were found guilty, and three were sentenced to imprisonment for a period of nine months, whilst Brown was acquitted with a warning from the judge. I have the report of that trial here in the newspaper. It was before Mr. Justice Byles, and his lordship addressed the following remarks to Brown, "You have been "acquitted by the jury, and as far as I can say, "properly acquitted by them; but, Brown, you are "playing with edged tools. That is very dangerous. "I give you credit for your motives, but if you turn "public instructor I should think it safer for you to "instruct them in their duty than in their rights."

12,540. What was the real end of that strike?—I was about to say that on the 13th of October my father received a threatening letter to the effect that we should be shot in 13 days. This is a copy of the letter: "Mr. Briggs I will tell you what i think by "you About this struggle You are getting an ould "man, and besides that, you are a tyrant ould B—— "now sirs, what do you think to that bit. We have "stoped 13 weeks allready, but i have myself sworn "to take your Life and your son also. But you shall "not Live 13 days. Depend on it my nife is sharp, "but my bulits is shorer than the nife, and if i can "under the time i will by God, if it be at noon day "wen i see you shall have the arra if it be in your "charit, Like old Abe. Now reade that and pray to "God to forgive you your sins, to be reddy." He is probably alluding to King Ahab in the 1st Kings 2 chap. verse 34.

12,541. (*Mr. Booth.*) Does he cite the text?—No, we found it afterwards. We could not understand the allusion at first.

12,542. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Did you ever discover who that came from?—No; there was a reward of 20*l.* offered, but we never found it out. I do not lay it really to any of the trades union delegates. I think they were innocent of it, at least all their respectable men.

12,543. Who was the leading man in the strike on the men's side?—There were John Toft, John North, and William Brown. I think John Toft was about as bitter as anyone.

12,544. Was Pickles one?—Pickles did not take a very prominent part. He was living in our houses called the "Common Row," but was not ejected owing to some technical informality in the notice; he was the only unionist left in the row among the "black sheep," as they were called at the time.

12,545. These men with the exception of Brown were all working for you at the time?—Toft was not.

12,546. He is working for you now, is he not?—Yes, he is working for us now. We have all the leading men of that strike now with us, I think, and of all the other strikes as well, nearly. Early in November that strike came to an end by the men accepting the principle of working the coal that we had insisted upon, and promising not to interfere with the non-unionists then at work. That promise, however, was not fulfilled, particularly at Methley Junction, whence all the strangers and non-unionists were speedily driven away by a system of petty persecution,

and several attempts were made to compel us to dismiss non-unionists.

12,547. So that in that strike the men lost all that they contended for; they did not gain anything in fact?—No; the riddles were adopted, and at Methley Junction they went in precisely on the terms we had offered. At Whitwood we adopted a different system altogether. There we began to work endway instead of boardway, in order to make less slack. After that time there were continued stoppages at the collieries. I do not think that we worked a fortnight ever without having a day or two stopped for the most frivolous reasons. There were many stoppages; for example, because the men alleged that we did not weigh the coals properly. Though they appointed a check weigher of their own, still they could not trust to his weighing. They frequently took play days for the most childish reasons; almost any lad coming to the pit and holding up his hand could make a play day. We were met with a blind and unreasoning opposition from the unionists to any proposal that we had to make as to any improvement in the mode of working coal. At last the annoyance came to such a pitch that we resolved to adopt the system of co-operation at the collieries, and we offered to transfer the collieries to a limited liability company, and to admit our workmen and customers as shareholders, we retaining at least two-thirds of the entire capital in our own hands. But we further undertook to recommend to the shareholders, that whenever the divisable profits accruing from the business, after a fair and usual reservation for redemption of capital and other legitimate allowances, exceeded 10 per cent. upon the capital embarked, all those employed by the company as managers, agents, or as workpeople, should receive one-half of such excess profit as a bonus to be distributed amongst them as a per-centage upon their respective earnings during the year in which such profit should have accrued.

12,548. (*Chairman.*) That was to go not only to the officers but to the workmen?—Yes, workmen and officers, all taken indiscriminately, all employed by the company.

12,549. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Was there any stipulation that in the event of the profits being less than 10 per cent. there should be any drawback?—No. It was done on this principle, that we were just as entitled to the 10 per cent. as our workpeople were entitled to the average rate of wages in the district. That if by mutual co-operation we could make more than that the excess should be equally divided between the workmen and the shareholders. If we could make 14 per cent. there would be 10 per cent. first of the initial profit on capital; there should then be 2 per cent. further to capital, and then 2 per cent. appropriated to the fund, as a bonus on the men's labour, and that that should be distributed at a per-centage.

12,550. But were the wages paid to your workpeople on the same scale and the same relative amount as the ordinary wages of the district?—Just the same, as nearly as possible, on the average.

12,551. So that in the event of your men being paid the ordinary wages of the district and the colliery getting more than 10 per cent. there was an addition to their wages to that extent?—Yes.

12,552. (*Mr. Booth.*) Were their wages fixed, or did they vary with the rate of wages in the neighbourhood?—Yes, they varied either up or down with the rate of wages in the neighbourhood.

12,553. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) And I suppose the labourers were satisfied with your wages?—Yes, we have had no special dispute during the time the plan was adopted.

12,554. During the operation of this plan has there been any dispute about wages?—No strike. We have made two advances.

12,555. How were they brought about?—The advance was given at some of the adjoining collieries, and when we found that it was general throughout the district we gave it.

12,556. Did you initiate the proceedings?—No, we did not initiate the proceedings. After it had become general at one colliery the men at one of our pits asked us to give the same. The men at the other pit did not ask us, because they said that they were satisfied that we would do it as soon as it became general.

12,557. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Had these men taken up shares?—They had taken up a certain number. My brother, the secretary of the company, has some statistics showing exactly the number that were taken up, which he will be able to give you when I have finished. Many of those details have come under his notice as to the number of shares taken by the men, and the number of shares taken by unionists, and the number of shares taken by non-unionists, which last is rather interesting.

12,558. (*Mr. Mathews.*) The broad principle which you laid down is this, you gave the men the same rate of wages as prevailed at the neighbouring collieries, and in addition to that you gave them a participation in the profits above 10 per cent.?—Yes, I was led to fix that figure for this reason—During the previous years we had had so much trouble with strikes that we never had had 10 per cent., except for one year, on our capital, and during two years we had only had five. I thought that if we could make more than that by working mutually together it would be only a fair thing to give the men a proportion of what was realized, and I was led to come to that view by several considerations. The first was that the miners seemed under the ordinary system to become so utterly reckless as to what loss they inflicted upon us and upon a proportion of their fellow-workmen by the neglect of their work and the stoppage of the whole establishment for the most frivolous and childish reasons. Secondly, I believed that some of the more intelligent and influential of our workmen, although strong unionists, and hitherto our bitter opponents, might in time be led by reasoning and experience to see the suicidal character of the late struggles, and eventually to help in civilising the mass of colliers, and raising them to a juster appreciation of their duties as well as their true interests. Thirdly, that no less than 70 per cent. of the cost of raising coal consists in wages paid for manual labour, whilst a further 15 per cent. arises from the cost of various stores and materials, such as wood, iron, oil, &c., in which the workmen have ample power of saving by careful and economical use. We therefore thought that if we could get our men to work thoroughly with us we could easily save, with their extra care, sufficient to pay a considerable dividend on our capital. I knew that they had the power to throw away nearly the whole of our profits by careless working and indifference to our interests, but if we could show them that our interests and theirs were identical, I thought we might save a considerable sum, which it was only fair to give them a portion of.

12,559. How long has this arrangement subsisted?—We began on the 1st of July 1865. We made up our books to the 30th of June in each year.

12,560. Has not the coal trade been exceptionally good during that time?—It has.

12,561. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Have you made more than 10 per cent.?—We have. During the first year's working we paid 12 per cent. to our shareholders, as well as putting 2 per cent. to the fund for the payment of bonus or labour. In the second year we paid 13 per cent., and 3 per cent. was devoted to the bonus.

12,562. (*Mr. Mathews.*) What quantity of coal do you raise?—Now from 7,000 to 8,000 tons a week.

12,563. So that a difference of a shilling a ton in the price of coal would make 20,000*l.* a year difference to you?—Yes.

12,564. And 20,000*l.* a year from your profits would make a serious difference?—Yes.

12,565. (*Mr. Booth.*) Do the men who are shareholders consent to take your statement of what the profit has been, or is there an inspection on their part of the accounts?—No inspection, except that the colliery is carried on now under the Limited Liability Act. We have an auditor to satisfy people generally.

Mr. H. C. Briggs.

24 March 1868.

12,566. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Have the men any choice in the appointment of that auditor?—No, none, except as their votes as shareholders go.

12,567. (*Mr. Booth.*) By whom are the book-keepers appointed?—By ourselves; we retain the entire management of the concern—that is the same as it was before. According to the articles of association there is a vote given for every share, and therefore so long as we retain two-thirds we have a full control in the management.

12,568. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) I suppose the working men are not capable or educated enough to understand your books?—Some of them are very intelligent.

12,569. Intelligent they may be, but we want technical education to understand book-keeping?—I have endeavoured as much as I could to educate the men up to taking a part in the management. There was a committee of theirs started, which I and my brother met occasionally to obtain suggestions from our men as to any improvement they thought they might adopt in the mode of working coal.

12,570. Has any question about the keeping of the books ever been put to you?—No; I do not remember any.

12,571. (*Mr. Harrison.*) When the company was started, and the nominal capital was fixed, was it fixed upon a valuation of the pit and plant taken expressly for that purpose or was it based upon the valuation which you had had previously?—We took it exactly as it stood in our books; that is to say, we took the amount of the capital which we had exactly as it stood in the books of the firm.

12,572. It had been standing some time?—We bought an additional colliery in 1860, and we took in some partners then, when a fresh valuation was made; that was five years before.

12,573. During those five years there had been no material addition to the value of the plant, had there?—There had been a considerable addition, but in the mode in which we had taken it we had taken off a certain amount for depreciation and added a certain amount for new stock.

12,574. The valuation was based on the old valuations, with corrections up to that date?—Yes.

12,575. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) But you never heard any complaint of your mode of establishing the value of your property, did you?—Never; in fact, our shares are now at a considerable premium. Our 10*l.* shares are now about 14*l.* 10*s.* in the market.

12,576. (*Mr. Mathews.*) What has been the recent reduction in the price of coal?—6*d.* and 9*d.* has been the average reduction during this last month.

12,577. Then it has not fallen so much in your case as in Lancashire or Wales?—No.

12,578. (*Mr. Harrison.*) My question pointed to this, that in comparing the profit of the later years with the profit of the preceding years, which you say shows a difference of nearly double in favour of the present system, you were comparing the identical plant and pits and an identical nominal capital with a slight modification?—Yes, the same capital.

12,579. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Assuming that your capital at the time when the estate was converted, was 90,000*l.*, you had been reckoning for the two previous years, in which you only paid five per cent. on the same capital?—Our capital was 75,000*l.* in 1860, and when we transferred the estate to the company it was increased to 86,000*l.*

12,580. You say that during the two years before the conversion you paid five per cent., and in the two years since you have paid upwards of 10 per cent.; you are calculating on the same capital?—No, on a larger capital.

12,581. (*Mr. Harrison.*) To explain that difference of 10,000*l.*—had 10,000*l.* more been sunk in the pit?—A certain amount of profits have been re-invested in increasing the plant, so that the capital which we reckoned on when we adopted the limited liability system was larger than it was when we conducted a private partnership.

12,582. (*Mr Roebuck.*) Has this plan been adopted by anybody else?—By Fox, Head, and Company in the iron trade, and by Greening and Company in Manchester. It has been adopted in the Sabden Mills Cotton Company, but that company has not got into full operation.

12,583. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Can you tell me the result of Messrs. Fox, Head, and Company's operation?—The iron trade has been very bad, and I heard the other day that they had given in a report that their profit did not amount to 10 per cent., and they have not given anything to the workmen.

12,584. They did not call upon the workmen to contribute anything, did they?—No.

12,585. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) How do you arrive at what you speak of as the standard of wages, upon what your arrangement with your men really is based?—At the time that we adopted the principle the men were satisfied that we were paying about the same as the neighbouring collieries; that if there had been any advance, say of 7½ per cent., in the neighbouring collieries, we had given an advance of 7½ per cent. also.

12,586. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) How is such an advance brought to your notice?—We hear it constantly talked of.

12,587. Do the workmen come to you and tell you?—Yes, they are ready enough to come to us then.

12,588. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Would not you hear of it through the committee of the men?—It is talked of generally; it soon goes through the district, in a few hours.

12,589. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Does your experience as a coal master in that district enable you to state that for the last 20 years the average of the collieries have made more than 10 per cent. upon the capital?—I do not think they have.

12,590. So that if this system were extended and adopted throughout Yorkshire, from former experience you would say that nothing would come out of it in the shape of increased wages?—I do not think so. Since the year 1855 we only paid 10 per cent. for one year.

12,591. So that the mere fact of your having paid an additional sum to wages beyond the 10 per cent. is rather exceptional than general?—I think so.

12,592. So that if you were to convert all the collieries into a limited liability company, the workmen could not rely upon ordinary chances on any great addition?—I think not, unless they worked with greater care.

12,593. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) What do you apprehend would be the effect upon the rate of wages with you of a serious strike in the district, supposing the men in the neighbouring collieries were to strike for higher wages the effect apparently would be that you would get the trade of those collieries because you have reason to imagine that your men would not join in that strike?—I think they would not.

12,594. Supposing that the collieries in the district were acting upon that principle would it not then be just the same as it now is, a question of a standard of wages?—It is exceedingly difficult to say what would be the effect, ours being such a novel plan. I think that if the men understood it properly they would say "there is no reason for us to demand a great "advance of wages—if the colliery is unusually "prosperous we shall get it in our bonus; if we do "not get it weekly we shall get it at the year's "end."

12,595. (*Mr. Hughes.*) In regard to Lord Lichfield's question, is it not the fact that since the conversion of the colliery there have been occasions on which you have gone on working while pits in the neighbourhood have played for the masters and men to consult whether they would strike?—Yes; there have been a few instances.

12,596. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Some of the shares are held by the people employed, are they not?—Yes, some of the number, not very many. I think about 150.

12,597. Do they still show a disposition to continue

the payment of the bonus to the working people who are non-shareholders?—Those who are shareholders wish to receive a larger proportion of the bonus than non-shareholders. There are two of the men here who are shareholders, and I tell them that they will have to stand on their defence in that matter.

12,598. You see that tendency among the working men who are shareholders?—Yes. Then the men take the side of the capitalists, and become capitalists in their notions.

12,599. You know that in the Rochdale cotton mill the shareholders there have struck off bonus from all those who are non-shareholders?—Yes, and I think that would be the tendency among our own men if we did not check it.

12,600. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Do not you think that those small shareholders who have been originally workmen would be harder upon their fellow workmen than you would?—I think they would.

12,601. (*Mr. Booth.*) Can you say whether your collieries are worked more economically on the new system than they were before?—I believe they are, but it is difficult to get statistical evidence to prove that further than that we may say that we have had very few play days—there have been scarcely any stoppages for the frivolous reasons for which there were before—we have only had about half-a-dozen play days during these last two years.

12,602. They have worked more smoothly and pleasantly, but whether more profitably you have hardly yet had the opportunity of ascertaining?—Infinitely more smoothly, and no one can appreciate the difference of feeling between us as well as I can; but it is difficult to explain it to a third party.

12,603. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is it your experience that the men work more smoothly as a rule when the masters are gaining than when they are losing?—Yes, every strike has taken place in our district to resist a reduction of wages. Except the first strike I referred to every advance has been conceded without a strike.

12,604. (*Mr. Booth.*) There has been no reduction under this new system, has there?—No, not until the last few days.

12,605. Has that been submitted to?—Yes, our men perfectly understand it, and are perfectly willing to accept it as soon as it is carried out at the adjoining collieries.

12,606. (*Mr. Mathews.*) To what extent is that reduction?—From $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 10 per cent.

12,607. Is there not a reduction going on in Lancashire and Wales to the extent of 15 per cent.?—Yes.

12,608. Do you know the result?—They have struck in Lancashire.

12,609. Are you aware that the men have consented to 10 per cent. leaving the 5 per cent. to arbitration?—I did not know that.

12,610. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Of course there has been a change, but practically speaking you would hardly say that your position as the virtual proprietors and directors of the whole of that establishment had been altered by the establishment of the company, would you?—Yes; we have very much more control over our men now than we had under the old system; they are much more amenable to reason.

12,611. You are practically, I mean, proprietors, managers, and directors, with absolute control over the property?—We are now; we were not before we adopted the present plan.

12,612. You are even now more thoroughly proprietors of the colleries than you were before?—Infinitely more.

12,613. (*Mr. Hughes.*) But when you say that you are now more thoroughly proprietors of the collieries than you were before, do you not forget that before the conversion there were no rights in any other persons which would enable them to commence proceedings against you to enforce any claim whatever?—No; but a system of petty annoyance and opposition.

12,614. But as soon as you have shareholders in a company there are certain rights which arise against you, and which you would have to meet in any court?—Yes, but I am speaking of the general control.

12,615. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Are any of your men now connected with the union?—I believe that in 1865 when we adopted that plan there were about 550 coal hewers, and I believe they were nearly all in the union. Now we have about 785, and from what I can gather only about 40 pay to the union, and that is only at one colliery, Methley Junction, and the Methley men live in the midst of unionism. Methley is a hotbed of unionism, and I believe it is more to keep on good terms with their neighbours than for any other reason that they subscribe and keep on the books.

12,616. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Supposing that under your present system there are unionists, what advantage do they expect to derive from the union?—They get very little advantage at present, as I can gather. I believe they have no funds at all in hand in our district.

12,617. Have you a benefit club in your colliery?—We have an accident fund.

12,618. Have you a sick fund?—No, not for mere sickness. The men have a sick fund of their own, but separate from the union.

12,619. Those sick funds are not under the control of the union?—No.

12,620. Then as benefit clubs and sick clubs are within their grasp without joining the union, I want to know why now there should be any inducement to them to join the union?—The only inducement is that they think it might be a safeguard to enable them to resist any reduction.

12,621. (*Mr. Merivale.*) They might leave the colliery and go to another?—The present union extends over the district.

12,622. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) The union does not give them any power over you?—No.

12,623. They could not appeal to the union from any decision that you made?—No. I do not think that our men would think of appealing to the union now.

12,624. I suppose your hold on the men now is that from their good conduct and wise and economical proceedings, there is a chance of your increasing the bonus?—Yes. I may say that I issued an address, in which I pointed out the various savings that they might effect.

12,625. (*Mr Booth.*) Have you in fact been interfered with at all by the unions since you adopted this new system?—Not at all.

12,626. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Have you any delegates there?—No; the men at Methley Junction made several attempts, very soon after we established this system, but before any bonus had been paid, they gave us notice that they should demand an advance of wages. That was referred to the men at the other collieries and they decided that no advance should be given, and they decided that it should be put down at all cost, and that we should allow a strike to take place at Methley Junction rather than give any advance. There was a meeting of shareholders just at that time, and the working shareholders who were present there were in favour of this demand of the Methley Junction men being resisted because they thought it unreasonable.

12,627. During this time had you any knowledge of interference with any of your proceedings by union delegates?—I think not. Union delegates have spoken much against our proceedings, among the rest William Brown.

12,628. Where?—At Methley. When we first adopted this plan I called a meeting of the Methley Junction men to explain it to them. William Brown was there and appeared very much in favor of the plan, and stood on the same platform as myself, and spoke to the men and said he should recommend them all to take shares, that it was just the thing they had been wanting. Within a few days, however, William Brown turned completely round. He found that the union delegates were against the scheme, and then he

Mr. H. C. Briggs.

24 March 1868.

persuaded the men all he could not to subscribe. He said, if they lent their money they would never see it again.

12,629. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do not you think that to speak quite accurately the system which you have introduced might be described better as a bonus system than as a co-operative system?—Perhaps it might.

12,630. Practically speaking, the men who are engaged in the pit in any capacity have not anything like a control over the manner in which the work is carried on, have they?—No, they have no actual control.

12,631. Do you think that it would be possible to carry on extensive collieries upon such a principle which might be called strictly the co-operative principle, as that the men who were at work in it should in meetings assembled manage the concern for themselves, and elect their own directors and managers?—I am quite sure that it would not last a month—not with their present education—they require to be educated up to that, and I think our system may educate them up to that in time.

12,632. Supposing that such a thing was on foot, supposing for instance that the shares of your company were held pretty equally amongst all the men actually engaged in it, or amongst a large proportion of the men engaged in it, do not you think that the tendency would be that they would ultimately refuse to share any of the bonus with the workmen who were not shareholders?—I think as far as I can judge from my own experience that that would be rather so, they would rather grudge the bonus to the men not shareholders.

12,633. Then your plan, I understand you to say does not at all differ from the views of those who think that the management of a concern of that kind should be in the hands of one proprietor and not of a body of shareholders?—No; I think if it were in the hands of a body, they are so supicious of one another, that they would soon quarrel. In fact, they have tried to start a colliery on the truly co-operative system as you describe it and they cannot. Besides that, they cannot raise the money.

12,634. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Why do you call it truly co-operative?—I only used that phrase because Mr. Harrison spoke of ours as a bonus system in contrast with it.

12,635. (*Mr. Mathews.*) The difference between the co-operative system and yours is this, in the co-operative system the whole of the members of the co-operative company are equally participators in the capital and in the profits?—Yes.

12,636. In your case you assign to yourselves 10 per cent. in the first instance on capital, and divide with the co-operators any profits over and above that?—Yes.

12,637. You spoke of the propriety of extending the bonus equally to those who are not proprietors and to those who are proprietors. Do the men who are proprietors with yourselves object to the bonus to the others?—They do not like the men who are not proprietors to receive the same proportion of bonus. During the first year, we gave a larger proportion of bonus to the shareholders in order to encourage men to take shares, and up to the present time there has been some difference. This last year the men who were shareholders received half as much again as those who were not shareholders. The working men who are shareholders are very much for continuing that disproportion, we think that they ought to be equal, and we see no reason why they should not, we think that we should sell more shares among the men.

12,638. (*Mr. Harrison.*) The very essence of the successful working of your system, which is that of the increased individual attention throughout the whole mine, requires, does it not, that the bonus, whatever it is, the advantage of the system, should be shared by the workers irrespective of their being holders of the capital?—Just so.

12,639. Then in fact you think, that if the shares were held by a certain proportion of the workers and they carried out the tendency which they have shown at the Rochdale Cotton Mills, they would be cutting the throat of the system?—Yes, making it a mere joint-stock company.

12,640. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) That means to say that the uneducated holders of small shares are not the best judges of their own interests?—I think not. I do not know that they go so far as to wish to take the whole of the bonus for themselves, but they wish to take the lion's share.

12,641. And thereby take away the incentive from these people to be careful and good workmen and save everything they can for the purpose of increasing the bonus?—Yes.

12,642. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) But as you have the entire control of the thing it is not in their power to say whether they shall have that bonus or not?—Just so; we are not bound according to our articles of association to give any bonus whatever. It was mainly that it was such a novel plan that we did not wish to bind ourselves beyond the twelvemonth. We have continued it for two years and have no wish to give it up.

12,643. (*Mr. Hughes.*) No alteration could be made except by a meeting of shareholders?—No.

12,644. You only have control as any holder of a majority of shares would have it in any other company?—Yes.

12,645. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You know, generally speaking, the way in which the Pioneers store at Rochdale is managed?—Yes.

12,646. In the case of the pioneers at Rochdale the shares in that concern are held by a very large number of small holders, I suppose nearly all working men, and the affairs of that are managed by meetings of the shareholders, who, *bonâ fide*, without any superior influence whatever, elect managers and determine dividends, and carry on the concern?—Yes.

12,647. You do not think that your collieries would go on well if that particular system were ever carried out in your case, and that subdivision of the capital, and that mode of management by voting at meetings, and the election of the officers and managers and directors, were strictly applied?—It is very difficult to answer that question, but from our experience hitherto we should not at all like to give up our control. We do not think that the men are educated up to it.

12,648. (*Mr. Hughes.*) But when your men have had 20 years experience as the Rochdale men have had, perhaps you think it possible they may turn out able to manage the colliery?—I think so; there are many clever men amongst them. One of the principal reasons I had in adopting the plan was, that I thought that the colliers had a very vague idea as to what our profits were, and that we should not lose anything by publicity.

12,649. (*Mr. Mathews.*) I suppose that in your accounts you put by a certain sum for recouping?—Yes; we take 12 or 15 per cent. off certain items which are worthless at the end of the lease, a small per-centage over moveable plant, and a still smaller per-centage off rails, and we have verified that for the last 30 years.

12,650. As betwixt the class of men who are not shareholders in your concern and ordinary colliers, the difference is, that the former receive a larger bonus?—Both shareholders and non-shareholders receive it; only the working shareholders receive a larger proportion of bonus than the non-shareholders. During the first year there were 30 per cent. of our men who qualified themselves to receive the bonus. We made a rule that every one who wished to receive a bonus should take out one of these little books (*producing a book*) in which the rules are printed on the back, and in which his wages should be entered at least once a fortnight. Those books they had to buy at the cost of 1*d.* each. We made that rule in order to ascertain who took any interest in the matter and who not. During that first year 30 per cent of the men took out

those books. 70 per cent. of the men had not sufficient faith in the plan to pay a penny for a book.

12,651. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Will you state what amount was divided between the men in bonus at the end of the first year?—1,800*l.* the first year and 2,700*l.* the second year, that was the proportion we allotted to bonus.

12,652. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) What addition did that make to the wages of any individual workman?—For the first year we paid to our working shareholders 10 per cent. on their earnings, and working non-shareholders received 5 per cent. During the second year we paid 12 per cent. to our working shareholders, and 8 per cent. to non-shareholders. During the second year 80 per cent. of the men qualified themselves to receive bonus; during the first year only 30 per cent. had done so.

12,653. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Did I rightly understand you that you paid 12 per cent. to your shareholders?—12 per cent. on their wages.

12,654. You did not pay 12 per cent. on their shares?—Yes; during the second year we paid 13 per cent. on their shares, and besides that we paid them a bonus on their actual earnings.

12,655. Now comes my difficulty; I thought your plan was that after you had received 10 per cent. you divided the surplus amongst the workers?—No, we take one half of that ourselves. We appropriated to dividend to labour and to capital altogether during the second year 16 per cent. on our capital, of which we paid 13 per cent. to the shareholders, and 3 per cent. on our capital we divided among our workmen, and that enabled us to pay as a bonus on their actual earnings 12 per cent. to working shareholders, and 8 per cent. to working non-shareholders.

12,656. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) When you say 12 per cent. to the working shareholders, and 8 per cent. to the working non-shareholders, that 8 per cent. is 8 per cent. upon their wages; they had no shares?—They had no shares; 8 per cent. upon their wages.

12,657. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Shareholders who work receive first upon their shares and then upon their wages, do not they?—Yes.

12,658. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Besides having paid that 13 per cent. to shareholders and 3 per cent. to your workpeople, making 16 per cent. on the whole you put by in both years a sum to the reserve fund?—Yes, before calculating anything of profit we deduct enough to pay our wear and tear and depreciation. We do not divide to the extent of our profit. We had a remarkably prosperous year, (I do not lay it to the credit of co-operation altogether) and therefore we laid by a sum to be appropriated to bonus in another year if a bad year should come.

12,659. What amount did you put by in that year besides having paid 16 per cent.?—Last year we carried to the general reserve fund 8,000*l.* We made a profit of 20,417*l.*

12,660. After making all allowances for wear and tear?—After making all allowances for wear and tear.

12,661. So that in fact in the second year after your conversion you made upwards of 20 per cent. upon your whole capital?—Yes.

12,662. (*Mr. Mathews.*) But the state of the coal trade was exceptionally good, was it not?—It was, as I have said before, I do not lay it all to the credit of co-operation.

12,663. Is it enough to take a short period like that to ascertain what profits might be fairly expected?—No; I think it should be seven years.

12,664. If you were to take the average of seven years, instead of one or two exceptionally good years, do you think that you would arrive at the same result?—We should not have averaged the same results that we have, no doubt. Of course the system has yet to be tried. I do not say that we have weathered all the storms, but I think that we have a fair chance of weathering them.

12,665. (*Mr. Harrison.*) The union in your West Yorkshire district is not nearly so strong or extensive as it is in the South Yorkshire district, is it?—No.

12,666. The union in the South Yorkshire district is very general?—It is very general, and it is not so general in West Yorkshire, and the delegates lay that to our co-operative system. They say that there are two black palls hanging over the district, and one of those is our co-operative system.

12,667. Do you know anything about the working of the South Yorkshire union with the employers of that district?—No, not much.

12,668. By hearsay, do you?—Yes; and I hear that the masters are not masters there, but that the union are masters there.

12,669. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) And they being masters, does the whole affair turn out well?—I have not been in the district myself very much lately, and therefore I could not say.

12,670. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is it not the usual result of one or two exceptionally good years in the coal trade to influence the introduction of capital more largely into collieries?—Yes.

12,671. Parties who have plenty of capital to dispose of and not much knowledge of the business then invest it?—Yes.

12,672. The result of that usually is bringing an undue number of collieries into operation, and after two or three good years there are two or three bad ones?—Yes; one man fails, and another coal master buys his colliery at perhaps one-half of its cost, and can afford to work cheaper than others.

12,673. If you take the average between the prosperous years and the disastrous ones, can you state that the result of your experience would justify the expectation of 10 per cent on the capital?—I hardly think it would.

12,674. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Do you think from what you see now that you are likely to go down below the 10 per cent?—I think not. In our system we have not only interested our men, but we have likewise interested our customers. We induce a great many of our customers to take shares, and certainly during this last bad slackness of trade they have striven very hard to keep up the trade; they sent all the waggons they possibly could to our collieries. And that has done a great deal to keep our trade up. I believe that we have never worked less than four days a week during the last bad time of trade, while others have worked only two days a week. Our sale has been 7,200 tons a week for the last few weeks, and we have never reached above 8,500 tons.

12,675. The general trade has been bad?—Yes.

12,676. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Can you account for its being bad?—I think there seems to be a want of confidence which arises from the speculation that takes place in the trade in raw materials at Liverpool and elsewhere. If I may be allowed to refer to another matter, I saw that some evidence had been given by some other witnesses with regard to the system of forfeiting corves for bad work, that is to say, coal coming up in corves badly filled. In our district that has never been done as it was in the north of England; the men have always been paid for what there was in a corve, whether more or less. There has been a system of forfeiting the coal if they were not properly riddled, or if they were improperly filled, mixed with dirt, there has been a system of forfeiting the coal under those circumstances, but not to the whole extent, but only to one half; and there was a man appointed jointly by ourselves and our workmen (it was Pickles who was appointed) to inspect the coal on the pit bank and whatever he decided was done, and we found that that prevented many of the stoppages that took place previously owing to disputes on those little matters.

12,677. (*Mr. Booth.*) In carrying on your concern on this new system have you experienced any difficulty in reference to the present state of the law as to partnership?—Not so far.

12,678. You have no amendments in the law that you desire to suggest with a view to that kind of partnership?—No; I cannot say that we have ex-

Mr. H. C. Briggs.

24 March 1868.

perienced any difficulty, so far. Before I finish I may say that we have nearly all the leading men of the union, and who were formerly the most leading men of the district in our employ. Several of them have taken shares and are now working very quietly. They have not been put in any special situations, but they are working mostly as coal-hewers. Some of them have bought land and built houses on our own property.

12,679. (*Mr. Hughes.*) As far as your experience goes the leaders of the union are not mere idlers?—No. I think that the leading men are very often the intelligent men, but there are a great many of the rabble that they cannot lead and who make the disturbance. I do not mean by leading men men who go about lecturing in the country, but I mean men who are the principal and most intelligent men at these collieries.

12,680. But, as far as your experience has gone, in all the quarrels that you had with your men previously, the leaders were men in your own employ?—The leaders were in our own employ, with the exception of Brown.

12,681. The leaders, as they then were, are now in your employ?—Yes, and moreover we have many who were leaders in other collieries.

12,682. Those men are dilligent workers and have become shareholders?—Yes, in many respects they have become our mainstay and support, they took shares when no one else would. We have Richard Pell, a secretary of the union, who has joined us within the last few months. We have John Toft, he was a leader in those days.

12,683. John Toft was sent to prison over the riot; was he not?—No; he was acquitted at York. John North is another; James Shepherd is another; and there were some men who worked at Methley Junction. Haigh is the man who was sent to prison for nine months. We have him, or had him, the last few months; and Robinson, another man who was sent to prison for those riots. One of the former witnesses (Mr. Eley, I think it was,) made the remark that Brown said in one of his speeches that the men ought to have part of their masters' capital. In our system we do give them part of the masters' capital, or enable them to participate in some of the profits that would be put to capital.

12,684. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) If any of your workmen apply for shares now, have they to pay the market price?—No; in our last issue we issued 1,000 shares, and issued them at 2*l.* 10*s.* premium, to the workmen, which was the medium between par and market price.

12,685. Your experience leads you to believe that the system which you have adopted of giving a bonus out of your profits to your workmen has contributed to habits of providence?—I am quite certain of it. I do not think that that system is so applicable to other works as it is to coal mining, because in collieries 70 per cent. is spent in wages, and another 15 per cent. in things on which the men can save; so that there is 85 per cent. which co-operation affects.

12,686. (*Mr. Mathews.*) The other 15 per cent. would consist of royalties, I suppose?—Yes, and other charges which co-operation will not influence. I have a large number of men working in Dundee in the spinning trade, and I do not think it would be as applicable to that business as it is to the coal business.

12,687. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What do you say as to ship building?—I have not had any experience in ship building.

12,688. (*Mr. Mathews.*) In iron making it has not been very successful, judging from the experience of Messrs. Fox, Head, and Company?—I do not think that they have had any chance yet in the iron trade.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. A. Briggs.

Mr. Archibald Briggs examined.

12,689. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You have been secretary to Messrs. Briggs and Company since the conversion, I believe?—Yes; I commenced when it was converted into a limited company.

12,690. Can you state the number of shareholders that there were amongst the men in each of the years?—Not for each year. I have the number at present showing the number of each class of workmen who have become shareholders, and how many shares they hold. That statement is as follows:—"The statement of workmen employed and proportion of miners and of top hands" (by top hands we mean men who work on the surface, not under ground), "who have taken up shares." I look upon this as rather important, inasmuch as the miners, though there are not many of them now connected with the union, have all their lives been under union influence, whereas the surface hands have never been connected with the union in any way; therefore it is rather interesting to see whether the miners or surface hands appreciate or avail themselves of the benefit most. The result is, that we have at the present time 785 miners employed, of whom 83 are shareholders. Besides that, we have boys employed underground to the number of 214; none of whom are shareholders. The top or surface hands number 204, of whom 61 are shareholders. The result of that is that one miner out of every 9½ is a shareholder, and that one top hand out of every 3⅓ is a shareholder; therefore in proportion there are three times as many shareholders among the surface hands as there are among the miners. The 83 mining shareholders hold 94 shares, 6 being the largest number held by one individual. The 61 top-hand shareholders hold 84 shares, again 6 being the largest number held by one individual. This is irrespective of 9 managers, clerks, &c., who hold 86 shares, 22 being the largest number held by one individual. The complete list of working shareholders gives us—miners 83 holding 94 shares, top hands 61 holding 84 shares, and 9 managers, clerks, &c., holding 86 shares, the total being 153 holding 264 shares.

12,691. May not the fact you have mentioned possibly be accounted for by the fact that miners do not earn so much as the top men?—I meet that question by taking out the average wages earned—taking the last week, and I find that during the last week, taking the difference in the three seams of coal we are working;—in the Stanley main seam, the average for the whole number was 1*l.* 6*s.* 8½*d.* in five days. It is possible that all the men may not have worked the whole five days, but supposing they had that would average 5*s.* 4*d.* per day. In the Haigh Moor 1*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.* was earned in 4½ days, or 5*s.* 5¾*d.* per day. The Methley Junction men worked 5 days, and earned 1*l.* 5*s.* 3*d.*, or 5*s.* 0½*d.* per day, and the by-workmen, that is, bottom men working in the pit, but paid by the day and not by the ton, receive 5*s.* a day. The average of the whole surface men during that week was 3*s.* 4½*d.* per day, so that we find from that that the average of the bottom hands, the miners, comes out to something like 5*s.* 3*d.*, and the average of the top hands to 3*s.* 4½*d.*, and I think that that week may be taken as an average week as regards the proportionate earnings of surface hands and miners. I may state that (I only tried this in one pit) the two best men in one pit working together earned 2*l.* 1*s.* each in five days, or 8*s.* 2½*d.* in one day. They were rather exceptional workmen.

12,692. (*Mr. Mathews.*) What is the total number of shares of which the company consists?—The original number was 9,000 shares. Since then we have created 1,000 more, of which 770 are allotted, 230 being reserved for our workmen.

12,693. How many of those belonged to the original proprietors?

(*Mr. Henry C. Briggs.*) 6,450 out of 9,770 we have retained for our proportion of the shares, above two-thirds.

12,694. (*Mr. Mathews, to the witness.*) What proportion is there in the hands of the workmen?—264 at present; you may say 264 out of 9,770.

12,695. What proportion do the public hold?—The public and our customers hold the balance.

12,696. Are the other shares issued?

(*Mr. Henry C. Briggs.*) There are 6,450 held by the original proprietors, 264 held by clerks and men, 114 by non-resident agents, 1,068 by customers, and 1,874 by the public, that makes the whole number allotted, 9,770.

12,697. (*Mr. Mathews, to the witness.*) In the case of anyone wishing to become a proprietor, he can only buy shares from those already interested?—The public would buy them in the ordinary way.

12,698. What are they at now?—About 14*l.* 5*s.* to 14*l.* 10*s.* 10*l.* has been paid up.

12,699. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You have been in constant communication with the men from the beginning of this system, have you not?—Yes.

12,700. Have you seen a beneficial effect upon them in consequence of the conversion?—If you mean in a moral and intellectual way, alluding more particularly to improvements in their character, in that way I should say, decidedly, that there is a great improvement. And I had a communication of that the other day from the Rev. Mr. Lane, the rector of Normanton, lately come to Normanton. Without my asking him the question at all he remarked what a great difference there was between the character of our men and that of neighbouring men working for other firms who lived close beside them, and almost in the same row of houses. He said that he found a great difference in their character, that they were a steadier, better lot, and as he was a new comer he did not quite understand where this difference arose.

12,701. I remember when I was down at your first yearly meeting it was stated that one or two of the men had spent the bonus in drink, and there was great indignation expressed. Would that indignation have been probably expressed in previous years?—Of course they never had the bonus to spend before, but I do not think that such a fact would have excited the same general feeling. And I may say in regard to that that this last year to guard against that wrong spending of money, I put in the notice by which the bonus was paid, a memorandum to say that we expressly trusted that the money would be well spent. And I may say that out of nearly 1,000 men who received bonus I could not hear of more than three who spent it badly; that is to say, who stayed away from their work and were known to be drinking. Those three I drummed out, as it were. I went the next pay day, the men were not there, but I wrote out a fortnight's notice in the regular form, and read it to the assembled men, and it was received with applause. And the three men were dismissed. They all tried to beg on, but we would not take them on again.

12,702. That you think was done with the thorough consent and approval of the other men?—Certainly. They all expressed strong approval when I read the notice.

12,703. With respect to your relations with the union, since the conversion, in the first year had you any trouble with the union?—We had no real trouble with the union. I may say that I always feel that in speaking of the union, one must guard against confounding the union generally, particularly such men as our workmen, who were the leaders of the union, and such men as were the paid delegates. My feeling is very much more against the delegates than against the unions as to the union delegates taking against our scheme, my own impression is that they took against our scheme because they thought it would take away from their influence, and that they would not be required to go about lecturing. I will just put in a pamphlet circulated by one of the union delegates, Mr. Ackroyd, on the subject of what they call pure co-operation, with a piece of poetry at the end about aristocrats and tyranny, and so on. It shows their attitude towards us.

12,704. (*Lord Elcho.*) Who is Mr. Ackroyd?—One of the delegates who go about lecturing and speaking to the men.

12,705. (*Mr. Hughes.*) That is not the attitude of the men whom you know as union men in your employment?—No; they are in our favour. I may say that in regard to that pamphlet, Mr. Ackroyd begins by describing, or very early in it describes, an imaginary colliery with a certain capital that exactly corresponds to ours. When he comes to speak of how the profits are to be divided, he only speaks as if we were a joint stock company and ignores the bonus entirely. Therefore I feel that it was not a true or proper representation. Those pamphlets were prepared to be circulated at a meeting of the miners when they expected that a great many of our men would be present. But the fact was that our men all worked that day and did not go to that meeting at all.

12,706. Did men go from all the other pits in the neighbourhood?—They did; and in connexion with that I cannot do better than put in a list (*handing in the same*) that I have prepared of the days on which our men stopped the pit since the 1st of January 1866. My brother has stated how frequent those days were before; that list shows every day on which the pits have been off work since that date.

12,707. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Can you give the committee an idea of the pretext for play days before this system?—My brother has had more experience on that point.

(*Mr. H. C. Briggs.*) They were very frivolous; they are difficult to remember at this distance of time. Supposing we had to complain of a man for not filling his corf the day before, he would go on the bank and say, "Now, lads, I have had a corf stopped yesterday;" and it would be put to the meeting whether they should have a play day or not, and it was generally carried that they should.

12,708. (*Mr. Booth.*) Were those in general union men?—I do not know whether they were especially union men, but that was very general throughout the colliery.

12,709. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) That system since the establishment of the Limited Liability Company has ceased?—Entirely ceased.

12,710. If a man were now to go on the bank and say, "Now, lads, let us have a play day," he would not be answered with "yeas?"—No, certainly not.

12,711. (*Mr. Merivale, to the witness.*) Have you any evidence of the amount of the saving of stores which has been effected under the new system?—It is a difficult thing to arrive at because we have been increasing our workings and opening out the passages, and so on, the result of which is that we get a much smaller proportion of coal for the amount of stores consumed than we should in the regular working. Of course as you are increasing your work you have to have larger stocks and stores, and for that reason we cannot bring real statistics to show how that would be; all that we can do is that we can speak for the men working better and more carefully and being more economical as far as lies in their power.

12,712. You make it their obvious interest to save? Yes; but I think that some men that we have here who will give evidence after us can speak better to that.

12,713–14. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Statements were made confidently at the last general meeting that there was a large saving in timber. Do you think that the men would be able to judge on that point so as to know that it was not used so recklessly as before?—I think so.

(*Mr. Henry C. Briggs.*) I am sure that there has been a large saving in the item of rails. Previously I have known of men where they had to put in a piece of rail breaking a new rail in two, in order to get the proper length, and then bury it in the dirt if they broke it the wrong length, and break another. Now you never hear of anything of that kind happening.

12,715. (*Mr. Booth, to the witness.*) Your system has put an end entirely to the interference of the

Mr. A. Briggs.

24 March 1868.

union, I understand?—Quite. I should like to read a list of the days on which the men have played under the new system. It begins with March the 9th 1866. On that date the Methley Junction pit (you will find that if any pit plays it is generally the Methley Junction,) was off work on account of four men having been discharged. Having stayed away from work their tools were sent out and they were discharged. Those four men demanded that they should be put on again, and we did not put them on, and the pit played. On the 16th of March the men were off work at all the pits in order to hear the union delegates lecture. On the 14th of May the Methley Junction men and some of the Stanley Main and Haigh Moor men were off work to hear the union delegates lecture. Then there is nothing between May 1866 and November 1867. On the 27th of November 1867 all the men except those in the Good Hope pit were off work to hear Mr. Brown lecture. Mr. Brown, however, did not make his appearance. The object of the meeting was to collect funds for the Derbyshire strike. We have a good many men that have been imported from there, and I think it was their influence in great measure that induced the other men to play.

12,716. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) On that occasion Brown did not appear?—No. It was on that occasion when Mr. Dixon told the men about the black pall that was hanging over them, and John Toft got up to speak in favour of our system, and the men got tired of him, and clodded him with clods, and a policeman had to protect him. Then on the 2d of March 1868 there was a meeting of all the colliers from the neighbouring pits, to hear the union delegate's lecture; but none of our men were absent from their work, except such as were disabled by sickness. On the 16th of March, last Monday the Methley Junction men were off work in honour of a mass meeting of colliers at Hunslet, to discuss the proposed reduction of wages in the Gildersome district. I say in honour of that meeting, because very few of our men went to it, and they excused themselves afterwards by saying that they had been so blackguarded for working when the last meeting was held, that they could not stand it. They did not go to the meeting, but they made a play day.

12,717. (*Mr. Hughes.*) So that in two years and a half you have only had six days' play?—Only five, and I may say that those play days had a very great effect on the profits of the collieries. I suppose a play day on the whole of our pits cannot cost us less than 120*l.* to 150*l.* Not only is there the loss of trade, but there are ponies to keep pumping engines at work and a great many men that must be at work all the same to keep the passages in order, so that those very play days induced by the union would put it out of the master's power to give better wages.

12,718. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Supposing that you could only work four days a week what effect would that have?—A very serious effect; we are now working four days a week.

12,719. If a colliery were to come down to three days a week, generally speaking the colliery would make no profit whatever?—Yes; I think we should be just square then, neither making nor losing.

12,720. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Do you agree with your brother in thinking that this system is not so easily applicable to other trades and industries?—I think it stands to reason that in those trades where labour is a very large proportion to the whole cost, the system must be much more applicable than in other trades. If you take it in an extreme case, namely, in the merchant's business who simply pays his warehouse men for carrying his bales of cotton there it would be scarcely applicable at all.

12,721. But in all productive industry it would be applicable according to the intelligence of the men who applied it?—Yes.

12,722. (*Mr. Mathews.*) How is it that in the case of the iron trade where the proportion that labour bears is even higher than it is in coal, it has not succeeded?—I do not think that it has had a fair chance in Fox, Head, and Company's, owing to the state of the iron trade.

12,723. (*Mr. Hughes.*) And is it not the fact that Messrs. Fox, Head, and Company have never got over the suspicious of the men?—One thing they have that we have not, they do not admit any union men, we do not say that, we say, "If you like to pay a shilling a week to the union do it."

12,724. Was it not that jealousy which probably wrecked Fox, Head, and Company's attempt to establish the co-operative system in their works?—It may have been so.

12,725. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Though you allow your men to join the union you do not allow the union to interfere with your government at all?—No. I may state that I have made out an analysis of the cost in wages and so on for the year ending June 1867 (*handing in the same*), and as an illustration of the different feeling now from what there was before I may show that little address (*handing it in,*) which was presented to my brother at the time of our first annual meeting when Mr. Hughes was present. The men of their own accord, without our knowing anything about it, got up that address and presented him with it, he had been absent then a year from the colliery.

12,726. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Who proposed that address?—Mr. Pyrah was the proposer, and Mr. Toft the seconder.

12,727. Was not Mr. Pyrah the Commander-in Chief of the union at one time?—Yes, and Mr. Pickles the secretary.

12,728. A good many of your shareholders have bought plots of land since, have they not?—Yes.

12,729. Do you suppose that much of the bonus has been invested in that way, have you any means of knowing that?—The number who have bought plots of land are small in proportion to the whole number of men, but I think that a good deal of the bonus has come back in the shape of subscription for shares, a good many have taken up shares or fresh shares.

12,730. Was not there some man who subscribed the whole of his bonus to a charity?—Yes, and we had to turn him off, I am sorry to say.

12,731. What was the case?—Four charities he subscribed to. We had to turn that man off afterwards for trying to stop the others from going to work. There was a question asked, I think, as to the amount paid in bonus to the men. I find that for the first year the average bonus of the whole men, top and bottom, was 3*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.*, and for the second year 3*l.* 3*s.* 2*d.* The largest bonus in the first year was to a miner named David Newton who had earned 109*l.* 8*s.* 9½*d.*, 10 per cent. on that came to 10*l.* 18*s.* 10½*d.* The next year the greatest earning was by another miner of the name of Joseph Hough, he had earned 108*l.* 15*s.* 5½*d.* and he received 9*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.* as bonus. Those were the largest sums.

12,732. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Can you tell me whether the education of your men and their children has at all improved since the present system; have they paid more attention to the education of themselves and their families?—The numbers of children sent to the schools have very largely increased.

12,733. What sort of schools have you, and what do you do in the way of contribution to the schools?—We have a day school to which the children come and pay so much a week (I think 2*d.* a week). We have a master and an assistant master and two mistresses, and we make up whatever the deficiency is. We have a Government grant, but we guarantee them a certain salary, and we make up the deficiency.

12,734. What do they teach, reading, writing and arithmetic?—Yes, they go through the regular course enjoined by the Council of Education. Both masters are certified by the Government.

12,735. Can you perceive any sort of change in consequence of that improved education amongst the families?—There has hardly as yet been time enough distinctly to feel it, we see great general improvement in the character of the men.

12,736. As one instance, is there any change in the

appearance of their houses and in their manner of life, is the house more cleanly and better kept?—I think I may say that there is an improvement in that way.

12,737. An improvement in comfort?—Yes, an improvement in comfort.

12,738. I suppose that in so short a time you can hardly judge whether there is any change in the manners of the men, but do you think they are more gentle?—They are more gentle to us; I do not know whether among themselves they are. One can see a great change, there is certainly a great difference in their manners to us and their way of speaking to us.

12,739. (*Lord Elcho.*) You have said that a clergyman who recently came there has found a marked contrast between your men and others in the adjoining collieries and even living in the same row?—Yes.

12,740. In what way did he see the contrast?—He was speaking of the sobriety and general steady conduct, he did not name any particular points.

12,741. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) I should like to know whether there is any marked feeling about religious sects amongst your men, there are various sects amongst them, I suppose?—Yes.

12,742. And various ministers?—Yes.

12,743. Are a large proportion Church of England ministers?—A small proportion are Church of England, the Methodists are more dominant, there are a few Irish Catholics.

12,744. Who is your Methodist minister there?—Now we have three chapels connected with the collieries, one at Whitwood, and one at Methley Junction, and one at the New Pit.

12,745. Have those ministers much communication with your men?—Mr. Pyrah can tell you most of that, he is a Methodist.

12,746. (*Mr. Hughes.*) The Church of England clergyman would probably be in some communication with the people?—He visited pretty nearly all when he first came.

12,747. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Have the Methodists separate schools?—They have separate Sunday schools.

12,748. Do you subscribe to them?—No, each body has its own Sunday schools.

(*Mr. H. C. Briggs.*) We have subscribed a little to help them. We have built a Methodist chapel at Methley Junction.

12,749. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) How many would that hold?—About 150.

12,750. Is a minister appointed to that chapel?—There is a circuit appointed.

12,751. Do the men contribute anything to the maintenance of their ministers?—Yes, I suppose so. I do not know their regulations at all.

(*Mr. Pyrah.*) Certainly they do.

12,752. (*Mr. Hughes to the witness.*) You confirm the statement of your brother as to the former union men not being in any particular office in the colliery, they are just working with the other men?—Just working with the other men.

(*Mr. H. C. Briggs.*) Mr. Pyrah is working precisely the same now as he was in 1863, before the strike. Mr. Pickles was a coal-hewer at that time and then he was appointed inspector by the men and ourselves jointly, and we jointly paid his wages, the men paid half and we paid the balance.

12,753. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Do you keep a check weigher still?

(*Witness.*) They have a check weigher at the Junction.

(*Mr. H. C. Briggs.*) At the other pits they appointed one, but they found it no good, that is to say, they found that they got as good weight without a check weigher as they got with one.

The witness handed in the following statements:—

"Henry Briggs, Son, & Co. Limited.

Analysis of the costs in wages, royalties, stores, and other expences, but not including agencies, interest, or depreciation on plant; showing the per-centage of the entire cost, entailed for each item.

Extracted for the year ending 30th June 1867.

—	—	—	Per-centage of entire Cost.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
Wages in cash - -	57,055 17 3		
——— coal allowed to the men at 1*s.* 6*d.* per ton	1,115 4 9		
	———	58,171 2 0	70·7
Timber - - -		3,662 14 8	4·5
Iron and brass - -		796 7 5	1·0
Wear and tear of rails -	12,284 10 3	900 0 0	1·1
Horse food - - -		3,410 8 0	4·2
Other Stores - -		3,515 0 2	4·3
Royalties - - -		7,482 16 1	9·1
Managers' salaries -		1,628 9 1	2·0
Office expenses and sundries.		1,002 7 7	1·2
Land damages - -		316 17 2	0·3
Coal used for colliery purposes.		395 17 11	0·4
Rates and taxes - -		993 . 7 3	1·2
Totals -		£82,275 7 4	100·0

Henry Briggs, Son, and Compy. Limited.

Statement of the number of men receiving bonus for the year ending 30th June 1866, with the amounts of wages on which it was paid.

Names of Seams of Coal, etc.	Share-holders.	Non-Share-holders.	Wages paid to Shareholders.	Wages paid to Non-Shareholders.
			£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Stanley Main -	35	73	2,281 5 2	2,914 16 10
Haigh Moor -	3	10	160 8 6	425 16 10
Methley Junction -	5	33	582 2 0	1,246 7 11
Top Hands -	56	80	3,329 9 11	3,113 3 9
Totals -	99	196	6,353 5 7	7,700 5 4

Statement as above for the year ending 30th June 1867.

Names of Seams of Coal, etc.	Share-holders.	Non-Share-holders.	Wages paid to Shareholders.	Wages paid to Non-Shareholders.
			£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Stanley Main -	53	363	3,737 12 7	16,227 7 6
Haigh Moor -	4	173	335 17 1	6,390 13 9
Methley Junction -	8	166	535 14 10	6,015 19 11
Top Hands - -	58	140	3,822 1 2	5,756 3 0
Totals - -	123	842	8,431 5 8	34,390 4 2

From the above it appears that out of 9,578*l.* of wages on which bonus was claimed by top hands, 3,822*l.* was paid to shareholders; and out of 33,243*l.* of wages on which bonus was claimed by miners, 4,609*l.* only was paid to shareholders."

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to to-morrow at 1 o'clock.

1, Park Prospect, Westminster, Wednesday, 25th March 1867.

PRESENT:

The Right Honorable the EARL of LICHFIELD.
Lord ELCHO, M.P.
Sir DANIEL GOOCH, Bart., M.P.
HERMAN MERIVALE, Esq., C.B.
JAMES BOOTH, Esq., C.B.
JOHN ARTHUR ROEBUCK, Esq., M.P.
THOMAS HUGHES, Esq., M.P.

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF LICHFIELD IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. H. C. Briggs.

25 March 1868.

Mr. HENRY CURRER BRIGGS further examined.

12,754. (*Chairman.*) We understand that you wish to give some further evidence?—There are just a few points that I want to make a little more clear, in which perhaps we were rather hurried yesterday afternoon. One is with respect to the management. We said that we retained the entire control of the management, but I wish to say that if we can educate any of our intelligent miners into being capable of taking a more direct interest in the management we should have no objection whatever personally to have a working man on our Board to work with us. I think that a workman might suggest a good many improvements, and perhaps be able to deal with his fellow-workmen better than we can. We should have no objection to that as soon as any of the men are capable of filling such a post.

12,755. (*Mr. Booth.*) What is the number of directors?—Seven.

12,756. How are they appointed?—By the shareholders.

12,757. Annually?—Yes.

12,758. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What is the qualification?—50 shares is the qualification for a director, except for our own men; and by the articles of association we allow our own men to become directors at a lower qualification; no qualification is fixed except for 4 stranger.

12,759. (*Mr. Hughes.*) But one or two gentlemen whom I know who are directors of your company must have been working men, I think?—The cashier is one; he has been brought up at the colliery; his father was a servant of my father's for many years.

12,760. And one of the engineers, Mr. Robson?—He has risen from being a mechanic. He has been brought into the shops and gradually risen. I do not mean that he has risen in our works; it was in the north of England.

12,761. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) You have the control by the voting power now?—Yes.

12,762. (*Chairman.*) That you propose to retain?—Yes; We do not consider that the men yet are capable of exercising the control. We should not like to put our property, at any rate, under their control entirely.

12,763. (*Mr. Hughes.*) But you probably look forward to a time when it may be possible, as you may wish to sell a considerable portion of your shares?—Yes; of course our voting power would cease then.

12,764. In fact you are simply on the footing of other large shareholders in other limited companies?—Yes, except that, according to the articles of association, there is in our case a vote for every share.

12,765. But that is not unusual in other companies I have seen?—No it is not.

12,766. (*Chairman.*) But if the undertaking proves successful your men will have to give a larger price for the shares than they are now selling for?—Yes they will. Already some have taken shares at 12*l.* 10*s.* who refused to take them at any price in the beginning, because they had no faith in the scheme.

12,767. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) How much is paid on the shares?—10*l.* is paid up; they are 15*l.* shares, but 10*l.* is paid up.

12,768. (*Mr. Hughes.*) There is a margin of 5*l.* to call?—Yes. In the open market they are now sold at about 14*l.* 5*s.* to 14*l.* 10*s.*, 4*l.* 5*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.* premium. But the men have bought them at as high a premium as 2*l.* 10*s.* Then there was a question asked by Mr. Harrison yesterday, as to what he called the pure system of co-operation, one conducted entirely by the men without assistance from capitalists. I would only add, that in a colliery it is almost impossible for the men to raise capital sufficient without the aid of capitalists. In that pamphlet which was put in yesterday, Mr. Ackroyd makes some remarks upon the inability of colliers to raise even 10*l.* a man. Now at least 100*l.* a man is required as capital in a colliery, so that a colliery that employs 1,000 men must have a capital of about 100,000*l.* You may take that as about the rule in our district.

12,769. (*Lord Elcho.*) Do you mean that that would apply generally?—I am not so much acquainted with other districts. I believe that in the north of England it would require more, because the pits are deeper. I think that in our district you may take it as a rule that it requires 100*l.* for every man employed as a coal hewer.

12,770. Can you speak as to Scotland?—As far as my knowledge of Scotland goes. I should think that it was hardly so much in Scotland.

12,771. You think less capital would suffice there?—I think slightly less would suffice, but not very much less.

12,772. (*Chairman.*) Have you anything further to state?—There were some questions asked yesterday, I think by Mr. Roebuck, with regard to the applicability of the system to other businesses, I would only add that I think it applicable to every business in proportion to the frequency and disastrous character of the strikes that occur in the business, because it is in those very businesses where the labour is the greatest proportion of the cost of production that the strikes are the most disastrous, because any advance in wages becomes a larger per-centage on the total cost of production. For instance, in our case, an advance of 10 per cent. on our wages (our wages amounting to 70 per cent. on the whole cost) is equal to 7 per cent. on the whole cost of production, or 7 per cent. on our capital, because in a colliery the capital cannot be turned over more than once a year, that is to say, a colliery that has a capital of 100,000*l.* of coal cannot sell more than 100,000*l.* of coal in a year. On the other hand, an advance of 10 per cent. on wages in a manufacturing business, where, perhaps, only 15 per cent. of the total cost is in labour, gives only 1½ per cent. on the amount which they turn over during the year.

12,773. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Can you tell me any case in which the amount of labour is not more than 15 per cent. of the total cost?—I am engaged in manufacturing at Dundee, where my firm employ about 2,000 workpeople in jute spinning and manufacturing of carpets; there our wages amount to about 20 per cent. And I think that in the higher class of goods, where the raw material is more expensive, the amount of wages would come even to a smaller per-centage than that.

12,774. In those cases where the raw material is expensive, I take it that the number of hands employed is small?—Yes, comparatively. But I cannot help thinking that our system is applicable to all those trades where you hear most frequently of strikes, and where the strikes are most disastrous. In other businesses, such as manufacturing businesses, the profits depend very much upon the judicious purchase of raw material and the judicious way in which sales are

effected. There is not much risk in that respect in a colliery, from the more regular trade that there is in a colliery than there is in a manufacturing trade; it is not liable to such violent fluctuations, either to such times of great prosperity or times of deep depression.

12,775. (*Chairman.*) Would it not be more difficult to apply that system to a trade where the work is done by the day. In your case it is done by the piece?—I do not know. The men would be more likely to look after one another at any rate, and it would save a number of overlookers; one man would take care that his neighbour did his day's work properly.

12,776. But in some trades the description of work to be done by the different workmen varies very much. Would it not be difficult in that case to apportion the amount of bonus at the end of the year among the different workmen?—I think not; if every man was paid precisely a per-centage on the amount which he earned, his relative wages would show his relative worth in the concern. I think it is the fairest principle. We have studied in every way to make it as fair as we can, and I do not know that we can suggest any great improvement.

Mr. H. C. Briggs.

25 March 1868.

12,777. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) That is to say, the sum of his wages (no matter how obtained) is that upon which you give the dividend?—Yes, the value of his labour is considered his capital in fact.

12,778. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Many of your top men are paid by the day?—A good many of them are paid by the day; a good many even of our underground men are paid by the day.

12,779. (*Lord Elcho.*) Have you ever had cases of men working by the day who have been complained of for not working properly?

(*Mr. Archibald Briggs.*) We have heard of their being found fault with, not to us, but among themselves.

12,780. And that remonstrance has been found sufficient?—They know that the eye of their fellow-workmen is upon them, and that has an effect.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. Joseph Pyrah examined.

Mr. J. Pyrah.

12,781. (*Chairman.*) You are in the employ of Messrs. Briggs, I believe?—Yes.

12,782. How long have you worked for Messrs. Briggs?—I think I have worked with them about 37 years.

12,783. What position do you occupy?—I am working in the bottom of the pit; I may say that I have worked nearly all my life for Messrs. Briggs.

12,784. Are you working now as a pitman or as an overseer?—As a pitman.

12,785. A system of giving bonuses to the workmen has lately been introduced into Messrs. Briggs's colliery, we understand?—Yes.

12,786. Are you a shareholder?—Yes.

12,787. Can you tell us what is the difference between the bonus given to the shareholders and that given to the non-shareholders?—I think that the working shareholders have double as much as the working non-shareholders.

(*Mr. Archibald Briggs.*) It was double the first year; it is now brought down to 50 per cent. more.

12,788. (*Chairman, to the witness.*) Then, in the first year, in addition to the interest which they obtained upon their shares, they obtained twice the amount of bonus that the non-shareholders did?—Yes.

12,789. Have you heard any complaint made on that subject on the part of the non-shareholders?—Well, I have heard some; but you are aware that some men complain about anything and everything.

12,790. What is your opinion with regard to that?—My opinion is that it is just and right under the present circumstances.

12,791. On what ground?—Simply because the men do not appreciate the scheme at all; and I know by experience that some of them do all they can to hinder it, so that it may not be made a paying thing. So that I think it would be hardly fair if these men participated in the bonus, at least not to an extent equal to the shareholders.

12,792. In short you look upon the present plan as desirable as being an encouragement to persons to take shares?—Yes I do. As soon as ever the men are known to appreciate it.

12,793. Do you find that this system has encouraged habits of providence and industry among the men with whom you have associated?—It has.

12,794. Do you see a marked difference in that respect?—I do.

12,795. They appear to receive at the end of the year a bonus of something like 5*l.* or 8*l.*?—Yes.

12,796. How is that usually disposed of; do you find that it is put by in the savings banks, or how do you find that it is generally disposed of by the men?—By some of them it is put by, by others it is spent foolishly. By a majority of them it is spent wisely.

12,797. Do they receive it usually in a lump sum at the end of the year?—They do.

12,798. Occasionally is it paid by the week during the following year?—No; the wages are paid by the week, but the bonus by the year.

12,799. But sometimes is it not paid in weekly sums during the following year?—Not the bonus.

12,800. It is always paid in a lump sum?—Always in a lump sum.

12,801. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What was the state of the men's minds before the new system was introduced with regard to their masters; was there a good feeling between them or not?—I think if I say as bad as it could be I should be as near the mark as I can get.

12,802. What was the cause of its being as bad as it could be?—Disaffection; the disputes that arose frequently.

12,803. What did the disputes arise about?—About wages.

12,804. Had you any dispute with your masters about wages where they would not agree to what you wanted?—Certainly.

12,805. Will you give me an instance of that, because that is exactly what I want to learn?—In 1858 they gave us a notice for a reduction of 15 per cent. Of course they said that the concern was not paying them, and we said it was. That is a problem that I think it is highly important should be solved. You may remember that colliers always say it pays and masters always say it does not. We wanted to ascertain whether it does or not. Our employers in 1858 gave us a notice of a 15 per cent. reduction. We resisted and would not submit to it.

12,806. Had Mr. Brown been down at that time?—He spoke once or twice about that time. I remember sitting on the platform two or three times with him then; that was all, I think.

12,807. Had you ever any dispute before he made his appearance?—Oh! certainly.

12,808. And the dispute was not settled to your satisfaction?—No.

12,809. And that led to this ill feeling?—That was one thing, but they had other things before that. In 1853 there were things that led to it. I refer more especially to that which affected the district generally.

12,810. I want to learn from you the state of mind previous to the appearance of Mr. Brown?—I do not think that the state of mind has altered much since Brown made his appearance. Certainly, he has done what he could in defence of the men, and perhaps not always advised them for the best. I do not think he has. You know that I am one of those spouters myself, and of course I must defend him a little bit.

12,811. You fancy that the state of feeling was as bad as it could be before the appearance of Mr.

Mr. J. Pyrah.

25 March 1868.

Brown?—I do not think that it was as bad as it has been since, because the strikes were not on such a large scale before.

12,812. Were there strikes before Mr. Brown's appearance?—We had strikes before Mr. Brown's appearance.

12,813. When was the last strike before the appearance of Mr. Brown?—We have had so many that I can scarcely tell. I remember very well 1853 and 1844.

12,814. Then you do not entirely agree with the statement that the feeling between the masters and the men before Mr. Brown's appearance was perfectly amicable, that there was a good feeling between them, and that then all your objections were received calmly and quietly and kindly?—I do not quite follow that.

12,815. Let me ask it in this way: it has been stated that before Mr. Brown made his appearance there was an entire good feeling between the men and the masters. I want to know whether you agree in that?—I do not.

12,816. I want you to state why you do not?—Because we have had strikes and we have had disputes before ever Brown made an attempt to say anything to the district.

(*Mr. Henry C. Briggs.*) Brown first made his appearance in 1858. He was a leading man then, but he was not a spouter till 1863. He was then appointed a paid delegate.

12,816*a*. (*Mr. Roebuck, to witness.*) I want to know what was the state of feeling between the masters and the men before Mr. Brown's appearance?—We had disputes before, just as we have had since.

12,817. And all the obstructions to the working of the mine that have occurred since Mr. Brown's appearance existed before his appearance?—Yes.

12,818. Then amongst other things, it was said that the feeling of the men towards the masters was different, that they were kindly disposed one towards the other before Mr. Brown's appearance, and that afterwards they were insolent and insubordinate; do you agree with that?—That refers to Derbyshire, and perhaps it might be so there, but it was not true with reference to us.

12,819. Then you say distinctly that the ill feeling that there was between the masters and the men began before Mr. Brown's appearance?—Certainly.

12,820. You think that the feeling of the men towards their masters was somewhat wanting in that kindness which has been described as existing sometimes?—It was.

12,821. Because it has been said here that before Mr. Brown's appearance it was "How do you do?" and "I hope you are well," and so on; but that after his appearance it was not so, but they shouted?—There were agitators on the field before Brown.

12,822. Then the previous insubordination might have arisen from these previous agitators?—Part of it, no doubt, would.

12,823. Then a further statement was made, that you were asked what your objection was to the present state of things, and that the sole objection was that you were not permitted to go into the union; do you agree in that statement?—We have had nothing at all of that at Whitwood; you are thinking of another district.

12,824. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Did the Messrs. Briggs ever prevent their men from paying to the union?—No; we could pay when we liked. I never remember a single instance when they interfered with us on that matter whether we did or not.

12,825. With respect to the subjects of difference with your employers in those early times, sometimes you won?—We did.

12,825*a*. Did you win in 1858 in the 35 weeks' strike over the 15 per cent. reduction?—We won and lost.

12,826. It ended in a 7½ per cent. reduction?—Yes.

12,827. Do you think you were in the right then?—I do.

12,828. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You submitted to 7½ per cent. reduction?—Yes, in the long run.

12,829. Did you object to any reduction in the wages when they asked for a reduction of 15 per cent.; did you say that there ought to be no reduction?—We did. I made a proposition to the men that we should divide it. The second day, after the notice expired, (it was a partial strike in the first instance) I made a proposition to the men that we should try to compromise matters. They did not shout me down; they tried, but they could not. I told them that if anyone spoke I would speak that day, or there would be no meeting. Of course, under those circumstances, they heard me.

12,830. (*Lord Elcho.*) When you say there would be no meeting, how would you have prevented a meeting?—I would not have let anybody else speak.

12,831. How would you have prevented him?—There were a few friends of mine there, and if they shouted we should have shouted. It was an out-door meeting, and I thought we could prevent them as well as they prevent us.

12,832. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Then, in fact, you were the leader of that strike?—Certainly I was. As long as I had taken up weapons I would not desert my cause. I contended for what I believed to be the rights, and believe still to be the rights, of the men, and for a long time we were at it. And then we were very glad to take what I believe we could have got at the outset, that is 7½ per cent.

12,833. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) If you had gone to the Messrs. Briggs, who had asked for 15 per cent. reduction, and had said, "We are quite prepared for 7½ per cent. reduction," you think that they would have yielded?—Yes.

12,834. But you did not; you went for the whole, and the result was that they gained 7½ per cent. depreciation, and you prevented the 15 per cent.?—Yes.

12,835. (*Mr. Hughes.*) But you got the other 7½ per cent. back in 1859?—Yes; so that this contradicts a statement made yesterday. It was distinctly stated yesterday that all the blame was to be attached to the leaders. Now I was the leader of that strike, and I could not lead the men. So that it is not strictly true.

12,836. The leaders cannot lead the followers?—They cannot, and I believe the Commissioners could not have led those men.

12,837. (*Lord Elcho.*) How long was that strike?—35 weeks. I believe the Waterloo colliery stood nine months.

12,838. (*Mr. Hughes.*) What do you think it cost you?—Why a good deal more than we gained; but we won.

12,839. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) During that strike did you and the rest of your fellows undergo great privations?—We did.

12,840. And those privations were felt by your families as well as yourselves. Amongst those privations was one the cessation of all education of your children?—To a very great extent, it was.

12,841. And I suppose that you had not much even of good food; that you had to restrain yourselves in food to a certain extent?—There were many that could not get bread. I think that we had one week only 10*d*., and you may judge what a family could get for 10*d*.

12,842. Were you at all supported from outside, from other unions?—There was not much union in existence at that time.

12,843. Were you supported from anybody outside?—We were.

12,844. Were you supported at all by other masters?—Not that I am aware of. I do not know that we were supported at all by the masters in any shape or form; and having no organization then, of course it was mere charity that we got; there was no claim, because we had not much union. We fought as good

a battle without funds, for anything I know, as has ever been fought since with them.

12,845. Did that strike engender ill feeling on the part of the men towards the masters?—Very bad.

12,846. That ill feeling existed, I suppose, up to the introduction of this new system?—It did; it was very bad indeed.

12,847. And I suppose that the agitator, Mr. Brown, worked upon those ill feelings?—No question about that.

12,848. And I suppose you did in your way?—Certainly.

12,849. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Then the 1863 strike, I suppose was more bitter than the 1858 strike?—It was. They had more funds to fight it on, and I am sorry to say that they did not fight it as honourably as we did in 1858.

12,850. With respect to the 1863 strike, that was as to riddling, was it not?—Yes.

12,851. Did you think it fair that the men should riddle down below?—Yes.

12,852. Then you did not lead that strike?—No.

12,853. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Then you allow that though the causes of the quarrel were very much less in the strike of 1863, that strike was more bitter than the strike of 1858?—Yes.

12,854. Why was it more bitter?—I cannot say.

12,855. Cannot I suggest why—that Mr. Brown was there?—Of course he did all that he could; he was paid for it.

12,856. I suppose you do not know how Brown was paid?—He would have so much a week out of the funds of the miners.

12,857. Did you, I do not mean you particularly, but your union, contribute to those funds?—Certainly the union did contribute to those funds.

12,858. Therefore you and the rest of you paid Mr. Brown for his exertions?—Yes.

12,859. And those exertions were employed to exasperate the feelings between master and man, when the real differences were very much smaller than they had been?—Not exactly so. We paid Mr. Brown for advocating the rights of the men, we did not wish him to exasperate the feelings of the men.

12,860. Whatever the intention the result was that he was paid for exasperating their feelings about a matter smaller than that which caused the strike of 1858?—Yes.

12,861. (*Mr. Booth.*) Did the union express any disapproval of what Brown had done at that time?—Not that I am aware of.

12,862. On this occasion, when you say that he was paid by you, what he did was done with their approbation?—Just so.

12,863. (*Mr. Hughes.*) With respect to the payments, are the leaders always paid on those occasions?—Not always.

12,864. What were you paid?—Nothing. I did it gratis.

12,865. You did your commanding-in-chief gratis?—Yes. They offered to give me 4*s.* a day, but I said, "No, we will all share alike."

12,866. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) When you found that the masters objected to any of your demands, did you yourselves, upon careful investigation, learn that it was because those demands of yours could not be secured with due consideration of your real interests?—They have always listened to us courteously when we have appealed to them. But as with the men so with the masters. We got bound together with the men, and the masters got bound together with the masters; so that individual action was to a great extent destroyed.

12,867. Do you think that you knew better than the masters what was really for their interest as manufacturers, because you know that manufacturers must look to their own interests as you do to yours?—We have an equal right.

12,868. Do you think that you have an equal capacity of judging accurately?—I do not. I never did, and that is one reason why I hailed this scheme with so much pleasure.

12,869. Since you had this scheme, have you ever learnt that you made mistakes when you were simply acting as a workman?—Certainly.

12,870. Then you think that this new scheme has opened your eyes and made you feel something like a capitalist?—It has.

12,871. And as a capitalist you have learnt now to appreciate the former resistance of your masters?—To some extent. I am not convinced now that we were always wrong.

12,872. (*Mr. Hughes.*) In the old time had you any power whatever of ascertaining whether your demands were right or not, except by trying a strike?—We had not.

12,873. (*Lord Elcho.*) Did you take any means of ascertaining that?—We had frequent meetings and sent deputation after deputation to the masters.

12,874. You have stated that when the masters took off 15 per cent., in your opinion you were justified in resisting that reduction?—Yes.

12,875. What were the grounds that justified you in resisting it, in your opinion?—I stated at the time that we could not afford it.

12,876. By that you mean that you would be deprived of so much in the way of conveniences or necessaries?—Yes.

12,877. But did you consider at all whether the masters could afford to maintain the existing rate?—We did not.

12,878. As a rule, and from your knowledge of strikes, do you think that those who struck previous to the establishment of such a concern as this really considered the question whether the masters could afford, in justice to their capital and to their men, to give the wages demanded?—I do not think they did.

12,879. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) They wanted a rise of wages?—Yes.

12,880. (*Mr. Booth.*) It is merely a question with them which is the strongest?—Yes.

12,881. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Surely you have known occasions when there have been consultations amongst the men as to whether trade would be likely to allow an increase?—Certainly we have considered these matters, but we have always had a reluctance to a reduction of wages.

12,882. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) When the wages were asked to be reduced 15 per cent. had you not had a rise of 30 per cent. very shortly before?—We had.

12,883. And in spite of that when the masters asked you to reduce 15 per cent. you said, "Not at all"?—Yes.

12,884. Do you think, considering all things, that that was really wise conduct on your part?—I think it was.

12,885. Will you state why you think so?—In 1844 I believe the average earned by the men in the mine was 2*s.* 3*d.* a day. Now we should have to get two or three 30 per cent. rises before it got up to what it is now, 6*s.*; and I think that 2*s.* 3*d.* for a working man is not enough, and it was not then; therefore I thought, and along with me the rest of the men, that when we had these advances we ought to keep them.

12,886. Let me ask you what do you mean by "not enough." If the masters cannot give you more and make enough to enable him to continue his trade, do you consider that your saying it is not enough for you is any argument?—Yes, I do.

12,887. Then you would have him to pay you when he could not continue his business?—I think that every man ought to live by his work. Bear in mind that we were not playing, but we were working every day. If we had been out of work or short of work that would have been another thing; but when a man is working every day he ought to live, and I maintain that in 1844 it was a question of living or not.

12,888. Then comes the question, could the master pay you more than he was paying you?—And we believed that he could.

12,889. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Is it not proved that he could by the rises that have taken place?—Just so.

Mr. J. Pyrah.

25 March 1868.

12,890. The masters have not been ruined by these rises?—They have not.

12,891. And the men are better off?—I think that the wealth of the country has been increased by them.

12,892. You told us that you hoped to encourage the miners to take shares in the new company. Has any arrangement been made to help them in taking shares?—There has. I got a share with paying 3*l.*, and I do sincerely think that all the miners on the ground might have got one as easy if they had been disposed to avail themselves of the privilege.

12,893. How did you get it?—The arrangement was that when a person had paid 50*s.* he was entitled absolutely to be considered a shareholder for the first year, and he had 12 months to pay it. I paid it up, and I got 7*l.* bonus then. Then I put another half sovereign to it, and that made me a shareholder. Some of the men are now paying 1*s.* a week to the union, which comes to 52*s.* a year; so that what they are now paying would have entitled them to be shareholders for the first year.

12,894. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) If they had ceased to be members of the union?—They had no occasion to cease unless they liked—they might have paid the 2*s.* a week if they had liked.

12,895. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Has not the company established share clubs?—We have share clubs at 1*s.* 3*d.* per week.

12,896. Are many men taking advantage of that now?—Many men, more especially the top men.

12,897. With respect to the work down below, do you think that the men generally watch one another carefully, and see that the work is done well?—They do quite different from what they did; they are more carefully watched than they were. I am very happy to say that with some of the men there is a decided improvement, and I believe a great saving too. I do not say that they are all alike. There are some dead against it, as they were at the outset.

12,898. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Have you any notion why they are dead against it?—I think it is because they think it was instituted to destroy the union; that is my firm conviction.

12,899. Supposing it was established to destroy the union, which I suppose it was, how would that do any harm to you?—If I can get any better thing than unionism I will get it, and I am only sorry that miners generally are not willing to take another thing because it has a different name. I believe it will do what the union cannot do.

12,900. When Mr. Brown came down there, what did he promise you and tell you would be the result of your union?—Well, he never promised me much. Since I talked to the men myself I have not troubled myself to hear Brown.

12,901. You do not like to hear another orator, perhaps?—Brown and I are very good friends. I believe he has misled them sometimes.

12,902. You do not know what he promised?—No.

12,903. (*Lord Elcho.*) What did you promise?—To keep as well as we were, and better if we could get it.

12,904. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You did not point out the way?—I did. The way was to refuse to work at a reduction of wages.

12,905. You were determined to go through all the hardships of a strike without really knowing whether you were wise in beginning that strike?—Yes, just so; we considered that the end would justify the means.

12,906. And you sought the end, not knowing anything about the means?—We did.

12,907. (*Mr. Booth.*) On the occasion of these strikes did you confine yourselves to refusing to work, or did you take any steps to prevent other persons from working?—We did not. I believe that all who know me will bear me out in saying that I was very much opposed to violence of any description either to person or to property, because I believe that it damages a cause instead of helping it on.

12,908. Were any steps taken to persuade other persons not to take work?—Certainly, all the moral arguments that could be used were used.

12,909. But as far as you were concerned you counselled them to abstain from violence?—Yes.

12,910. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) How many did not follow your advice?—A few, but not many in 1858.

12,911. In 1863, how was it?—I was not then their adviser. I am not aware that they were advised then in any possible way to commit violence.

12,912. (*Mr. Merivale.*) With the experience that you now have, supposing Messrs. Briggs's scheme were out of the way, would you be of opinion that the men in your trade would be better off with a union than without it?—I think better with it, unless the masters ceased their union. If the masters' union ceased, I should say let every other cease, but one I consider as important as the other.

12,913. (*Mr. Hughes.*) But supposing that this plan were out of the way and supposing that there were neither masters' nor men's union, would you be for combination amongst the men in one pit?—Certainly so.

12,914. Then you would keep up the union as far as the men in one pit are concerned?—As far as that goes certainly. What defence else have we for wages?

12,915. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Did you ever hear what Mr. Brown's opinion was as to this new plan?—Yes. When it was first inaugurated he spoke very laudably of it, extolled it, and said it was the very thing that was wanted. I believed in the thing, and I was very glad that he had taken such a favourable view of it. But the next thing that I heard of him was that he had turned round and said that he had not examined it properly before, and now, in looking better into it, he cautioned the men and wished them to be careful before they took any steps, and at the meeting following that he said he would not say that they would rob the men of the money, but something of that sort. He meant, I suppose, that the money would never come back.

12,916. Have you any idea what induced him to change his opinion?—More than one thing, I think, perhaps might induce him. One thing was, I believe, that one of our pits, the pit that I worked in, was dead against the scheme, more dead against the scheme than the other, and he had been in communication with those men. And I believe that he had been in communication with the principal leaders of the union and they were dead against it. Those were two reasons.

12,917. Let me suggest to you a third reason, and ask you whether that had not something to do with it, would not his profits have been very much struck off by this new system?—Certainly they would.

12,918. Though he may be a disinterested man, that may have something to do with it?—It is very natural that it should be so. It influences the best of us.

12,919. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Was Brown a working miner?—He was a working miner before the 1863 strike.

12,920. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What sort of a workman was he?—He was a very good man when he was working at the coal. You must remember that colliers are always glad for anybody to advocate their cause, because there are so few amongst them that can, and Brown came to hand.

12,921. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Do you think that he could have got work as a miner after he had taken part in that 1863 strike?—I do not know; certainly the feeling was bitter against him in that district.

12,922. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Did he succeed as a greengrocer, which we have heard he was for a time?—For anything I know. He left that before the 1863 strike.

12,923. You do not know whether he succeeded?—No; I have been to his house.

12,924. (*Lord Elcho.*) Some papers have been shown to us, showing that Brown had been in receipt of sums varying from 6*l.* to 9*l.* a fortnight; do you

know anything of that?—But if you come to examine it you will find that he was not paid much the week before. Supposing he has 6*l.* for a fortnight, that gives him 35*s.* a week, leaving him 25*s.* a week for travelling expenses.

12,925. Do you think that, Brown has made more by lecturing than he would have made if he had been in the pit?—I should almost think he has, and I think he ought to have if he has not.

12,926. Do you think that, without going into the question as to whether he could or could not have got work after 1858, the fact of his making more by lecturing than he could have made by mining is a sufficient reason for his not working as a miner?—Of course he has his labour to sell, and he sells it in the best market.

12,927. Why did you decline when you were offered to be paid as an agent?—I declined on these grounds. Miners at the best are one-sided after all, (I wish to state the whole truth) and I believed that I could not keep a clear conscience if I were paid for advocating the cause. They would either go their own way or not at all, and if I would go with them, I must either violate my conscience of right or cease to be an agent.

12,928. (*Mr. Hughes.*) They would not have you unless you would go the whole way?—Not for long.

12,929. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Then they employed you rather as an agent to expound their views than as a leader to advise them on the best cause to adopt?—Just so.

12,930. (*Lord Elcho.*) You said that there were other agitators in the field before Brown; whom did you refer to?—I was one.

12,931. Were there any agitators who came to Messrs. Briggs' pit from other parts?—Yes, my friend Toft, who will give evidence to-day, was another. He was a paid agent in 1844.

12,932. Where did he come from in 1844?—From Seacroft.

12,933. Was there a union there?—I think there was then.

12,934. Was there one at your pit then?—Yes.

12,935. And at that time there was no dispute, was there, in your own colliery before Toft came there?—Yes, we had several disputes. He was merely a travelling preacher, and they sent him from another place.

12,936. Why did they send him?—He went according to a plan made by the union.

12,937. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) I want you to inform me of this. There was something alleged about danger in riddling; can you explain that to me?—I cannot explain it any better than by saying that it was all nonsense. I remember that being mentioned at the time. That was in the 1863 strike; it was said that it was very unsafe to riddle coals in the pit. If I had been asked I should have said that it was unsafe to shovel them, because we know perfectly well that a shovel makes more noise than a riddle. When a person is getting coal, coal may fall on him, but when he is riddling he is away from the coal and it cannot fall, so that there is actually more danger in getting than in riddling coal.

12,938. Was there any supposed danger from fire being propagated by the men striking against stone or anything of that sort?—No, the danger was of the top falling during the time that they were riddling; that was the idea, and a very lame one it was.

12,939. (*Lord Elcho.*) Are you yourself, as working in the pit, now paid by the piece or by the day?—I am paid by the day at present, and was in 1863; but there is a good deal of piecework.

12,940. After the establishment of this co-operative system by Mr. Briggs, did you hear any dissatisfaction with it expressed before Mr. Brown came; before Mr. Brown, as you stated, had made up his mind that the thing was wrong?—Yes; the men have always been dissatisfied with what was not called union. They have got a sort of predilection for union, and of course their leaders indoctrinated them in that, so that it will take some time, however good the scheme may be, before that is remedied.

12,941. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) As to your own position now, are you better pleased with your own position now than before?—A good deal.

12,942. Is a portion of that pleasure derived from the friendly relation between you and Mr. Briggs?—Yes.

12,943. It is kindly now, but formerly it was antagonistic?—Yes. The first time that Mr. Briggs mentioned it to me, I said, "It is the very thing wanted." I may say that I have had a desire for 14 years to sit where I sit to-day, to tell Government something on this matter. Trades' unions must undergo a change or there cannot be peace. I think that I have turned the thing inside out, and up and down, in all ways that I know, and I cannot see how there can be peace except by something being done. I for one am not afraid to entrust my interests in the hands of Government, but I believe that something must be done. I believe that in this system we have found a remedy for strikes and lock-outs. The feeling is quite altered. There is a hostile feeling yet, which will take years, I believe, to cure; but we are progressing, and things are widely different from what they were two years ago.

12,944. So that in your opinion the kindly feeling is growing?—Yes.

12,945. And your own life is rendered happier by this present system?—Very much so. Unionism, as it has been carried out amongst us, has been anything but pleasant. I am certain that it produces a great deal of misery; in families it has, and in churches it has. Those are the grounds on which I take my stand. I have seen a great deal of what ought not to exist in churches arising from difference of opinion in the union; and I am sure that something ought to be done in order for men to live comfortably together.

12,946. Allow me to ask you have you a family?—I have a family of eight.

12,947. How old is the youngest?—The youngest is ten.

12,948. A boy or a girl?—A boy.

12,949. Does he receive any instruction?—Yes, he goes to a day school.

12,950. How is that school supported?—It is a national school.

12,951. Have you better means of supporting your school now than you had during the union time?—We have the means of paying for it better now.

12,952. Of course the money which you then paid to the union you now pay to the education of the child?—Just so.

12,953. (*Mr. Booth.*) Considering what you have paid to the union from time to time, and what you have lost during such strikes as you have been a party to, do you think that, on the whole, pecuniarily, you have been a gainer?—I think I have been a gainer. I cannot see how we could have maintained our ground if it had not been for the union.

12,954. But as a matter of calculation, considering the loss during the long periods that you were on strike, and considering also the expense in subscribing to the union, and then considering the addition made to your wages, do you think that you have gained?—I think as an individual I may not have gained, but I could not act in an individual capacity.

12,955. I am asking how it has affected your individual case. You think that, on the whole, it has not been attended with pecuniary profit to you?—As an individual I think not. I do not mean to say that the union has not done good.

12,956. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You know perfectly well the mind of your fellow-men. Do you think that they have instruction enough to govern a pit of this sort; do you think they could do it?—To manage? I think they have not. I should not like to try at any rate. Once the thing was begun, we determined to have a co-operative pit of our own. We seemed in good earnest. We got 1*s.* a week for 15 weeks

Mr. J. Pyrah.

25 March 1868.

subscribed, and then the men quarrelled and divided the money.

12,957. (*Mr. Merivale.*) How long did that go on altogether?—For 15 weeks. They paid 1*s.* a week for 15 weeks. I was treasurer, but some of them were dissatisfied, and they appointed a fresh treasurer. I said, "Do not let the thing die because I leave it." But they never paid any afterwards.

12,958. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) With reference to a question asked by one of the gentlemen here, do you think that if the men were to form a society of this sort without any advantage from the knowledge or assistance of capitalists or masters, they could govern a pit?—I should not like to work in it. We have not abilities capable of managing, that is the plain matter of fact. And it cannot reasonably be expected.

12,959. (*Mr. Booth.*) You would not like to stake any money in such a scheme as that?—I should not.

12,960. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Therefore you do not think it wonderful that the masters should not like to stake money in it?—I do not.

12,961. (*Mr. Merivale.*) Do you think such a pure co-operation, as it has been termed, would work if you could muster money enough among you to engage a manager?—I question it very much.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. J. Pickles.

Mr. John Pickles examined.

12,962. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You were the secretary of the union, were you not, during the 1858 strike of which we have just been hearing?—Yes.

12,963. Of the general union?—Of the Methley and Wakefield district, as it was called at that time; they call it the West Yorkshire district at the present time, and it extends a little farther over into the Bradford part of the district.

12,964. Do you remember the proposal being made for a reduction of 15 per cent.?—Very well.

12,965. Were meetings called by your union?—Yes.

12,966. Did they take into consideration to the best of their ability whether such a reduction was fair or not?—They did.

12,967. What conclusion did they come to?—They came to the conclusion that it was not fair.

12,968. Do you remember the grounds on which they came to that conclusion?—The principal ground, I dare say, would be the men's objection to having the price reduced.

12,969. Did they consider the price of coal, and try to reckon whether it was reasonable there should be a reduction?—As to the price of coal we did not bother so much about that; we looked upon it in this light, that if the price of coal was not sufficient it ought to be more.

12,970. You thought that it was for your masters to raise the price of coal rather than reduce your wages?—Yes.

12,971. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Did you think that your masters could raise the price of coal?—If they were all agreeable.

12,972. If all the world were, you mean?—Even if all in that district were.

12,973. Even if the customers would not pay it?—The customers are obliged to pay it or go somewhere else at a further distance.

12,974. If by going somewhere else they could get it cheaper, do you think they would buy your high-priced coal?—No.

12,975. How could the masters raise the price then?—I think they dwindled down the price amongst themselves by giving a larger quantity of over-weight—one master would give 21 cwt. to the ton, and another 22, 23, or 25 cwt., as the case might be.

12,976. Do you think that that affected or came to the knowledge of the consumer. When I bought a chaldron of coal did I not ask where I could get coal cheapest?—The consumer would make inquiries where he could have it cheap of course.

12,977. Supposing that he could get it cheaper somewhere else, do you think that the masters had control over the price?—To some extent.

12,978. How?—Because he could not get it cheaper in a district further off, owing to the expense of carriage that the extra distance would cause.

12,979. You see you have gone from the first statement. Supposing he could get it cheaper in the other district, how do you suppose that the masters could control the price?—I do not see that they could then.

12,980. Then do you not see that your first step in your strike was a mistake, namely, to suppose that your masters could control the price?—We thought that they were getting a sufficient profit.

12,981. Do not you see now that you made a mistake?—Of course we made some mistake.

12,982. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Did you make a mistake—did you not save a portion of the reduction?—Yes, we saved half of it, and got the other half in three months.

12,983. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) What interest could the master have in getting a low price if he could get a high one?—It would be his interest to get as high a price as he possibly could.

12,984. He would naturally do so?—Very naturally.

12,985. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Was there very great competition amongst the masters in the district at that time?—I cannot say as to that.

12,986. What do you suppose was the reason for that reduction of 15 per cent.?—I never saw any reason, we were not working very short time then.

12,987. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Did you not ever look at the state of prices in the market?—No, we did not trouble ourselves about the market price of coal.

12,988. But is it not that which determines what the master can get for it?—Yes.

12,989. And you did not trouble yourselves about the market price?—Not very much.

12,990. Do you think, then, that you were in the right way of determining what a master can do?—We always supposed that the masters were getting large profits.

12,991. What grounds had you for supposing that, if you did not look at the price of coals?—Even if we did that we should not ascertain their profits.

12,992. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Did the masters ever offer to show you their books?—Never.

12,993. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) If they had offered to show you their books do you think you could have understood them?—Possibly some might.

12,994. Do you think one in a hundred of the men would?—No.

12,995. (*Lord Elcho.*) Do you think Mr. Brown would have understood them?—No.

12,996. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You are perfectly well aware of the state of mind of the working men before this new system?—Perfectly.

12,997. What was their state of mind towards their masters before the new system?—Very bitter indeed.

12,998. Was it very bitter about the 1863 strike?—Yes.

12,999. You had been in the former strike, had you not?—I was in the 1858 strike.

13,000. And then you had certain causes which induced you to strike, and you had further causes which induced you to strike in 1863?—Yes.

13,001. Do you think that the causes in 1863 were equal to the causes of the former strike?—No.

13,002. But the feeling was the more bitter?—Yes.

13,003. What induced the greater bitterness on that occasion if the causes were less?—I cannot exactly say.

13,004. Was not there a Mr. Brown there?—Yes.

13,005. Did not he rather exasperate the minds of the people?—I dare say he did.

13,006. Do not you think that you might assume some of the causes to be due to Mr. Brown's eloquence?—No doubt he would irritate the feelings of the men; but if there had not been Brown to irritate them there would have been somebody else.

13,007. Then you think that they were ready to be more irritated than in 1858, even though Brown had not come there?—Yes.

13,008. Then you will allow that they were not in so reasonable a state of mind as before?—No, they were not; they had not so reasonable ground as they had before. But it might be reasonable enough for all that.

13,009. Since the introduction of the new system, has there been in your opinion a change of feeling?—Very much so.

13,010. I suppose from what I should call the bitter feeling, there was a more kindly feeling between the men and the employers?—Yes.

13,011. And the confidence of the workmen in the new system, I suppose, is great?—It is growing; it is not very great yet.

13,012. They have more faith, in fact, that they can look after their own interests and see that they are not cheated?—Yes.

13,013. Does that arise from the fact of their being participant in the working of the system?—Yes.

13,014. And that they can really look into the books if they please?—I suppose the shareholders can.

13,015. Do you think that a certain portion of the working men being shareholders increases the confidence of those who are not shareholders?—I dare say it does.

13,016. Do you suppose that that increased confidence arises from the fact that they know that the shareholders can, if they please, overlook the working of the whole affair?—I do not know whether it may arise from that or not, most likely that will be one reason.

13,017. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Then the bonus, I suppose, is a great reason?—Yes, that is a great reason. Before the bonus was paid they had not the least confidence that it would be paid.

13,018. Do you approve of the shareholders having a double bonus compared with the non-shareholders?—Oh, certainly.

13,019. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Because you are a shareholder, I suppose?—No, not for that.

13,020. But you are?—Yes.

13,021. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Tell us why you approve of it?—Mr. Briggs scarcely suited me yesterday with that. He attributed it to mercenary motives. I deny that altogether.

13,022. Let us hear it, your reason, because I am rather on Mr. Briggs's side as to that, and I am a shareholder?—We think that if we can get the men to take up shares, it will add to the stability of the concern, and if we can induce a man to take up one share it might have a tendency to induce him to take up more. That will mend his position in society, besides giving him a larger bonus. That was my proposition when it was started. I proposed it myself to Mr. Briggs, and it was done with the intention of stimulating the men to take up shares. I have put down a note or two on that subject this morning. I put it in this light to Mr. Briggs. Suppose the total wages were 40,000*l.* (they estimated that it would be 45,000*l.*, but I put it in this light to take less figures) and the bonus 2,000*l.*, I proposed to share one-fourth of this, that is to say 500*l.*, in the first place among the working shareholders and the remaining 1,500*l.* among the whole of the men irrespective of whether they were shareholders or not. Suppose then again, only one-fourth of the men took up shares during the first year, this plan of distributing bonus would give the working shareholders representing 10,000*l.* of wages 1*s.* 9*d.* in the pound, and the working non-shareholders representing 30,000*l.* of wages 9*d.* in the pound. Now I thought that this would act as a stimulant to the non-shareholder to take up a share, seeing that he could get 1*s.* more in the pound if a shareholder than he could if a non-shareholder. And we have always been able to meet them with this argument when they have grumbled about the shareholders having more than the non-shareholders: "If you do not like to stay down there, come up here." The difference in that case would be so great that I should expect a great many would be induced to come forward to take shares, so that if during the second year or at any other time three-fourths of the men had taken up shares this plan of distributing bonus with the same amount of wages and profit would give to the working shareholders 1*s.* 1*d.* in the pound, and the working non-shareholders 9*d.* in the pound. You see that there the difference is not so very much between 9*d.* and 1*s.* 1*d.*, but if they are not content to have 9*d.* then they have still a chance of coming up to 1*s.* 1*d.* When they approach nearer than three-fourths it gets less and less till when they are all shareholders it is share and share alike.

13,023. You want to make all the men in the pit shareholders if you can?—That is our object.

13,024. In fact you think that the present scheme will have much more the effect of compelling the men to come in as shareholders than if the bonus were more equally divided?—Yes. There is a good deal of talk at the present day about education, and I believe that a good many have come over to the compulsory system of education. I mean by this idea of mine, to use a little compulsory education with the miners. They do not understand the system properly, but if we can touch their pockets a little bit it might have a tendency to educate their minds up to it. I do not take a man to be a capitalist if he only takes up one share for the sake of getting the extra bonus, but if we can induce him to do that we might be able to induce him to look a little farther and take up another share for the sake of the extra dividend he would get. As soon as we have induced him to do it I think we have gained a great point.

13,025. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) You think that that feeling is growing?—Yes.

13,026. (*Mr. Booth.*) You said that the feeling of the men towards Mr. Briggs in 1863 was a more bitter one than in 1858?—Yes, very much more so.

13,027. At which of those two periods was the union more powerful?—During 1863. In 1863 they had some funds to fall back upon, but in 1858 they had no funds whatever. The union was only formed at the time the strike took place.

13,028. And it had become much more extensive in 1863?—Yes. Some time after 1858 it nearly dwindled away; it did smoulder certainly, but it revived again with more vigour in 1863.

13,029. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Was there a rise of wages in 1863, or was trade going on very well in 1863?—I am sure I cannot say. I think that the trade was pretty good.

13,030. Do you think it was better than it was in 1858 when the other strike took place?—Well, I should say about the same; it had been very slack in the winter of 1861 and 1862, and part of the summer before, I believe.

13,031. Did not that bad state of trade rather exasperate the feelings of the working men, more especially if they did not know whether their masters were dealing fairly with them, and so were led to suppose the lowering of wages and the bad state of trade to be attributable to the masters?—We generally attributed it to the masters to some extent, one underselling another, and driving the trade away.

13,032. Then was not the feeling that the masters were in part the cause of the bad state of trade one cause of the increased exasperation in feeling towards them in the 1863 strike?—It might be.

13,033. You were appointed coal inspector, I think?—Yes. Some time during 1863, some very short time, I believe, before the strike of 1863, the men appointed me check weighman. They thought that the masters were imposing upon them in weighing the coal, and they appointed me check weighman as they

Mr. J. Pickles.
25 March 1868.

term it, that is to look after the master's weighman to see that he gave proper weight; and they paid my wages out of the union fund.

13,034. And who appointed you?—The men themselves.

13,035. Was there any doubt as to your behaviour on the part of the men; did they at all say that you did not look after their interests sufficiently?—Well, sometimes they did. It is a very difficult position to be placed in, being a servant of the men, I can assure you.

13,036. Because, I suppose, men are not altogether just to their servants?—They are not altogether reasonable.

13,037. Amongst the unreasonable men, did you find the union men rather the most unreasonable?—They were all union men that I had to deal with.

13,038. And they were very unreasonable?—Some of them; most of them in fact.

13,039. Were there coals worked by men not unionists?—Yes.

13,040. And did you look after their coals?—No, not exactly. Of course I could just see as well if their coals were weighed properly as the union men's coals; but I did not consider it my business to look after theirs.

13,041. In your investigations did you ever find any attempt to deal unfairly with the men in the weighing of the coals?—Never.

13,042. Neither with the non-union men nor with the union men?—Not by the weighman.

13,043. Or by anybody?—I never suspected the weighman myself. The weighman had had to weigh my coal when I was a coal getter, and I never thought that he dealt unjustly with me, and I did not think that he dealt unjustly with others.

13,044. Whom did you suspect of injustice?—I felt that the banksman was rather keen.

13,045. Could the banksman control the weighman?—It was the banksman's business, I suppose, when a corf was not properly filled, or if it were in any way deficient, to insist on part or the whole of it being forfeited. It was my opinion that he forfeited coals that he had no business to do; for very frivolous things he would take the whole of the corves.

13,046. Then on looking out for the weight of the coals, had you any control over the banksman?—Not the least.

13,047. So that your office in no way whatever made the banksman more honest?—I simply entered my protest, and it generally had just the contrary effect to doing good to the men.

13,048. Why was that?—If I protested against his taking the man's coal he would begin to take more coal.

13,049. Was there no control over him?—Messrs. Briggs had control over him.

13,050. Did you ever complain to the Messrs. Briggs?—Yes, I did.

13,051. And did you ever find your complaint had effect?—Yes, certainly. I entered a protest to Mr. Currer Briggs, and said it was quite an unreasonable thing for a man for the least thing whatever (if it had a good handful of dirt in, for instance) to lose the whole of the corf. That corf was worth something when that dirt was picked out; the remainder of the coal was worth just as much as if it had not any dirt in it. But the man had no right to be paid for that dirt. So I suggested to Mr. Briggs that he ought only to lose the amount of the spoil, and if he spoilt the coal to the extent of a hundredweight he ought to lose a hundredweight, and if to a greater extent, it might be two hundredweight or half a corf, but never the whole.

13,052. Was it the habit of that pit to forfeit the whole corf?—Yes.

13,053. Did any of your representations or remonstrances have the effect you desired with Mr. Briggs?—From my conversation with Mr. Briggs he made an agreement with me that for a large corf (we had two sorts of corves going at that time, some that held six cwt. and others that held nine cwt.) he would agree to take off two cwt. and for a smaller corf one cwt. Of course the amount of damage would vary, but we considered that it would cover the average amount of damage to each corf.

13,054. Then after that you think that you were fairly dealt with?—Yes.

13,055. So that the result of your examination was beneficial to the men?—Yes, the result of my intercession with Mr. Briggs certainly.

13,056. Then were you not appointed inspector and paid jointly by each side?—From that time we went on peaceably for a while, I cannot say how long, and then the men began to be dissatisfied even with losing their one cwt. and their two cwt.; they thought they were losing more than they ought, and I believe they applied to Mr. Briggs to appoint some one to inspect the coal instead of this banksman, to take it out of his hands altogether.

13,057. What occurred; what was the result?—After talking it over with them he consented that if they would nominate some three or four or half a dozen men, I cannot say which, he himself would select one from their number, and he would pay half his wages, they paying the remaining half.

13,058. And they selected, I suppose, some half a dozen men, and you amongst the number?—No, they began to think it over, and they began, I daresay, to think that after all they were not very much robbed in the way of weight, and they could do without somebody looking after the weighman, and it would entail an additional expense upon them to have two men, one to look after the weighman and one to look after the banksman, and they thought that if they could make arrangements to have it all in the hands of one person it would work much better.

13,059. Then I think that Mr. Briggs insisted that there should be some man, did he not?—Yes, I believe he did.

13,060. It was in consequence of that that you were selected?—When Mr. Briggs suggested that they should nominate some man they met him again after they had talked the thing over in the line that I have been showing you, and they asked him if he would allow me to take that situation instead of appointing some new man. I think Mr. Briggs was a little bit opposed to that. I do not know whether he thought that I had interfered rather too much in the concern before or not, but I believe he raised some objections. But, however, he agreed to try me for a stated time. I forget now whether it was a fortnight or a month, and at the end of that time he would give them an answer. And some time before the end of that time the manager, Mr. Robson, came to me and told me that I was regularly appointed to the situation.

13,061. (*Lord Elcho.*) In any adjoining mines has there been any question of establishing any system of the same kind as Messrs. Briggs's that you have heard of?—Not that I am aware of.

13,062. Have you heard any wish expressed in other mines by the miners that such a co-operative system should be established?—No, I have not heard any.

13,063. Do you think there is any general knowledge among the miners that such a co-operative plan is in operation at Messrs. Briggs's, and with success?—Yes, they do know that this is in operation, and that it is a success as well.

13,064. And if they know that it is a success why is it that there is no wish that such a thing should become general?—I do not know. I have not had much conversation with parties about the neighbourhood.

13,065. Have you heard whether throughout the country there are any agents that are speaking against it besides Mr. Brown in your district?—Yes, there are two agents in our district that speak against it.

13,066. Who are they?—William Ackroyd and John Dixon.

13,067. And do they confine their efforts against it to your district, or do they go about the country?—

They are chiefly confined to our district. They are paid by our district.

13,068. Do you know whether they lecture in any other district?—No, I am not aware that they do, except that they go away occasionally to render some assistance to others.

13,069. Do you know if any of the men in your mine who are opposed to this co-operative movement contribute to the payment of these men?—I think there are about 40 in the Methley Junction that contribute. I do not know that there are any at Haigh Moor or Whitwood.

13,070. There are 40 men in the Methley Junction who pay these lecturers who are endeavouring to prevent the extension of this system?—Yes, they subscribe to the funds.

(*Mr. H. C. Briggs.*) I expect the reason is that they live in Methley, which is quite a hotbed of unionism, and they do it more to keep peace with their neighbours than anything else.

13,071. (*Lord Elcho to the witness.*) Is it with the knowledge and sanction of the union that these men, Ackroyd and Dixon, go about the district and elsewhere endeavouring to prevent the spread of such a system of co-operation as this?—Certainly. They spoke against it at the Nottingham Conference in 1866, and I wrote to the chairman (Mr. A. Macdonald) to correct their misrepresentations. In acknowledging my letter Mr. Macdonald expressed a wish to have some further correspodence with me on the subject. There is another matter to which I should wish to refer before I leave, it might be attempted to be brought out in evidence afterwards, that the reason that we speak favourably of this system is because we have got situations out of it. Now I am not aware of anyone, except myself and another of the name of Pell, that has got a situation out of it.

13,072. (*Chairman.*) What do you mean by getting situations out of it?—I am not a working collier now, I am a storekeeper for the collieries.

(*Mr. H. C. Briggs.*) Mr. Pickles came out of the pit at the time that he was appointed check weighman. He has not been working underground since.

(*Witness.*) Pell was check weighman at the neighbouring colliery, and was one of the bitterest opponents of the Messrs. Briggs', not of the system, for I remember one time, after the prospectus was issued, attending a co-operative lecture and Pell was there. I attended that meeting expecting that this scheme of ours would be alluded to, and after the close I asked Pell his opinion. I said, "Now what do you think of it?" (he had been an old colleague of mine in 1858), and he said, "Well, the thing itself is good, but" he said, "you know it comes from Briggs, and I have no faith in Briggs." Since then his opinion has so far changed, and he was so far dissatisfied with his situation of serving the men (I have alluded before to the difficulty of doing that) that he came and asked for employment at the Whitwood colliery. He having been out of the pit and doing nothing his hands had naturally got tender instead of being horny, as working colliers hands are; and his brother being a quiet man, and a very steady workman, had some influence with the bottom steward to get him into an easier situation, that is to work day work for a short time till his hands got properly tempered, so that he should be able to get coal. Now, during the time that he was working day work, I believe he gave so much satisfaction that from that time to this he has been retained at that kind of work. Now, as to my getting my situation, I have already stated that I was appointed check weighman to the men. From that I passed to being an inspector paid half by the men and half by Messrs. Briggs. I found the situation getting rather uncomfortable, serving not two masters but 200 or 300, and I heard Mr. Briggs hint a time or two that they would require an extra hand in connexion with the new system, and just about the same time one of my best friends in the bottom said, "It is all up with you; I would advise you to seek work." I spoke to Mr. Briggs immediately about the situation, and he said that he did not know that they had anybody for it, and that he would take time to consider about it. I saw him some time after, and asked him again, and he said, yes, he thought he might let me have it, and just before the commencement of the working upon this new system I was appointed their storekeeper. From the very first I took up heartily the new system, and advocated it in whatever way I could among the men, and that I have no doubt worked to my disadvantage; the men turned against me, that is to say the majority of the men. I believe I was instrumental in inducing many of the bottom men to become shareholders, having a little influence over them, and I believe that at our place, the place where I was employed, there were more of the bottom men who took up shares than at the whole of the rest of their collieries put together.

13,073. (*Chairman.*) Is there any change in the feeling towards you now among the men?—The feeling is as good, a little better, I dare say, than when I was in their employment.

13,074. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You have been storekeeper some time, I think?—Yes, since 1865.

13,075. Then you were storekeeper before and since the establishment of the new system?—Only a month or two months before.

13,076. Are you at all able to give any opinion about the saving of stores under the new system?—No, I am not acquainted with the quantity of stores used before the new system; but it would be a very difficult thing to arrive at any conclusion with regard to that. You see the stores go out both to compensate for wear and tear, and for opening out new works; whatever might be wanted of course it passes through the store room.

13,077. And when new works are established I suppose more stores go out, and therefore you cannot judge upon an average?—Just so. The stores will vary from about 5*d.* a ton on the produce to about four times 5*d.*, or 1*s.* 8*d.*

13,078. Have you been at all able to make up your own mind as to whether there is any check now exercised upon the men one upon another, as to economy in the use of stores?—I think there is.

13,079. You think that their check upon one another has tended to the increase of economy?—Yes, I think that some have been induced to practice economy from the working of the system.

13,080. Because the greater the saving the greater the chance of bonus?—Yes. It is a very common expression, for instance, in passing through the yard, if you meet with a bolt or a large nail, in picking those things up, to say "This is so much bonus saved;" and the same with the men in the bottom. They will sometimes get out a prop that is rather difficult to get out, and might have been left under other circumstances, and then they will turn over the expression, "That is so much saved towards bonus." I believe that that is becoming more general. In fact there was a very strong feeling against the present system at the beginning, and fears were entertained that the Messrs. Briggs would never act up to their promises, and those that did take up shares at the beginning were very much bullied; but I am very happy to say that the bullying has altogether ceased, as far as the bullying of shareholders goes. And with regard to the men not coming forward as they ought to do to take up shares I certainly blame Mr. Archibald Briggs to some extent for that. He hinted at the shareholders' meeting that the men ought to be paid equal bonus, and there were many that were thinking about taking up shares then that did not take up shares, thinking that they would be equally dealt with whether they did or did not; and there were others that had taken up shares and paid the 10*l.* who felt ready to sell out the next day.

(*Mr. Archibald Briggs.*) There was one who did sell the next day, but he has taken up another share now; and as he sold at 3*l.* premium and took up his new share at 2*l.* 10*s.* premium he did pretty well.

Mr. J. Pickles.

25 March 1868.

(*Witness.*) I was not there fortunately, or I could not have sat still, though I never was a spouter. We had a sort of indignation meeting about it afterwards.

(*Mr. Archibald Briggs.*) I should like to be allowed to add what passed at that shareholders' meeting. It was one of our largest shareholders who first suggested that if the bonus was the proportion of profit belonging to labour it ought to be divided among all, irrespectively of whether they were shareholders or not. I simply brought it out as a proposition, that it was the proper thing, and that I thought that eventually we should have to come back to that thorough co-operative system. I had a long argument with some of the men, who put it in this light: Did I think that they would slave to get a share simply to have a few shillings dividend? In fact, when they had been simple labourers and we had been the colliery proprietors they thought our profits enormous, but 12 per cent., or 13 per cent., or 10 per cent. now seemed to them very little, and unless they got a larger amount of bonus as well it would not be worth their while to become shareholders. All I said was that during the current year there would be no change made, but I could not promise about the future; the result of which was that some who intended to take up shares did not take them up.

(*Witness.*) The dividend on one share, although it may be 10 or 12 per cent., is a very trifling matter, and it is not a sufficient inducement for men to put themselves out of the way to save up 10*l.* Even suppose that it is 12 per cent., well it is 24*s.* in a year, and as it is paid up twice, it is 12*s.* one half-year, and 12*s.* the next; it is only a good day's wage for a good collier, and they look upon it in that light that it is not worth their while saving up a share for the sake of anything of that sort. But, if by any inducement (I do not care what it may be), we can get them to take up shares, the more shares they take up the more nearly we shall be alike, so that when they are all shareholders they will all receive bonus alike. And if at any time it should occur that the system was perfectly established, I should not have the least objection to the men sharing equally. But even as a question of right, it does seem very unfair for men that are reckless of the property, and doing everything they can to destroy the profit to share on equal terms with those I have mentioned, who pick up nails in passing along the yard, or who pull out props that the others would bury. It does seem to me very unfair that they should share and share alike.

13,081. (*Chairman.*) I do not quite understand you there, because we have been given to understand that the bonus acted as an inducement to them to save the master's property?—To some extent it does; but that does not act with everyone. No doubt it will have that influence upon all the shareholders and many of the non-shareholders as well; but there are a good many of the non-shareholders that are still as reckless in regard to stores or any sort of material as ever they were.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. J. Toft.

Mr. John Toft examined.

13,082. (*Chairman.*) You also are now employed by Messrs. Briggs, are you not?—Yes.

13,083. How long have you been employed by them?—I came into their service in 1862.

13,084. Since Mr. Pickles has raised the question in regard to himself, I will ask you at once whether you have any situation in this concern?—No, nothing at all but that of a common working collier.

13,085. Will you proceed with your evidence?—The scheme has done a vast amount of good. It has destroyed a vast amount of ill feeling, and I have not the slightest doubt that by perseverance and so forth it will have the effect of bringing the whole of the men round to our side—that is, to the side of the co-operative system.

13,086. You think that the men are gradually becoming satisfied that the system is working well for them?—Yes, I believe it will come to that. My opinion is that it will.

13,087. And do you think that it has encouraged among them generally industrious and provident habits?—Yes, I think it has already done a deal of good in that particular. Men that were reckless, and drunken, and such like, have begun to improve.

13,088. And you think that there is a better feeling between employer and employed than there was previously to the introduction of this system?—I am confident there is.

13,089. Before the introduction of this system had you any connexion with the trades unions?—Yes, I have been connected with trades unions ever since I was a young man. In 1844 I was one of their general agents, and we had a strike of long duration; the men were ultimately defeated, and there was a large amount of what we term black sheep, that is to say, hands from other trades brought into the workings, and they have never left it since. The men were entirely defeated in 1844, and the union fell down. Then in 1858 I was not so much connected with the strike; my opinion was that when the masters of West Yorkshire gave us a notice of 15 per cent. reduction, if we had divided it and proposed to them to have received 7½ per cent. we could have got it, and gone on, and I wrote two letters to that effect, one to the "Leeds Mercury" and the other to the "Leeds Times." They were generally applauded, and it was said that the reasons were good.

13,090. Were you agent for the union at that time?—No. I tried to dissuade the men from striking, and proposed to meet the masters half way. But they would not take my proposition, and instead they blacked me, and threatened to do me some bodily injury.

13,091. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You said that you were a general agent?—Yes.

13,092. What does that mean?—I was a lecturer, if you will allow the honourable term.

13,093. And you went about as the general agent for the union?—Yes.

13,094. Did they pay you?—Yes, they paid me a guinea a week in 1844. When the strike had been a few weeks on hand they were very poor, and of course they brought those men down to 15*s.* a-week.

13,095. They paid you a guinea a week, and what were you to say; what were you to show, and what were you to prove?—I was to encourage the men all I could to continue the strike, and to beat the masters, and compel them to give us the 15 per cent. As I have said I received a guinea a week in 1844. At that time we wanted an advance of wages; it was not a strike against a reduction, but we wanted an advance throughout England.

13,096. And you went for the purpose of inducing the men so to act as to compel the masters to advance their wages?—I did.

13,097. What did you recommend them to do?—I recommended them to continue stedfast and beg rather than go to work at the wages they were then receiving.

13,098. Had you any ground for your belief that it was necessary and wise to advance their wages?—Well, it was my conviction that the wages were too low, as brother Pyrah has said, that we could not maintain our wives and children at that rate. My own wages for a year and two weeks previous to that strike, averaged, when the fire, coals, candles, and such things were paid off, 9*s.* 7*d.* a week. I am not one of the best workmen. I must have meat, but at that time my wages were an average wage of the men of the pit.

13,099. At the time of the strike of 1844, was there anything to induce you to believe that the masters were able to pay more than they were before?—I believe now that they could not conveniently give

more while the coals were not risen, but I did not think so then.

13,100. Since then experience has taught you that you were wrong?—Yes.

13,101. And all the money expended upon your eloquence was thrown away upon a mischievous purpose?—Yes.

13,102. (*Mr. Booth.*) You said that in consequence of the strike a number of new hands were taken on, were any steps taken by the union to prevent those new men coming to work?—There were. I did all I could without using violence. I persuaded, and so on, the men, if possible, to discontinue black sheeping work.

13,103. Did you succeed as to several of the men, preventing their being taken on to work?—In some instances we persuaded those that came from other counties to go back again, and those that came from other trades in our county we persuaded to desist.

13,104. Were there any outrages commited at that time. I do not ask whether you had any share in anything of that kind, but were there any outrages committed in reference to the new men that came there in 1844?—No, I think not; I do not recollect any.

13,105. No conviction before the magistrate?—No, I think not.

13,106. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Were there any outrages committed in 1858?—Yes.

13,107. There was plenty of violence then, was there not?—Yes, but in 1858 I took no part with them.

13,108. In 1863 did you ever with your vehement eloquence describe Mr. Briggs?—Yes, I called him all that I could.

13,109. What did you call him?—I believe I said if he had horns on he would be the devil.

13,110. There is a brother lecturer now (I do not mean a brother of yours), a Mr. Brown; did you ever hear him?—Yes.

13,111. What has he said in your hearing?—He has said, I believe, as much as me; he has said a good deal.

13,112. Had he about as much reason as you had?—Why we were both alike for anything I know, only he was better paid than I was.

13,113. Well then, I suppose, being better paid he used harder language?—Well, in the first instances we were both alike.

13,114. Can you give me any specimens of his eloquence; can you tell us what he said?—Not particularly; but I know that he excited the men to a great degree, and perhaps sometimes when he was not aware that he was exciting them. But he is a very powerful man, and has a very powerful voice, and makes a great movement.

13,115. So does a drum, you know. When Mr. Brown came down, did he exasperate the feelings of the men against Mr. Briggs?—Well, I believe the words he said had a tendency to excite and to enrage; that is my candid opinion.

13,116. It has been told us before, that in the strike of 1863 you had really less cause for going out than you had in 1858; and that the feeling was very much stronger, is that your view?—Yes; we had less cause to go out, and the feeling was stronger. Perhaps it was partly my own agitating propensities and partly Brown's.

13,117. Since that there is come this change of plan; do you think that change of plan has tended not merely to soften your feelings but the feelings of other men like you?—Yes, I believe it has.

13,118. To what cause do you attribute that?—In the first instance the masters, I believe, had a desire to destroy the principle of fighting, or take away the cause of fighting, by making our interests and theirs identical. Now, seeing that we get a fair wage, as good wages as we could get in the neighbourhood, and in addition to that we get the bonus, and so on, we thought, and we thought rightly, that it would be a principle of healing, that it would have a tendency to destroy the war principle and the war spirit.

13,119. Before Mr. Brown came into the neighbourhood were there disputes between the men and Mr. Briggs?—Yes, there were occasional disputes.

13,120. How were they settled; were they settled amicably, or by what means?—They were sometimes settled amicably, and other times they were settled but still with the rankling of ill feeling.

13,121. Did you ever find that Messrs. Briggs were unwilling to listen to you?—No; but you know I had no connexion with them previous to 1863.

13,122. You had no connexion with those miners then?—Not with theirs; I was labouring in Leeds in 1858.

13,123. In 1863 did you join those men?—Yes.

13,124. When you joined what ground had you for believing that they were ill-treated?—I thought that they could afford to make it up at $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., my impression was then $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

13,125. You thought that. What ground had you for thinking it?—I thought that the price of coal was not lowered to such an extent as to warrant them in taking the whole 15 per cent. off.

13,126. But since that you learnt that the price of coal was lowered?—But the dispute was ended with the $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. reduction, each side making a concession.

13,127. Your view then that they could afford to give wages only $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. less was grounded upon your view of the price of coal?—Partly so.

13,128. Can you tell me what the price of coal was at that time?—Not exactly; the best coals, perhaps, 8*s.* or 9*s.* per ton.

13,129. Your belief is now that, regarding the price of coal at that time, they could afford really to lower the wages $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent?—Yes.

13,130. And for that reason you went out violently into strike. Now I want to know what the consequences of those strikes were to you individually?—They did me and that particular strike did me, a vast amount of injury. Previous to that strike I had four houses, they were not paid for, but I was going on with them and contributions were nicely and gradually bringing them down, and they would have been my own before now perhaps; but the strike commencing, and I not having a regular income (because they did not pay me as they paid Brown), as soon as ever I heard there was any complaint or grumbling in the district about me I threw drumsticks, or to put it otherwise, I resisted to speak for them. I am a man of independence, and would rather suffer than take money from the men.

13,131. You did suffer from the strike?—Yes. I lost my houses.

13,132. Have you any family?—I have only one child.

13,133. How old is that child?—Coming 17.

13,134. Was the boy in school in 1863?—No, he went to school until he was 12.

13,135. And after that he went to work in the pit, I suppose?—Yes.

13,136. And I suppose you not only suffered in the loss of your houses, but you suffered a good deal of bodily privation, did you not?—A good bit.

13,137. You did not get such good food as before?—Why no. I did not feel so well as I should have felt if I had continued working.

13,138. Being a rational man did you ever contemplate for yourself what benefit you could possibly derive from the strike?—Well, I did not always go on that; I did not like to be beaten.

13,139. You were not governed by reason but by passion?—Not always by reason.

13,140. Now that you look back upon it, are you not rather sorry that you did it?—It would have been far better if the principle had been inaugurated sooner, and if I had accepted it I believe it would have been better.

13,141. From your experience generally, do you believe that strikes and unions have done the working man any good?—I believe that speaking generally they have done them a vast amount of injury.

13,142. I suppose that they have not contributed to

Mr. J. Toft.
25 March 1868.

their moral habits, to their quiet demeanour, and obedience to the law, and good feeling towards their fellows, have they ?—No, they have not.

13,143. They have rendered bitterness much more common ?—Yes. They are a curse to the country ; that is my candid opinion.

13,144. (*Chairman.*) How much did you contribute to the union when you were in it ?—About 1*s.* a week.

13,145. What bonus did you get from the concern this last year ?—I got somewhere near 5*l.*, and the first year I got 5*l.* and a few shillings over.

13,146. Then you have been 7*l.* or 8*l.* to the good this last twelvemonth ?—With bonus and interest I shall have gained a good deal. I do not exactly know how much ; but a good bit.

13,147. Are you a shareholder ?—Yes.

13,148. What is your opinion of the arrangements under which the shareholders receive a larger bonus than the working men in the colliery who are not shareholders ?—Well, I believe that the extra bonus given to the men who are shareholders will induce others to take shares.

13,149. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) But is it your opinion that it is a wise plan to give the shareholders a larger bounty than the non-shareholders ?—I do believe it is.

13,150. (*Chairman.*) As an inducement to them to take shares ?—Yes.

(*Mr. Pyrah.*) I may say that my three sons and myself were shareholders in the first and in the second year, and we received for bonus exclusively during that time 24*l.* to my family.

(*Witness.*) Perhaps I and my son have received 16*l.* in the two years; but you know I do not work my full time in the pit. I am an insurance agent, and sometimes take a day for that, and I sell a few books now and then, and I take a day for that, which causes me not to have so much bonus as those that work full time.

13,151. (*Chairman.*) But notwithstanding that you had upwards of 5*l.* this last year ?—5*l.* and better the first year, and nearly 5*l.* the second. Altogether my son and I have received a good bit.

13,152. (*Mr. Booth.*) During this strike of 1863 were any attempts made to prevent the new men from coming to Messrs. Briggs' works ?—There were attempts made to prevent them from coming during the strike.

13,153. What was the nature of those attempts ?—They were threatening.

13,154. Who threatened ?—The men.

13,155. The men connected with the union ?—Yes; perhaps excited by the speeches of me and Brown and others.

13,156. Did they succeed in frightening away some of the men ?—Some they did.

13,157. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Since you have become a shareholder, have you received any abuse for being a shareholder ?—A vast amount.

13,158. In what way ?—They told me I was a traitor. I used to advocate the cause, and advocate it well too, they said, but now they say I am a traitor, and therefore no more worthy of their confidence.

13,158*a*. Did they never use any harder word than "traitor" ?—Yes, one man said I ought to be thrown into the river, and a stone of a thousand ton weight tied to my neck.

13,159. (*Chairman.*) There are not many union men in the colliery now ?—No.

13,160. How many ?—None at Whitwood, but a few at Methley Junction, but I do not believe that half of the colliers at Methley Junction are in the union, and as I say there are none at Whitwood, where I should say more than 300 men are employed.

13,161. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) How late is it since you have had in your neighbourhood a visit from Mr. Brown ?—It is not so long since, the 2nd of March, I believe.

13,162. Did he exercise his eloquence upon that occasion the last time he was there ?—I do not know that it had reference at all to Messrs. Briggs' scheme.

13,163. Did the men ever what they call clod you ?—Yes, they did.

13,164. When was that ?—It was in November, I believe, when Ackroyd was speaking against the principle. He said that there were two black palls hanging over the interest of the district.

13,165. Not unionism ?—No, that was not a black pall.

13,166. Was it not two black palls hanging over the interests of unionism ?—Yes, and consequently over the interests of the men. He said one of them was so many thousands of dozens of coals up at Pope and Pearson's in the neighbourhood, and the next was Messrs. Briggs' scheme of co-operation which he thought no co-operation at all, but a system of cheating the men.

13,167. On that occasion did you do anything ?—When he had finished I got up to defend the principle, because it is dear to my life. I believe it is a good thing and is calculated to do good, and I have taken it up not for any amount of interest or flattery or benefit I might get from the masters by advocating it, but because I believe it is destined to do a great amount of good.

13,168. When you had the courage and honesty to tell your own mind about the matter, did they clod you because they disliked what you said ?—They did, and they would not let me continue to speak, and overpowered my voice, and I had a clod come at my head.

13,169. I hope it did not strike you ?—It did not hurt me, only my feelings were hurt.

13,170. But you are a public man, you must have had your feelings hurt very often ?—At first, when the scheme was propounded, hearing the opinion of Brown and me respecting it, I believe that Mr. Briggs had had a meeting at Methley Junction in the schoolroom, and Brown was there and I was there. Brown advocated the cause, and even shed tears on that occasion, and said that it would be the cause he believed of healing a vast amount of wounds, &c. We were very friendly, and shook hands on that point. The next time he came to Methley (that is in the neighbourhood) he told us that we had sold ourselves.

13,171. Which he had contributed to do according to your statement ?—We had sold ourselves, he said, by entering into the scheme.

13,172. Which thing he had contributed to your doing ?—In the first instance.

13,173. And so far he had induced you to sell yourselves ?—Yes.

13,174. Did he shed tears over his own lapse or yours ?—Over ours, I suppose.

13,175. (*Lord Elcho.*) Has Mr. Brown great water power, has he got tears at command ?—Middling ; he can please a few colliers.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to Tuesday next at 11 o'clock.

1, Park Prospect, Westminster, Tuesday, 31st March 1868.

PRESENT:

Right Hon. Sir WILLIAM ERLE.	JAMES BOOTH, Esq., C.B.
Right Hon. the EARL OF LICHFIELD.	JOHN ARTHUR ROEBUCK, Esq., M.P.
Lord ELCHO, M.P.	THOMAS HUGHES, Esq., M.P.
HERMAN MERIVALE, Esq., C.B.	FREDERIC HARRISON, Esq.

THE RIGHT HONORABLE SIR WILLIAM ERLE IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. WILLIAM KNIGHTON examined.

Mr. W. Knighton.

31 March 1868.

13,176. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You are chief foreman of the foundries of the Staveley Coal and Iron Company, I think?—Yes.

13,177. Where did you serve before that?—I was apprenticed at Alfreton ironworks in Derbyshire.

13,178. During your apprenticeship did you join the moulders union?—Yes.

13,179. Then you went into Lancashire after that, did you not?—Yes.

13,180. Can you tell us any particular circumstance that happened to you shortly after you joined them?—Yes; the first job I had in Lancashire was pipe-making, and not knowing anything of the rules that governed the shop as far as the trade society was concerned, I went to work and made five pipes. The consequence was that in about a week I was summoned before a general meeting of the union and fined for making five pipes.

13,181. You were fined, I suppose, for making more than the society allowed?—Yes.

13,182. How many did they allow?—Four.

13,183. And how many could you really have made in a day?—If I had exerted myself perhaps seven or eight, without putting myself about much.

13,184. They fined you 1*l.*, did they not?—Yes.

13,185. And anything besides?—Yes, they said that if I persisted in it they would fine me 2*s.* 6*d.* a day.

13,186. I suppose after that you did not make more than four pipes a day?—No. In consequence of that resolution of the general meeting my employer had to suffer the loss of one pipe a day.

13,187. I think you have seldom joined strikes?—Seldom. I have generally tried to keep out of strikes. I was in one strike a long time.

13,188. Where was that?—At Stockport.

13,189. What was the cause of that?—At the time that trade was very bad and many men out of employment, our employers wished to reduce our wages 2*s.* a week (we were generally receiving 36*s.* a week; that was the general wages of the town), and as far as our shop was concerned we should have agreed to accept the reduction, but there was a general meeting in the town, and it was decided that we must leave, and of course we had to leave.

13,190. What year was that in?—I believe in 1847.

13,191. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Was it a general meeting of that trade?—Of the trade society.

13,192. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Of the moulders?—Yes.

13,193. Were many men at that time out of work?—Very many; thousands of moulders were out of employment at the same time.

13,194. Were they out of employment in consequence of their not accepting lower wages, or were they out of employment simply because there was no work for them to do?—Trade was generally bad; there was not work in our shop for the whole of the men who had been employed there, but 18 of us could have gone on with our work at 34*s.* a week.

13,195. And you were not allowed to do so?—No.

13,196. What was the consequence of that to you?—That I was out of work for five or six months, and tramped round the country seeking work, and when I got back home I found that the very men that had protested against our accepting the reduction (trade having still continued bad the employers had been compelled to offer a further reduction) were working at 30*s.* a week.

13,197. What was the effect of that upon your mind; what did you do in consequence?—The effect was this. When I got home and found these men working in my place at 4*s.* a week less than was offered to me, I determined in my mind that for the future I would be my own master, and make my own arrangements between myself and my employers.

13,198. Did you continue to pay to the union?—I paid to the union for many years after that, in fact I paid to the union till two or three years ago.

13,199. How did you escape their control?—If I saw that there was a probability of a strike in a shop I took myself away. In several instances that was the case. But some few years after that I came to Staveley, and we have not been interfered with so much there as in some places.

13,200. And from that time you have been your own master?—Yes. If such a thing had taken place I should have said at once I cannot allow anyone to interfere between me and my employer.

13,201. Did you ever know any other man to do the same as you have done?—Some few, not many, amongst them.

13,202. When they did that were they at all threatened, or was any violence employed against them?—That was the case formerly with moulders, but for many years they have managed the society a great deal better, chiefly as a benefit society. They do not encourage strikes now at all. When I entered the society, if there was a strike in the country it was sure to be the moulders, but they have profited by experience, and they manage the society now chiefly as a benefit society. There are few things now in it to complain about.

13,203. Do you mean that the moulders at the present time do not interfere with any contract which you may make with your master?—It is rarely the case. There are some towns where they do interfere, I believe.

13,204. Have they any rules with regard to apprentices?—Yes, in what we call a club shop. They allow so many boys to so many men, and beyond that they will not allow them to remain in the shop.

13,205. Do you know any case of hardship arising from that rule?—Yes, I know one very hard case. It was the case of a boy who was the son of a man who had been a leader in the society many years. He had brought up the boy till he was about 17 years of age, intending to apprentice him, but he had never been able to get him into a shop where there was not the full number. He moved him from one shop to another. At last an opportunity occurred, in conversation with his employer. He offered to take the boy in, and he did so, and the consequence was a general meeting, and the man had to leave the society.

13,206. Can you tell us the year in which that happened?—I do not think I can.

13,207. Can you tell us where it happened?—It happened in Stockport.

13,208. And the name of the master?—The master's name was Williamson.

13,209. And the name of the man?—Rowe.

13,210. And the consequence of that was that he left the shop?—He left the society.

13,211. What was the consequence to the master?—After that first strike which I named in the same shop he never seemed to recover himself. He was obliged to take in a partner some time after that, and

Mr. W. Knighton.

31 March 1868.

ultimately he had to give up his business, and his effects were sold.

13,212. How do you connect that with the moulders?—I connect it with them in this way to begin with. They would not allow the men to work in the shop who used to work there; and the men all had to leave, and he got an inferior class of men, and he seemed to sink from that time.

13,213. Do you know anything of the subsequent history of the boy, whether he continued in his apprenticeship?—Yes, he served his apprenticeship. I have seen him since as a journeyman moulder.

13,214. With that master?—He stayed with him up to the time of his failure, when of course he would get into some other shop.

13,215. I think, since you have been at Staveley, you have not been troubled with that sort of thing?—No, we have a number of club men at Staveley, and a number of non-club men; but we have had very little interference from the society. Sometimes they have made an attempt, but we have always refused to allow them to interfere with us.

13,216. You have the management of the foundry; do you ever allow any interference with your management by a trades union?—No, never.

13,217. Have they ever tried to interfere with you?—In some individual cases.

13,218. In what way?—In this way. Sometimes a man would come and get employment in the place, and he would say to the apprentices (when an apprentice gets 18 to 20 years of age we generally expect as much from him as from a journeyman) "Now, "you are doing too much work—you are spoiling this "job, and doing this thing and the other." As soon as we found it out, of course we discharged the man instantly. If it had been strictly a club shop, we should have had to strike on that.

13,219. From your experience do you believe that the comfort of the working man would be best secured by being left to himself or being interfered with by the union?—Decidedly by being left to himself.

13,220. Then in your opinion the unions do him no good?—They do him no good further than as a benefit society. There are few workmen, and in particular few moulders who think of laying up at all from their wages, and I think that the society is an advantage to them just the same as it would be to a man to save his own earnings.

13,221. As a benefit society that is, and not as a trade society?—Not as a trade society certainly. It works against the well-being of the men in numerous ways, as I have seen in many instances in my experience at Staveley, and before that time. Take a regular club shop for instance; apprentices grow up there, and they are almost compelled from the influence of the men in the shop to join the union. The consequence is that when they are 21 years of age, they may not work under the fixed rate of wages, as the employers cannot afford to pay them the same wages as the experienced workmen, and so they have to go on tramp up and down the country seeking work, and they return home with broken constitutions and vicious habits that have an evil effect on them through life.

13,222. Now if it does no good to the working man to whom does the union do good?—I do not know that it does good to any one.

13,223. Is it not employed by certain people as a means of livelihood?—Yes, but I do not suppose that in an old trade society they employ delegates at all; the moulders do not. The moulders' was one of the first societies established, and they have passed through all the evils that the majority of the trades unions are at the present time suffering from.

13,224. Then I suppose the moulders' union is a peculiar union in not employing delegates. Do you know anything of other unions?—I have had some experience of the colliers' union.

13,225. Do they employ delegates?—Yes.

13,226. I suppose the delegates live by the union?—Yes.

13,227. So that if the union is no benefit to the working man it may be some to the hired delegate?—Yes. If you will allow me I will show the difference between our shop and a club shop. The way we work in our shop is to take the best men that understand their business, and can be depended upon for the quality of the work. We let the work to those men and they employ younger men that have not had the same experience that they have, and they pay them a fair share of the money earned, whereas under the circumstances of a club shop those young men would have to leave. We keep our men. We have scarcely a man out of 700 or 800 moulders of different sorts that we have not brought up on the place.

13,228. That I suppose introduces a more kindly feeling between you and your workmen?—Yes. I may say that we really have not had any trouble with them. If a man has any complaint to make he comes and makes it.

13,229. If the apprentice is separated from the master to whom he has served his apprenticeship, I suppose the relations between them must be different, and kindly feelings cannot have time to grow up?—No.

13,230. Do you believe that the union protects the interests of the working man against the master, supposing him to be inclined towards injuring them?—No, no further than that it provides a fund for him. If a master was to attempt the reduction of a man's wages, or an increase of his work, he knows that if he joins the union he has something at the back of him; and that they would assist him to resist that reduction.

13,231. But do you believe that he really is more protected by the union than he would be protected by the general feeling of the trade in which he was working?—Not if he was what I should call a provident man, a man that took care of what he earned.

13,232. So that the union takes care of the improvident man as well as the provident man?—Certainly.

13,233. And therefore, as far as that goes, it gives a premium to improvidence?—Yes. I do not know what benefit a man can derive from it.

13,234. In those cases in which there are not trades unions, how is the master's conduct regulated; what motive has he to behave well?—Well, I may speak for our own shop. If we have a good workman, a good intelligent man, a man that attends to his work regularly, it is our interest to keep that man. We have men in our shop at the present time that scarcely any circumstances would make us part with, men that have made themselves valuable in the shop.

13,235. So that in the long run the master's own interest would lead him to behave properly to his men?—Certainly.

13,236. (*Chairman.*) Is there no jealousy among the men, if one man has 6*s.* a day and another man 7*s.* a day. Do not you find that heartburning comes up?—No; that would be answered in this way; the man that would be at all likely to complain about that would be thoroughly unfit to take that man's position; he could not do his work.

13,237. Do not you assume that your fellow creatures are in the large majority of cases well intentioned sensible men; the line of your evidence is that, is it not?—Yes.

13,238. But there are some very difficult men to manage, that come up occasionally, I suppose?—Yes, there are.

13,239. According to my experience, if you give one man 6*s.*, and another 7*s.*, for the same work, there is a good deal of heartburning created?—Yes; but that man had better receive the 6*s.*, and allow his fellow workman to receive 7*s.*, than leave his employment and be flung out of work and distress follow.

13,240. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Have you considered the question of piece work?—Yes, we work piece work.

13,241. Do you prefer having men working on piece work to day labour?—Yes; if I were a workman again to-morrow, I would prefer working piece work.

13,242. Do you suppose that piece work favours the good workman?—Yes, it favours the industrious man.

13,243. And gives him a motive to be industrious, I suppose?—Yes.

13,244. What is the effect of trades unions and their regulations; do they conduce to piece work or to day work?—To day work decidedly; in many towns they will not allow the men to work at piece work at all.

13,245. And has that an influence in favouring the bad workman?—Yes, in a regular club shop if a man does not half understand his business, still he has the same chance as a good man. There is nothing to encourage a man to be intelligent and industrious and attentive to his work, if his fellow workman, who spends half his time in idleness and drunkenness, can come and get the same wages as he can.

13,246. So that upon the whole you believe that the influence of the trades unions is to favour day labour in preference to piece work, and that that has a mischievous effect upon the morals and intelligence of the workman?—Yes.

13,247. Have you seen a good deal of suffering among the working classes caused by their system of endeavouring to bring every man down to one level?—Yes.

13,248. Will you give us an instance of that?—I have seen numerous instances of that sort. Here is a young man coming out of his apprenticeship. He cannot compete with a man that has worked 20 or 30 years at his trade, and consequently the employer says, "I cannot employ you, because the society compels me to pay you the same," and he goes from town to town, and from one place to another, and comes home because he cannot get work, whereas, if he were left to himself, and to things as they ought to be, his employer would pay him perhaps 30*s.* a week, and keep him in the shop, but he is not allowed to work in the shop.

13,249. You in your present position at Staveley are enabled to select your men, I suppose, without being interfered with?—Yes, they do not interfere with us at all.

13,250. When you want a man you select the most intelligent man and the best-behaved man, and the most industrious man?—Yes.

13,251. Do you suppose that you have as good a class of workmen as they have in other works?—Yes, we have a class of workmen second to none.

13,252. You do not permit interference?—No; if a man attempts to interfere with us we tell him if he is not satisfied to leave the place.

13,253. In your experience of life as a workman have you found on the part of many large bodies of working men a disposition to resist the trades unions, and a wish to get rid of their influence?—If I have found one man more intelligent than another he has generally objected to any interference from them; in fact all good men I have come in contact with have been loud in their complaints against any interference wishing to be left alone to manage their own affairs.

13,254. Have you had experience of persons coming from distant towns and interfering with another town and the working men there?—No, I have seen very little of that, because, as I said before, the moulders never practised that. I have known plenty of strikes in the early part of my life where the shops have always been picketed against any men coming from another town; every road into the town has been picketed, and a man has been stationed with money at the end of every street to send them back again.

13,255. Have you any experience or knowledge of the doings of the London Working Men's Association; I mean that which is presided over by Mr. Potter?—Very little; I have seen a little in the papers.

13,256. You know nothing of it but what you have seen in the papers?—No.

13,257. (*Mr. Harrison.*) It never interfered with you?—No.

13,258. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What has been the sort of feeling at Staveley between the men and the masters there since they have resolved to have nothing whatever to do with trades unions?—Well, there is a very good feeling existing between the workmen and the employers.

13,259. How is that manifested?—If the men have any complaint to make—for instance at the present time in our shops—they would come to me, and if it were in my power to redress the grievance I should do so at once; and if it did not come within my limits I should take it to the managing director, and he would see the men (he has done so frequently), and the thing would be settled comfortably.

13,260. The men have perfectly free access to you or to the directors if they please?—Yes.

13,261. If the men wish to see the directors you do not say to them, "It must go through me?"—Certainly not; any man on the place can go and see the managing director at once.

13,262. Have you ever known any desire on the part of the managing director not to listen to them or talk with them?—Never; he is very willing to listen to them.

13,263. Have you any knowledge of the influence of your plan of management upon similar establishments round and about you?—Yes, the consequence has been this: we have been regularly employed at Staveley for very many years. I do not think up to this year that a man has had to be idle one week at Staveley for a long time.

13,264. But in the neighbouring establishments of the same description have they been idle at times?—Yes, there have been strikes all up and down the neighbourhood.

13,265. And those strikes have conduced to idleness and to misery, I suppose?—Yes, certainly as strikes ever do.

13,266. Of that idleness and that misery you know nothing in your establishment?—Nothing whatever.

13,267. (*Chairman.*) What are the ordinary moulders' wages—men of ordinary skill?—A moulder of ordinary skill we should pay 28*s.* a week, at day work, and if that man were working piece work he would perhaps get 35*s.* or 2*l.* a week sometimes.

13,268. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You say "day work," then you do employ some people by the day?—Yes, there are some few men that you could not prevail upon to take piece work, and very often they are working for others that do take piece work.

13,269. (*Mr. Harrison.*) What are at present the recognized union rates for day work in your district?—There is one union shop in Chesterfield, and they pay all the men 28*s.* a week.

13,270. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Good, bad, and indifferent?—Good, bad, and indifferent; they are compelled to do so.

13,271. (*Mr. Booth.*) You have had some experience formerly of strikes?—Yes.

13,272. Did you ever know any instance in which they answered in a pecuniary point of view?—Never. I never knew a strike do any good in the world—not even to the union men themselves, for while the men are out the employer gets a few non-clubmen in the shop, and there are always a number of apprentices, and in many instances, after the strikes have lasted a few weeks, the men have come back to him. I do not know that I ever knew a strike to accomplish what the men left the place for.

13,273. On the whole, even if it did succeed, it cost more than it was worth?—Always.

13,274. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) I suppose it cost a good deal of money, and more in misery?—Yes. I think nothing of the money in comparison with the misery.

13,275. (*Mr. Booth.*) I collect your opinion to be that in regard to unions they are advantageous only to inferior workmen?—Yes.

13,276. And they are the greater part, I suppose?—Yes; but it must be remembered that if we were short of work in our works all the unions in the world could not find it for us.

Mr. W Knighton.

31 March 1868.

13,277. You think it better that the masters should be allowed to pay men as much as they are worth, and not be compelled to give them more?—Yes, I think it right that men should have free liberty to make their own contracts with their employers.

13,278. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You said that at first you had a difficulty with the union because you made five instead of four pipes in the course of the day?—Yes.

13,279. What number, for instance, of the same thing working under the same conditions do your men make now; how many as manager would you expect them to turn out?—With our present mechanical facilities we should make at Staveley at the present time seven a day.

13,280. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Would that be by men who would do day work or piece work?—Piece work.

13,281. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Would the union men working for you turn out seven?—That is one of those jobs that we always work piece work, and union men if they came to us would take our price.

13,282. And would they turn out seven pipes a day?—Yes.

13,283. Then there is no rule of the union that a man should be limited to four, or five, or any other number?—In some towns; but not with us.

13,284. Where is there such a rule?—In Manchester. I do not think they would allow a man to make five now, and I do not think that they would in Bury.

13,285. You mean to say that whilst you are moulding seven pipes a day, a firm working in Manchester or Bury would be only able to turn out four per man?—Yes.

13,286. Do you suppose they can compete with you upon those terms?—No, I suppose they cannot; the consequence is that we are always employed.

13,287. The wages which you pay your men I suppose vary with each man very much, do they not?—Yes; sometimes we should have a class of work that we could not very well set piece work, a lot of jobbing work. Then we should still have to depend upon one man out of every seven or eight perhaps for the safety of that work, and that man we might pay 30*s.* or 32*s.* a week.

13,288. And what the others?—28*s.* a week.

13,289. Would it be the same rate as is paid in the district?—Yes. On the whole we pay better wages than they do anywhere else in the district.

13,290. As a rule, do not you consider that a skilful and industrious man, who has served his full time as an apprentice, after he has completed that time is a competent workman if he is very likely to become one?—Well I find as a rule that they are not.

13,291. And that they become so afterwards?—In some cases moulding seems to be an exceptional case. A moulder's work is to some extent like a lottery; you never know whether it is safe till you see the casting. If you were to trust a man or a number of men with a piece of work that perhaps takes a month to prepare for casting and then there is a failure, the consequence would be serious. That could not be in joiner's or builder's work, because there as the thing goes on, you see at once whether the work is right or not.

13,292. What inference do you draw from hat?—I draw this inference, that the superior workman whom you depend upon for that work ought to reap the benefit of his skill.

13,293. (*Mr. Booth.*) You find that men acquire greater skill by experience?—Yes.

13,294. And that they become therefore worth more as workmen?—Yes, but there is a difference between men. I have seen some better at 21 than others at 30.

13,295. The ordinary class of men with increased experience acquire greater skill?—Yes.

13,296. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You have spoken of a class of men who entered as apprentices, and have in consequence of the union rules had to wander about the country?—Yes.

13,297. Are not those the class of men who never do become efficient workmen?—In some cases it may be. I left my shop through the union and was out of work six months, and tramped all up and down the country. When I got home I determined that I would not allow them to interfere with me again.

13,298. But when you went about the country, it was not because you were not fit to receive the full wages?—No.

13,299. I am speaking of these men, who at the end of the time of their apprenticeship leave their employment because they are not worth the full wages; those are the class of inefficient men who never will be worth the full wages, are they not?—I would not say that. There are very few men at 21 that can work anything like with a man who is receiving 36*s.* week, and has had long experience.

13,300. (*Mr. Booth.*) The union in this case assume that he is a competent man, and require that he shall not take less than the wages of a competent man?—Yes, he would be proposed and seconded, and admitted into the society as competent to get his living at the trade, and so he might be in some place where inferior work was done; but if he had to go into a shop and take the chances of any job that is given to him, he is positively useless in the shop. We have had lots of men come to our shop when we have been busy, and plenty of lads 16 years of age could do the work better, but all admitted to be in the union and earning their living at the trade.

13,301. (*Mr. Harrison.*) But without comparing the man who has just passed his apprenticeship at 21 with a particularly skilful man who has had long experience, and therefore would be above the average, as a rule, is not a man who has passed through his full term of apprenticeship necessarily a competent man; is he not up to the average?—No, not as a moulder.

13,302. What term would you say from your experience is necessary to make a moulder?—Long experience. With our system of working a young man would not be flung into the streets. We should put him with a first-class man, and ultimately he would gain his experience and be a good workman.

13,303. If that is your practice it follows from that that you must be paying the men of 21 and upwards (from 21 say to 25 or 30) lower wages than they receive where they are working on the terms of the union?—I do not understand that.

13,304. You say that you could not afford to pay them the same wages as you could pay a thoroughly competent man?—No. The way we should do it would be that if a young man were out of his apprenticeship he would come to me and say he was out of his time. I say, "I will see what can be done for you." In all probability I should select a certain party for him to work with. He would start, perhaps, at 26*s.* a week, and that man would have instructions to pay him the 26*s.* In the course of 12 months we should say to this man, if he still worked with him, "This young man has improved himself, and you must give him 28*s.* a week."

13,305. (*Chairman.*) You let work to a man, and then you nominate to that man the wages he is to give to the person he employs?—We say to him, "You can "have so-and-so to work with you, and you must pay "him so much a week." In all probability (and I have no doubt in the majority of cases) it would be to the interest of the man that takes the piece work to give him even more than we say, but we put a limit that he cannot give him less than that. If they go on and are successful on a job in many cases I have known them pay their assistants 30*s.* and 35*s.* a week, although we have only said, "You must not pay them less than 28*s.* a week."

13,306. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Then you said just now that you did not believe that the union was of any advantage to the provident man. You mean, I suppose, by "the provident man" a man who had accumulated savings out of his earnings and was possessed of some small capital?—My meaning was simply this: if a man is in the habit of saving his

earnings, and his employer makes any attempt to reduce his wages, or otherwise to do any injustice to him, he knows then he is in a position to defend himself. If he has got a few pounds in the savings bank he can say at once to his employer, "It is wrong for you to do this, and I will not work for you."

13,307. The trades union is a mode of making such collective savings, is it not?—Yes, and in my opinion it acts very injuriously to the men. Men that under other circumstances would see the necessity of saving their earnings trust to the union, and say to themselves, "If I get out of work I have so much from the "union, and there is no necessity for me to save my "money," and they go on from bad to worse till you find a many of them the most degraded class of men in the country, and in my opinion the great cause is their connexion with the union to commence with, because they trust to it, and I have no doubt that there are plenty of moulders in this country that have not from about 21 to 40 years of age worked half their time.

13,308. Then where a man has no accumulated savings of his own, no capital invested, and where he has no union to fall back upon, you think that he will be unable to hold his ground in a question that arises between him and his employer as to the hours of work or the rate he is to work at?—I should say that in that case, if that man has no connexion with the union, he is at liberty to go and get work at any shop, but if he is in the union he can only go to this shop or that, just where they allow him to go, and his chances even in that case would be preferable to the man with 9*s*. or 10*s*. a week at his back.

13,309. There was a dispute some time ago at Staveley, before the new principle was adopted, a strike as we have heard already?—Yes.

13,310. There was some attempt amongst the men to get up a union?—Yes.

13,311. Do you know from personal communication with them what were the grounds upon which the colliers proposed to form a union?—I have little to do with the colliers, but Mr. Campbell, who is here, will answer that question perhaps. But I may state that had no delegates come from other parts our men would never have thought of forming a union. We have many on the works that have had to do with one union, and I do not think they would have had to do with a second.

13,312. Do you know whether it is the fact that they were contemplating a union, and sent for Mr. Brown or some other delegate?—No, I cannot speak to that.

13,313. You cannot speak as to that association then, the Free Labour Movement?—No.

13,314. Have you nothing to do with the management of the Staveley Hill Free Labour Association?—Well, as far as that goes it is connected with the whole of the place.

13,315. I am speaking of the association which is called the Staveley Hill Association? — You are speaking perhaps of our accident fund, we are connected with that just as the colliers are.

13,316. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) I think the statement was that that association disappeared?—Certainly, it disappeared with the delegates.

13,317. (*Mr. Harrison.*) The accident fund is an association which has a special set of rules and a committee of its own, has it not?—Yes.

13,318. And one of those rules is that no member of it shall belong to a trades union?—Yes, that is one of the rules, but I have already stated that we had some few union men on the place, men that had been on the place some years, and as the company did not wish to interfere with them, Mr. Markham said at the commencement that if any of these men demurred about it he would sign an agreement that they should receive the full benefits of the accident fund in case of accident, and that satisfied the men.

13,319. (*Chairman.*) You say that the effect of the union is to cause a habit on the part of a man of trusting to the union instead of his own resources?—Yes, that is my own experience of its effects.

13,320. Perhaps you have looked at the course in life of men who have self reliance as compared with men who look about for help in every difficulty?—Yes, my experience of men is this, that where a man has the ability and self respect to get on in the world he does so independently of the union, and it is only an inferior class of men that relies on the union. I know personally lots of men that would as soon think of anything as of saving a penny, simply because the union will do this and that for them, and in my opinion it has acted against the welfare of numbers of workmen in that respect by leading them to think that they may rely on the union; men get into the habit of going to a public house to their club, and the more they go the more they like to go, and they pay to the club at a time when they have not sufficient money to buy bread for the family, simply because it is if they lose a situation through idleness, or no matter how they lose the situation, there is an allowance for them.

13,321. I am speaking now of the qualities of mind of the men who are independent of external circumstances. You think that the habit of relying upon the union instead of self reliance takes away the spring of the men's character?—Yes. I do indeed. I believe that moulders as a class would have been a more intelligent class of men if it had not been for the interference of the union in the regulation of their employment.

13,322. (*Mr. Booth.*) The men of whom you are speaking are naturally improvident, and the union encourages the habit, you think?—Yes. If you will allow me to go back to my early history in the society, at that time a man could not receive any benefit from the society unless he tramped for it; we had a penny a mile all the way we went; we had to put up every night at some low public house, and go into the tap-room, and the consequence upon the morals of the men was fearful. Some years afterwards we got rid of that. A man is not compelled to tramp now, but numbers of them do go about.

13,823. (*Mr. Harrison.*) This tramping is merely going in search of employment—do you not think that a good thing?—No, not going in search of employment in that way—every night in every club house. I should say we had from 20 to 30 men out of work. Trade was bad, and it was no good asking for work.

13,324. You think it not a good thing for men to go about the country in times of slackness?—Certainly not. I think the system that has been established since is a better one. The trade furnishes now a monthly report, and if a man was to fall out of work he would refer to the report and find out where trade was good. At that time we could go to one box every six months, and I have known men who as soon as ever they were free and could get to the same box again would be off.

13,325. That then is an improvement that has been introduced in the union?—Since that time.

13,326. And the thing itself is a very great advantage, which the members of the union enjoy over non-members?—I think not. I think that the good effects are overbalanced by the evil on the minds and characters of the men.

13,327. I ask you first, if it is not a great advantage which members of the union enjoy over non-members, that they know where trade is good?—If a man has any intelligence at all he can see that from the public papers without any reference to the reports.

13,328. Do you tell us that a moulder can learn from the public papers every week in what particular shops throughout the country he is likely to find employment?—No, I do not say anything of the sort. I say that if a man has any intelligence he can see where there is a probability of employment.

13,329. Does not the union report you have just spoken of, as superseding the men's necessity for tramping about the country, give a very much increased facility for taking labour to the spot where it is wanted?—Yes, I have already said that that is an

Mr. W. Knighton.

31 March 1868.

improvement upon the old system of tramping for it, and knowing nothing about it.

13,330. By what means can a man, not a member of the union, avoid tramping about the country in search of work when work is slack?—He has this advantage over a man that is in the union. There are only such and such shops in the majority of the towns in this country where union men can go. In some cases the club will not allow them to go in, and in other cases the masters will not have them.

13,331. What is the proportion of shops in the country in which union men are excluded?—I can scarcely answer that question correctly; I should say that the thing is about evenly balanced.

13,332. I am speaking of union men being excluded?—I have not had much to do with the society lately, and cannot answer the question.

13,333. (*Mr. Booth.*) I suppose they vary in different localities round the country?—Yes.

13,334. (*Mr. Harrison.*) What is about the proportion?—I am not a union man, and cannot answer the question.

13,335. But I understand your argument to depend on making out that it is a considerable proportion where they are excluded?—I have no doubt a considerable number of shops would not have a man who was in the union. I should say there are as many more out of the union as there are in.

13,336. The system of tramping in search of work when work is slack you speak of as a very great evil to men who are obliged to adopt it, and you tell us that the union enables men to dispense with that by furnishing them with constant reports from different parts of the country by means of their organization?—Yes.

13,337. I ask what means has the non-union man of obtaining that information unless by tramping up and down the country which you have just told us is the ruin of so many men?—From the general reports of trade any man will know where trade is good. I, for instance, can form a pretty good idea where a man would be likely to get employment and where not. I think at the present time it would be scarcely worth his while to go anywhere; all the advantages that a man has now from the union he gets from the benefit societies, from the Odd Fellows lodge, for instance.

13,338. Do the Odd Fellows lodge give him constant reports of the state of trade in the different shops throughout England?—Not that I am aware of.

13,339. Then he has another advantage, has he not, which is not given him by the Odd Fellows?—I do not see it.

13,340. I thought you said that all the advantages which the man out of work has from the union he has from the Odd Fellows. I put it to you that the constant report from all parts of England as to the state of trade is an advantage which the union gives him and the Odd Fellows do not?—But it is such an advantage as he can get without the union.

13,341. That is what I want to come at; where does he get it?—There is generally an idea where there will be trade. For instance, supposing a man leaves our shop, if there is a good order for work gone anywhere it is soon known up and down the country. Supposing they had a good order in Sheffield, our men would know it the next day; they would not have to wait for the monthly report from the union to know it.

13,342. You have just now told us that one great improvement made in the modern system of working the union over the old was that the way in which the information from various parts of the country was supplied to the members dispensed with the necessity of tramping about in search of work?—Yes.

13,343. (*Lord Elcho.*) Are you aware whether any society has been established in London for the purpose of keeping a record where work is to be had, and of different kinds of work, and for enrolling the names of men of different trades who are in search of work?—Yes, I have heard of that.

13,344. Do you believe that such a thing as that would be desirable disconnected with any union?—Yes, it would be more advantageous to some trades than it would be to moulders, because moulders generally get to know through one source or another.

13,345. (*Mr. Harrison.*) But are you aware that one of the conditions of employment under that system of registration is that the men applying will have nothing to do with any union?—I have heard that much, from accounts I have seen at different times, but I know little about it.

13,346. (*Mr. Hughes.*) When you say that the Odd Fellows lodges give the same conveniences and the same assistance as the unions surely the Odd Fellows lodges (at least those which I am acquainted with, and I am a member of one), do not give allowances to men out of work?—Yes, if they tramp they do.

13,347. What lodge are you alluding to?—Take the Manchester Order of Odd Fellows, for instance. I am a member myself.

13,348. So am I, if you mean the Manchester unity?—Yes. If I were to go in search of employment they would provide me with a card.

13,349. Yes, but they do not give you an allowance on the ground of your being out of work, at least it is new to me if they do?—I think I shall be safe in saying that they do. Not positively for being out of work. Suppose I take a card from London and go to Northampton, there they provide me with a bed and other things to the amount of which I cannot speak. We have had numbers of workmen come to Staveley with Odd Fellows cards.

13,350. (*Chairman.*) You would much sooner have a man trust to his own search for knowledge and trust to his own self-reliance than have a man leaning upon a delegate or secretary to fix his place in life?—That is the substance of what I wish to say.

13,351. (*Mr. Harrison.*) This Odd Fellows Association of which you are a member, by supplying the means of tramping about the country to this day practises, as I understand you, what you have spoken of as one of the worst features of the union under the old system, and a feature which the union has done away with?—I do not say anything of the kind.

13,352. How do you explain it?—I say this, that the benefit given to a trades unionist now for tramping is so small that there is no necessity for them to have it. If they want to depend upon the society at all, the Odd Fellows will provide them with a bed wherever they go, and what other benefits I cannot speak to; but they do not profess to help a men to leave his work or to support him when out of work.

13,353. I understood you to say that the union used to support men on tramp, and a very bad system it was?—Yes.

13,354. And that they have now been able to supersede that by supplying information through the correspondence of a secretary. You now say that the Odd Fellows enable men also to go about the country while in search of work and pay them?—No; I said I did not thoroughly understand what benefits they did allow them; but I know that they provide them with a bed and certain other advantages.

13,355. (*Chairman.*) They do not ask you in the Odd Fellows why you are travelling?—No.

13,356. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You have just brought it as one of the charges against the old union that it enabled men to tramp about the country in search of work?—Yes.

13,357. And you seem to me first to speak of the assistance which is given to men tramping about the country in search of work when it is given by a union as a very bad thing indeed, and as the ruin of many men; and when it is given by the Odd Fellows, of which you are a member, you speak of it as a good thing—which do you mean?—I have not said that it is a good thing and I do not say that it is a good thing now, and I do not say that is a bad thing. If a man is really compelled to move from one town to another there can be nothing wrong in his having from any benefit society a bed.

13,358. Then you do not bring that as a charge against the union?—I say that in the earlier part of the union they encouraged the tramping system.

13,359. By helping men to tramp about the country in search of work?—Yes.

13,360. I also understood you to say that it is totally unnecessary for men to tramp about the country in search of work?—If there is no work in London and a man hears that there is work in Northampton he will go there.

13,361. But to go round the country to look for work you think is unnecessary?—I think so.

13,362. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Do I rightly understand you to say that the union give the men weekly pay while they are tramping as you call it?—Yes, the majority of unions now pay a man so much a week whether he stays at home or goes on tramp; but if he goes on tramp he has the addition of a bed.

13,363. That is to say he receives from the union so much a day while tramping?—Yes.

Mr. W. Knighton.

31 March 1868.

13,364. Is that the case in the Odd Fellows or the Foresters?—No, I have reason to believe that the Odd Fellows provide a bed and what other benefits I cannot say.

13,365. I want to know whether that is the distinction that you wish to draw between the two, that the union pay the men so much per day while they are on tramp, and the Odd Fellows merely assist them with a bed or so, but do not pay them?—It is tantamount to that.

13,366. (*Chairman.*) The man receiving an allowance from the union may stay at home or walk round the kingdom?—Yes.

13,367. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) As far as you know he does not receive that pay from the Odd Fellows or Foresters?—No.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. James Campbell examined.

Mr. J. Campbell.

13,368. (*Chairman.*) I think you are viewer of the Staveley Coal and Iron Company?—Yes.

13,369. Were you formerly a working man; that is to say, hired by the day?—Yes.

13,370. What is your idea of a working man, one hired by the day?—Yes.

13,371. For any work that his employer wishes to put him to?—Yes.

13,372. Were you at any time a millwright on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway?—Yes.

13,373. What would be a millwright's actual work on a railway?—I was brought up by my father as a millwright and general carpenter.

13,374. And then you came as a millwright and carpenter to do so much of that kind of work as the railway company wanted, I suppose?—When a young man I went to look for work at a building establishment, and got work. But the first day after I got work (I had come from the country and did not know much about town), in the afternoon, I was asked to belong to the society. I said, "I do not know what society." They said, "We have a society here, "and if you do not join us we will not work with "you." I said, "Indeed, I will ask Mr. Brown." I went to him and asked him, "Am I to belong to some society before I can work here?" He said, "Yes, I "am afraid you must, as I believe my men will strike "if you do not."

13,375. Who was Mr. Brown?—A builder.

13,376. Where was that?—In Belfast. I wished to improve myself as a builder; I had not had much experience in building. I had been brought up to millwright and general work, and I wished to improve myself by working on large buildings that were going on. I did not like to leave the work, having got on the work and only worked one day. I asked what the consequence would be of joining. They said, "Well, one thing is that you must have the same "wages as any man in the works; you must have "3*s.* 6*d.* a day regular wages." I said, "I am not "worth it; I came here to improve myself." They said, "Well, you must go back again if you are not "worth it, or you must get into the society to-night." I said, "How do I join it?" They said, "You must "pay a guinea and subscribe" (I forget how much) "monthly or fortnightly, and you must have the full "wages, or else we will not allow you to work." I said, "Well, I will keep work as long as I can, and I "will not work under wages," and I did join it. That was in the latter end of 1825, I think.

13,377. Was that an Irish union?—It was one belonging to the town generally, I think. They were not called unions then, but societies.

13,378. (*Lord Elcho.*) They made no objection to your joining when you said that you were not worth their minimum wage?—No; they said I must join or I must leave the work.

13,379. And after having said that you were not worth the minimum wage, you were admitted to the union then and there?—Yes; they said that was my look out.

13,380. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What occurred after; will you go on with your story?—I worked as hard as I could to gain experience. A very short time after that there was a strike at the shop, and the men were told, "You must stop working to-morrow." I was told among the rest. I asked what for, but they did not tell me what for. Of course I did not go to work; I went out with the rest. We walked about a few days, and a deputation, I believe (I had nothing to do with it), waited upon the employer, and I think he had to give way. I believe that it was owing to some men working under wages that he had employed on an outside job. I believe he had to turn those men off, and promise not to employ them again; and we went to work after being a few days out. I think that I received at the rate of 8*s.* a week for the time that I was off with those men.

13,381. Did you receive the same amount as the other workmen?—Yes; I had the same wages, and I had the same amount, I believe.

13,382. (*Chairman.*) You say that you received notice that you were to go out; had you any idea that you would go out because your employer employed some outside men?—I knew nothing about that.

13,383. Somebody settled that for you?—Yes.

13,384. Had you more strikes of this description?—From the latter end of 1825 to July 1827, I think we had three more strikes, and I was never consulted in any of them.

13,385. Had you any interest in the matter about which they struck?—I remonstrated against it every time, for I did not know any cause for it.

13,386. You had no money interest that you knew of to cause you to strike?—No.

13,387. Nor any feeling that you know of?—I had the feeling that I did not like to stop out of work.

13,388. A feeling against striking, but no feeling that impelled you to it?—No. In the latter end of July 1827, we had a more than ordinary strike, and I was employed then as foreman to a number of men. I was employed for a blind man, the Mr. Mitchell, who got the patent for the patent screw. He was a very suspicious man, and he thought that I, being a young man, would look after the cutting up of all the timber. There was a good deal of damage done in the buildings where I was (there were five or six buildings). It was understood that there were some non-union men working in the place, and all the tools were broken or destroyed.

13,389. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Were the tools of the union men broken or destroyed?—No, of the non-union men. I was very much put about about it. I knew nothing about it. I remonstrated with the union men. I did not know it, but I said I was afraid that somebody had set them on, and they said, Well, that was nothing to me. I wanted to clear myself with Mr. Mitchell. "Well," I said to him, "I

Mr. J. Campbell.

31 March 1868.

"belong to this carpenters' society, and I should wish "to clear myself. You may think, as I belong to it, I "know something of this, but I know nothing about "it." I said, "How can I clear myself to your satis- "faction?" He brought to me a little Testament and said, "If you will say so upon that Testament I will believe you, though I cannot administer an oath." I was glad of the opportunity, and I said, "Well, Mr. "Mitchell and all you men, I know nothing about this "thing. I have no suspicion of it. I can tell you "nothing about the stealing of these tools." Then I said, "Is there any union man in this place that wishes "to clear himself about it? I hope you will all follow my "example." A few of the men did lift up the Testament and followed me, and a few did not. However, that led to a good deal of mischief, and all the union men were ordered out to leave the work. I was ordered among the rest, and being a foreman they took me before a magistrate, with two or three men, and asked me what I left my work for. They said, "You left without notice," and I said, "Yes." "Are you willing to go back again?" I said, "Yes, if you will pay my money I am willing to go back" (he owed me a little wages). He said, "Very well, go to your work," and the next day I left and went to Liverpool. I went to the union place that night and said, "Now you led "me into this thing. I remonstrated with you men "against this injustice of getting these tools stolen." I said, "I believe you did do it. I will not be a party "to it as long as I live. If you will give me anything "I will go, and if you do not I will go." I believe they gave me a pound, and I left them and was never in the union since.

13,390. (*Chairman.*) And then you went to Liverpool?—Yes, I went to Liverpool and looked about there for work, my own building work again, but could not get any, and I went on to the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, and I saw some work there which I thought I could do; some waggons building. I could not see the proper man to set me on, and I looked about a good deal and at last I fell in with old George Stephenson.

13,391. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) This is the great Stephenson you are speaking of?—Yes. I asked him for work, and he said, "What sort of work?" I said I had been up to Edge Hill and seen some waggons, and I could make them. He said, "Have you ever been used to making waggons?" and I said, "No." He said, "You are too young." I said that I would try if he would let me. "I will give you some railway work," he said, "to lay plates." I said, "I will try it, whatever it is;" and I got work as a labourer to assist in the laying down of the rail, and I went to the Sankey Viaduct with a note from Mr. Stephenson to some one there to set me on to work with the platelayers, and I told the man (I had my tools with me) that I had a note for that work, but I would rather try something else. I could do something better. He said, "Could you make a piling engine?" I said, "Yes, if you give me a drawing of it." And I worked on the railway at a piling-engine, and continued on the railway. After that I did not do any labouring work.

13,392. (*Chairman.*) He thought that there was something in your look and voice enough to make him trust you with some better work?—Yes.

13,393. And that prospered?—Yes.

13,394. And you stopped with him?—I stopped with him till his death; but in 1832 he bought an estate in Leicestershire, the Snibstone colliery, and as he found that I had been used to machinery and understood mechanics, he sent me there to take the management of sinking the pits. That was my first connexion with collieries.

13,395. It was George Stephenson who sent you there?—Yes.

13,396. What was your age then?—About 26 I should think.

13,397. Then you had the management of the mechanical department of those collieries?—Yes, I then had my experience in opening out collieries and sinking under other people. For eight years I continued there, and then I went to Clay Cross, when he commenced Clay Cross, to do the same there again.

13,398. How long were you there?—I was eight years there.

13,399. During the time that you had the management of those collieries, had you any trouble or did you see any trouble from strikes going on? There were no strikes against your part of the work I suppose?—There were strikes connected with the Clay Cross colliery in 1844.

13,400. Did you know what the men struck for?—There were some delegates came round I remember (we heard nothing at all about it), and they called a meeting I think.

13,401. Delegates from where?—From Staffordshire the first delegates came. There had been a disturbance in Staffordshire at that time. We had heard by the papers that there was a disturbance and strikes there, and the Clay Cross people were sending some coals to Birmingham, and I believe that that induced a delegate or two to come from there.

13,402. Then did those delegates hold a meeting?—They called a meeting I think; they detached two or three people for it and sent round and called a meeting and addressed the people.

13,403. What was the result of that meeting?—In two or three days they all left off work without any notice.

13,404. How many men were there in the Clay Cross colliery at that time?—At that time perhaps 300 or 400.

13,405. They all left?—They stopped the work.

13,406. How long did that strike last?—It extended then over the neighbouring collieries round, and I think at Clay Cross it only lasted about three or four weeks, when they came in again.

13,407. It was a strike against sending coal to Birmingham when the Staffordshire miners had struck?—That was one of the arguments that the delegates made use of.

13,408. Did you know any other reason why the colliers left Stephenson's colliery?—No other reason. They were much longer out in the district all round, but they were only out about three or four weeks in Clay Cross.

13,409. That of course was a loss of wages?—Yes, of course it was.

13,410. And caused the sufferings of misery?—Yes, to a certain extent. It did not continue very long, but to a certain extent it was.

13,411. And the district was all up in strike, was it?—Just round about; but it was a great deal onger I think in general. The Lings and Wingerworth collieries were out, but I think they were longer out; and the Staveley men were out at that time; that I heard by report.

13,412. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What induced them to come back?—Because they had no reason to go away. They met the manager and talked the thing over, and first one man said he would go to work and then another, and so they ultimately came back.

13,413. They came back under the circumstances under which they went out then?—Under the same circumstances; they had no advance whatever.

13,414. (*Chairman.*) There was a loss of wages for the time, and misery suffered for the time; had you any means of observing the misery suffered by their families or themselves?—Only from general complaint.

13,415. You did not live among the men yourself?—Yes, I lived among them.

13,416. Then you heard the complaints?—The general complaint; murmurs against the delegates for coming to stir them up for nothing. They complained bitterly afterwards.

13,417. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Did you ever hear the wives complain?—Very much.

13,418. Did they complain that they suffered much, that they had no food for themselves or their children?

—I do not think of any special case, except the general murmuring against them.

13,419. (*Chairman.*) Do you know what the men were earning when the colliery was at work, and what the allowance on strike was?—There was an allowance promised, but the men said afterwards (I had no means of knowing what they did get) that they got very little. It was said in the speeches out of doors that they would have I do not know how much if they stopped out.

13,420. Did that have any effect upon the trade of the Clay Cross colliery?—Yes, for a time it did. After the men came back again they were short of work for a considerable time. In fact it was not a very good trade at the time.

13,421. They were short of work so far as you understood it because the supply had been stopped for a time, and then the demand had gone elsewhere?—Yes.

13,422. That was at Clay Cross. After that were you in the employ of Sir Joseph Paxton, and did you go to his collieries, near Coventry?—Yes.

13,423. At what time was that?—I went there about 1858, I think; I was eight years at Clay Cross, and I left there and went with Mr. Stephenson to take the construction of the Matlock and Buxton railway, and then I got permission to take the management of some collieries for Sir Joseph Paxton as consulting viewer of the collieries and to set them out and give them plans for them; that was the Wyken colliery near Coventry.

13,424. You had information of how the veins of coal were, and you had to lay out the working?—Yes, I saw the old collieries to their rise, and then I had to infer from that where the best place would be to sink the new pits.

13,425. Was it deep work at Clay Cross?—About 200 yards the deepest.

13,426. My question was pointed to this, whether the stopping of the work was a serious damage to the colliery?—It is always a serious damage to a colliery, the road gets damaged.

13,427. Did they keep the colliery from being drowned?—They could pump; the men did not attempt that.

13,428. Then you laid out Sir Joseph Paxton's colliery, near Coventry?—Yes.

13,429. During the time that that colliery was at work, was there any strike amongst the men when you were there?—Yes, there was a strike in 1859.

13,430. From what did it arise?—It did not commence at this Wyken colliery but in a neighbouring colliery, the Hawkesbury colliery, I think. A meeting among the men was held, and some delegates came and stirred them up a little bit we understood, and the men found fault and made a number of grievances, and they gave a fortnight's notice to leave the work, and they did leave it. But during the time that they were having these meetings there were a great many meetings about. They came to our colliery and there were meetings round and near our colliery asking for help, and they would tell them what they would do; as soon as they had beaten Hawkesbury they would come to the Wyken colliery and the neighbouring collieries round. I had a good deal to do with the management of the colliery, and we did not choose to stop till they would turn us out, so we gave them a fortnight's notice.

13,431. That is the same thing as we call a lock-out?—Yes, we did not see any call that they had to join in this outcry, and they did not make complaints of anything. So when we gave them notice they made a complaint about the beer; they said that we had stopped the beer off them. That was all the complaint they made. It had been the habit at one time to have beer at that colliery, but when we opened the colliery we thought it was a bad thing for men and boys, boys particularly, to drink so much beer in the pit, and I asked the manager to give the men the option of taking the value of the beer in money. I said that we would add 3*d.* a day to the wages of men and boys all round if they would have a vote on it; and they called a meeting to put it to the vote, and the great majority had the money added to their wages, and the beer was discontinued.

13,432. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) I suppose there was an agreement made that they should not get beer into the pit?—It was before the Act passed; there was a clause in the last Act that they should not have beer down in the pit.

13,433. Taking the 3*d.* a day, a man was not to have any beer down in the pit?—No.

13,434. (*Chairman.*) After they were locked out, they said that the grievance was that they had not the beer down in the pit?—Yes. We said, "You "have got an equivalent for the beer, and that can be "no grievance." Still in the speeches they made a great grievance of it all round the district. They complained in the Wyken colliery and others.

13,435. That I suppose was a pretext; what were they really aiming at?—At the Hawkesbury colliery they were asking a rise of wages, I think 6*d.* a day.

13,436. (*Mr. Hughes.*) And you then turned your men out lest they should make common cause?—They said they would, and trade was bad then, and we could not afford it.

13,437. You turned them out lest they should make the same demand?—They said they would.

13,438. You said that you had turned them out before they had made any complaints, that you took the initiative?—They met, and made common cause with these other people.

13,439. You said that they made no complaints but that you took the first action?—They joined with the other men and made a public complaint, but they should have come to us we considered and made a complaint to us instead of joining with the others.

13,440. (*Chairman.*) How long was that strike?—In the neighbourhood it was about nine weeks, I think, the whole of the strike.

13,441. Was there any violence?—They were very violent, so much so in their speeches that they threatened (but we could never lay it to any particular individual) that they would turn the canal into our pit. It would have been very easy to turn the canal into the colliery, and therefore we took the precaution to build strong brickwork in the drift they could turn it by, and we got about 15 or 16 county constables.

13,442. (*Mr. Harrison.*) What year was this in?—1859; and we made a temporary bed for about 16 of them on the pit bank to protect the pit from being drowned out.

13,443. (*Chairman.*) Were any acts of violence done that you were obliged to protect your men from?—They came round in very large bodies, the men joined our men, and the men of perhaps three or four collieries together; men, women, and children came round in a very violent, threatening manner. At one time when it was going on they came round, and I happened to be at the colliery at the time, on the bank. I was sitting on the bridge and they threatened to throw me into the canal, and in the crowd they said they would cut the canal bank and let the water into the pit.

13,444. (*Mr. Harrison.*) What you are describing is the action that was taken generally by the pitmen of the district?—Joined by our men.

13,445. But it was not the action of a regularly established and definite union, was it?—Yes, they pretended so.

13,446. How long had it been in existence?—We could not tell, they came very suddenly to work—all at once.

13,447. What evidence had you that there was a definite established union?—Only what the men said themselves at their meetings.

13,448. What was that?—That they would pay them if they went out.

13,449. We all know that funds in a district are raised very rapidly, without that being in itself

M J. Campbell.

31 March 1868.

evidence that there is a regularly organized society. Have you any other evidence that this is to be attributed to the union specially?—Only from the delegates coming and addressing the men, and their public declarations.

13,450. Where were the delegates from?—From the neighbourhood.

13,451. Of what union were the officials, and what offices did they hold?—I cannot tell now.

13,452. In the year which you speak of the unions were in no degree whatever secret bodies, but at that time they were all public enough, and it is perfectly well known; it is a matter of common notoriety what unions existed, and where they existed, and where their lodges existed. Now, have you no definite evidence as to what this union was, how far it extended, how long it had been in existence, and so forth?—No.

13,453. Well, then, do you not think that this was the common action taken by the pitmen of the district and was not attributable to any definite well-known established union, as you were never able to trace any action of the kind?—We of course could not prove anything except what they said in their own public meetings.

13,454. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) At those public meetings there were delegates?—Yes, addressing the men.

13,455. Did you hear where those delegates came from?—I cannot now remember the men.

13,456. I am not asking you for the men's names, but from what place did you suppose that they were delegated?—They were Staffordshire men.

13,457. Was it well known in the neighbourhood that there were delegates there?—Yes.

13,458. And was there a report of there meetings?—Yes, the papers were full of it.

13,459. And did the papers contain the names of the delegates, or did the papers say that there were delegates there?—I do not remember definitely that there were any particular names mentioned, but they would be reported constantly in the papers at that time.

13,460. And you were fully impressed with the notion and belief that they were delegates from Staffordshire?—Yes.

13,461. And did the fact of their being in your belief delegates from Staffordshire lead to your action in the matter?—Yes.

13,462. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Have you any evidence that they were the officials of or persons who had been sent by any definite established union, and if so what union?—It is very difficult for the like of me to establish those facts. You could get a man that had been in the union to establish them, but these things are kept away from all managers.

13,463. In the evidence which we have had, when we have had testimony as to the action taken by a particular union, we have always had the union designated, the names of the officers, and from whom they came, and the action which was officially taken by the union. But here you are describing a series of acts which were done by the men of a district, and the only evidence of their being organized by means of a union is the fact as you say that people who were called delegates spoke at the meetings?—Yes.

13,464. But you had no official cognizance of any definite society in the matter?—No, they do not come to offer proof to the managers of collieries that they are delegates.

13,465. (*Chairman.*) Do you know of the strike at Staveley in 1866?—Yes.

13,466. Were you in the works then?—Yes.

13,467. Do you know any reason for that strike on the part of the men?—We have a pit in Yorkshire called the North Staveley, eight miles from Staveley, and the first intimation we had of it was on the 21st of August. But on the 14th of August four men came to me to say that some, what they called clod, had come into part of the pit, that is to say, some thickness of bind that had made the coal worse to get. I had seen the overman before that and had understood that that was the fact; and I said to these men, "I understand that you have got clod in your "work. We have come to the determination to offer "you 2*d.* a ton on that part of the pit. Will that "satisfy you?" And they said, "Yes." That was on the 14th of August; the place is eight miles from Staveley, and I had a letter from the overman there, giving me a report every day. A few days afterwards a report came to say that there had been some meeting at the works called Swallownest, close by, and that our men were joining the union, and coming out of the pit at 2 o'clock, and stopping the work. I went over at 1 o'clock to wait till the men did come out, and at 2 o'clock the whole body of workmen did come out of the pit. I said, when the first of the men came out, "I wish you all to stop till the other men are up. I want to speak to you," and when all the men were up I said, "Now, men, a "deputation of four from this pit met me on the 14th. "You made a complaint, and the only complaint that "you made was that you wanted a little more on the "south side of the pit, and I said I would offer you "2*d.*, and you took it, and said that you were "satisfied. Now how is this, that here on the 25th "I have had to come to you, and now for several "days you have gone out of the pit at 2 o'clock "without any notice." They said, well, they thought that eight hours was quite sufficient to work; and I said, "Well, I think eight hours plenty for a stall "man to work, and stall men are only working that "now, but you ought to go in and get your first shift "ready, and come out at eight hours, and let the "other men keep in the pit drawing 10 hours." They said, "We will not do that, the pit shall only draw eight hours." I said, "Do you mean to say that you are going on the Barnsley system," and they said, yes, they did. One of the men particularly spoke for the rest at first, and said, "Yes, we do, and we will do no other." I said, "Very well, you have no complaint to make of wages, have you?" "Not particularly, but," he said, "we have determined not to work." I said, "We cannot allow it to go on in "this way, we will have men that will work as we "require. If any man here thinks that he can do "better for himself, I do not require the fortnightly "notice, he is at liberty to go now, because we will "have the pit carried on according to our rules, not "according to yours." And this man who was speaking said, "Well, I will go for one." I said, "Very well, you shall have your wages and go." He went on speaking, but I said, "Now your question is done; let "somebody else speak; you have had your choice "to leave the colliery; let somebody else make com-"plaint. Is there any other man to make a com-"plaint?" and the others said that they had no particular complaint to make, but that they would only work eight hours. I said, "You have only worked "eight hours as stall men. I do not want you to "work more; but I want the pit to draw 10 hours." They said that they would not have that. "We are determined that you shall," I said, "we will not have "the pit working under your rule, and any that are "willing to go now can go. At the proper day for "giving notices I shall come here, and every man "that will not work according to our rule I shall "give a regular notice to. You will have time to "think of it." And on the proper day I went round every stall in the pit, and said to each man, "You "know what I am come about? are you going to "work the pit in a proper manner?" Some men said, "I will do as others do." I said, "If others stop, will you?" I did not wish to push them hard, so I only gave notice to eight stalls. I thought that that would be sufficient to let them see that we were determined. In a few days (they would not be advised) all the men came out; there were two stalls that stopped in and worked the proper time in that fortnight. I went back to the men the next fortnight again, and the men that would not work according to the rule I gave notice to also, and I think in about three fortnights all the men that would not work

according to the oule got notice, and the other men that chose to work the proper time stopped at the work and worked the proper time, and then when I got the pit clear I sent off into Stagordshire to look for some men, and brought three or four at a time. They were met at the railway stations, and if they got them alone, or in fact if a man brought them they were offered money to go back, and as fast nearly as we brought them they sent them back; perhaps about half and half; that is to say, half would go back and half would stop. On the 11th of September (we had no houses for them then) we went and engaged some houses and began to build houses close to the colliery. We had 15 houses in a little village called Heighton, I think, and the men were much annoyed there and intimidated and threatened; and on the night before Christmas Day, 1866, a number of those men together got a riot up and beat them very much, and then on Christmas morning again I went to the colliery and examined into it with Mr. Markham, and we got summonses for six or seven men. I think they took them before the magistrates at Rotherham, and I think that we were four or five days before the magistrates. Some of the men were punished, but the evidence was very conflicting. We have had peace since; a good deal of shouting, but no violence.

13,468. You are going on at Staveley?—Yes, but that was North Staveley. In the meantime, when that was going on, there was another large meeting published in the papers, I believe, for the 3d of September 1866.

13,469. What became of that strike?—I think that all the five collieries that we have at Staveley stopped. We had so few hands that we could not make any work that day; they all went to this large meeting.

13,470. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Was that meeting held at Chesterfield?—It was collected about half a mile from the Staveley works, and then they marched to Chesterfield.

13,471. (*Chairman.*) Who collected it, do you know?—Mr. Brown, it was said.

13,472. Mr. Brown had a meeting and the colliers attended?—Yes.

13,473. Did you hear him address them?—No, I did not.

13,474. What was the result of his address?—He addressed them at Trough Brook, I think, and went on to a little village near Brimington and got a field there, and I think went on from there to a place near Chesterfield and kept the meetings on all day. I heard so.

13,475. The effect upon your men was that the colliery stopped?—That day it stopped altogether.

13,476. Did they strike afterwards?—A great many men came to work the next day, but the pit was not well attended, not to its average. And immediately after that the men began to make demands, they found fault with every little thing in the pit that they did not notice at other times.

13,477. Did that lead to any action on the part of the proprietor, Mr. Markham?—Yes, if the men made themselves very obnoxious in the pit, we gave them a proper notice to leave.

13,478. My meaning was, did anything about unions take place?—We asked them if they did this in consequence of any union, and the men generally, said it was so. We said, "Very well, we will not have "you here, it is only delaying the working of our pit, "go and get work where they want union men, we do not want them here."

13,479. From that time has Mr. Markham kept out the union men as far as you know?—Yes.

13,480. You gave notice to the union men?—We did not give notice to all, we did not know all. We gave notice to all who were so obnoxious that we could not do very well with them in the pit.

13,481. According to your experience does the union produce advantage for the workpeople?—I have never seen it do so.

13,482. Or for the employers?—No.

13,483. Or for the trade?—No.

13,484. The suggestion is that the workman by himself may not be able to stand against the master, but that when backed by the union he is a match for the master. Have you ever seen the useful action of the union in that shape?—Never.

13,485. Have you ever seen a master able to oppress the men when he as a large number of them, say 200 or 300 under him?—I think not.

13,486. A single man of course, a master, can oppress, but not a large body you think?—No.

13,487. (*Lord Elcho.*) A question has been put into my hands which I have been asked to ask you. Do you know as a fact that many of the owners and butties have drinking places now to induce men to drink?—I do not know of any case of that sort, we have nothing of the kind at Staveley.

13,488. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You gave us a long account of what had taken place at North Staveley in a certain year. Now I wish to ask you if you will tell us how you connect the facts which you there spoke to with the subject of this inquiry, which is trade unionism?—They were recognized trades union delegates, or were reported to be such, addressing the men there. I did not hear them.

13,489. There was a dispute which you had with the men, you have just told us, a dispute about working in a particular way when you wanted them to work in another. Were those men members of trades unions?—They said they were.

13,490. Were they acting under any rule of the union or under any directions of the union?—They said that they were.

13,491. What union?—They said that they were working under the South Derbyshire union.

13,492. How long had it been in existence?—I do not know.

13,493. How long had you known that they had been members of the union?—I did not know it at all. I knew nothing about it till the 14th of August, when they came to me to ask for a rise in a part of the pit. I knew nothing about our having any union men there then.

13,494. What did they say?—They came to ask for a consideration in a part of the pit where some clod had come in.

13,495. Did they tell you then for the first time that they were members of the union?—No, I did not suspect anything about that.

13,496. When did you find it out?—A very few days after I had given the 2*d.* a ton extra an overman sent me that report, that the men had come out of the pit at 2 o'clock, and I concluded then that they were going on with this, and I went to ask on the 25th, and I stopped the men that came up and put the question to them whether they were carrying this out in the form of a union rule; and they said that they were.

13,497. Did they say that they were members of a union?—Yes.

13,498. You asked them that?—Yes.

13,499. And the only men who were then on strike of whose conduct you have been speaking were members of the union, the non-union men not being engaged in the dispute?—The non-union men said that they were obliged to come up because the others made them come up. I told them that I should remove the men that were connected with the union, and that they should do as they liked.

13,500. When what was called the Free Labour Association at Staveley was started, but which does not now exist in that form, was that, strictly speaking, a voluntary movement amongst the men, or was it promoted by the managers and other officials of the company?—I can only say that I know nothing about it. Some of the men had complained against it, that there was a great deal of ill will amongst the men from forcing others to join also I heard, and some time afterwards I heard that some of the men had called a meeting; I had not the remotest idea about it at the time.

13,501. And you knew that none of the officers or

Mr. J. Campbell.

31 March 1868.

of the managers of the company were instigating that movement, is that so?—I knew that I was not, and I believe that Mr. Markham was not, and I believe it entirely sprung from some of the workmen.

13,502. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Did the proposal for compulsory deduction from wages come from the working men?—What proposal?

13,503. We had evidence from Mr. Markham that, with regard to the accident and sick fund which was established in connexion with this Free Labour Society, or whatever its name was, there was a compulsory stoppage of so much a week from all the wages?—I do not know that that is connected with the Free Labour Society.

13,504. I understood from him that that was the case?—It had been talked of for months before to get an accident fund in addition to the sick fund.

13,505. I only want to know whether the proposal for the compulsory deduction from the wages, which is the rule at present at the colliery, was suggested by the employers or by the workmen?—I think that the rules were entirely drawn up by Mr. Markham and a committee, and shown to the workmen, and they were consulted in it.

13,506. In fact you hardly know which side it came from?—I think myself that it would be from Mr. Markham the manager.

13,507. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) That is, the mode of the men's paying to the accident fund was that from the wages was deducted the sum that they subscribed to the accident fund before they received their wages?—Yes.

13,508. And that is now called compulsory payment; but was it not perfectly agreed to by the men?—Perfectly agreed to. I do not think that there are five per cent. of the men that demur to it. I never heard of any.

13,509. (*Mr. Hughes.*) When I say compulsory payment, I mean that every man who works at your colliery has no option as to whether that sum shall be deducted from his wages or not?—No, certainly he has no option, he knows that that is the rule of the colliery.

13,510. I should just like to call your attention to the only strikes in which you were engaged while you belonged to the union. There were three you said between 1825 and 1827. The case of the first strike, I understood you to say, was that the employers were employing certain persons to whom the men objected?—Yes, but away from the work that I was employed in.

13,511. In that strike the men were successful; the men got what they wanted?—The masters gave in.

13,512. With respect to the other two strikes, do you remember what they arose about, and whether they were successful or not from the men's point of view?—I believe that they were successful, but I believe that they were an injury to the men themselves.

13,513. So far as you remember, you think that they did gain what they wanted then, whether they were right or wrong?—I believe they did, but they did not gain it through me.

13,514. Again in the strike in 1844, in Mr. Stephenson's colliery, you said, I think, that your men were only out a few weeks?—Three or four weeks.

13,515. They went in much before the others?—Yes.

13,516. The men at your colliery obtained nothing by that strike?—Nothing at all.

13,517. Do you remember why the men at the other collieries staid out longer than at yours?—I do not.

13,518. Do you know whether they got anything?—I believe none in the whole district got anything at all, only misery.

13,519. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) With regard to this compulsory deduction for a sick fund or accident fund, do you know what the amount deducted is?—I think it is 2*d.* a week.

13,520. Have you ever heard any of the men complain of that regulation in the colliery?—Never.

13,521. Do not you think that some such arrangement is almost a necessity where a very large number of persons are employed?—I believe that it is a very great benefit, and I can only tell you that we have nine men, working men, that attend (I am on the committee myself) the meetings, and questions about whether the men deserve help or not are left to them, and some cases must be left to the committee. Those men had the best opportunity of knowing whether there is any imposition or not, and they are requested to have a list of the sums of money paid in the month pasted up at every pit bank that the committee men may see if there is any imposition. A few have grumbled, but not a great many; on the whole, it is perfectly satisfactory.

13,522. Do not you think that if any man had any reason to object to this deduction, he would go to a neighbouring colliery where he would receive the same wages without the deduction?—Yes, he may do so.

13,523. And there is nothing to prevent his doing so?—No; but I consider that the men would much rather have it according to our plan, because if a man chose to go to a neighbouring colliery now, the scale of remuneration for an injury of any sort is according to time in a great measure. But if a man leaves our colliery and comes back from time to time, the whole time that he has been there is always counted. He does not lose anything by going away and coming back; the time that he has served in the colliery counts up, whatever it may be. We have a great many men now who it might happen would get 100*l.* in case of any serious injury.

13,524. Have you ever heard any comparison at all made by any of your men between the amount they contribute to this fund of yours, and the amount which they would have to contribute if they were members of unions?—Yes, I have.

13,525. What have you heard them say with regard to that?—A great many say that the union fund was a fighting fund, that it is only a promise that they make and they do not expect that they will get anything from it except at first.

13,526. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) "A fighting fund" you say, that is to say, a fund used to enable them to sustain a conflict with their masters?—Yes, for the time being.

13,527. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Is it within your experience that the union does not pay the benefits that it offers?—If I take the evidence of the men they tell me that they are not paid generally, except a short time at first.

13,528. By what union had the men not been paid the benefits promised?—This union in 1866 I can remember best, because it is the most recent.

13,529. How long had that been in existence?—I never knew it was in existence, it came upon us all at once.

13,530. Was it a union at all?—They called it a union, I cannot tell.

13,531. (*Mr. Hughes.*) The subscription to this accident fund is 2*d.* a week?—Yes.

13,532. Have you had any calculations made as to whether it will meet accidents at the rate of 100*l.* a man?—I believe so. I know that is so in fact, because I saw a letter with all the circumstances, the number of deaths and accidents, for six or eight years, which had been sent to Dr. Farr in London. To draw comparisons we gave him the information that we had from the other fund for that time.

13,533. And did he think that your subscriptions were sufficient?—He thought them sufficient with the amount that the colliery company would give. I think they will give 500*l.* for four years, and then 25 per cent. on all the subscriptions.

13,534. But then Mr. Markham told us that your subscriptions were arranged so that there should be no large accumulations?—The committee has the power to make it so; we rather think that there will be an

accumulation, and the committee has the power to raise the subscriptions.

13,535. As yet you have not had any considerable accumulation, as I understand?—No, very little.

13,536. Mr. Markham told us that the system was, that it should only be from hand to mouth as it were. But supposing that you raise the subscriptions so that there should be a considerable accumulation, would a man leaving your colliery who had subscribed for so many years by the deductions out of his wages, have any claim to any portion of that?—No.

13,537. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Unless he had met with an accident I suppose, and in that case he would be paid?—If he meets with an accident the first day that he comes into our pit, he would be paid in the same way as a man who had been five years there.

13,538. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Not after he had left your pit?—No. There is not supposed to be any accumulation, but lately we have rather considered I think that there might be accumulation, and the committee have given donations or subscriptions out.

13,539. (*Mr. Harrison.*) If there was unfortunately an explosion in your colliery the accident fund would be unable to meet it, I suppose?—Yes, very likely, but I do not fear that much.

13,540. (*Lord Elcho.*) But supposing that a man working in your colliery and a subscriber to this fund meets with a serious accident, and say 50*l.* or 100*l.* is awarded to him, and he leaves you before that is completely paid, he would receive that, would he not, although he is no longer in your service?—Certainly.

13,541. (*Mr. Hughes.*) But as soon as a man leaves you he would receive nothing for an accident?—If he has had no accident. But he does receive this benefit, that at whatever time he leaves if he returns his time is counted, and he is then a subject for remuneration.

15,542. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Are you at all conversant with what is done in an ordinary insurance company? Supposing a man has an insurance on his own life for 30 years and then leaves off payment for six or seven months, do you know whether or not he loses all claim upon the insurance company?—I do not know.

13,543. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Do you know what is the ordinary course in trades unions, that when a man has subscribed a certain number of years, when he leaves he ceases to have any claim?—I know that when he has subscribed he gets nothing at all many times.

13,544. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You know that, do you?—By report from the men I know it.

13,545. What are the sources of your information?—I have heard men say so that have been in trades unions, and have been promised something and got nothing at all.

13,546. (*Lord Elcho.*) Could you name those unions?—Yes.

13,547. What are they?—The colliers' unions I refer to.

13,548. At what colliery?—The colliers' union that made the strike in 1844.

13,549. Does it still exist?—I do not know; they all seem to me to be formed upon much about the same principle while they lasted.

13,550. (*Mr. Harrison.*) "Union" is rather a vague term, is it not; you appear to be occasionally using it in the sense of the pitmen of a district who join together for the sake of making certain demands; and then at other times it is a regularly constituted society such as the amalgamated engineers?—I can call it nothing else. I never knew it exist, but it made a spasmodic effort for a time and then it was blown out.

13,551. You do not know, for instance, of the existence of the South Yorkshire Miners' Association?—I know that they had one in Staveley in 1866; it does not exist in Staveley now I believe.

13,552. I am not speaking of Staveley. I ask, are you aware of the existence of a society called the South Yorkshire Miners' Association?—Yes.

13,553. Do you say that that is merely a temporary and spasmodic combination of men?—As far as public report goes, that has existed for a few years, but I think it will come to nought; that is my opinion.

13,554. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Let me ask you this question. Supposing that an organization of that kind could be founded which would not be spasmodic and would not come to nought, and which enabled the men to have a very considerable influence on the rate of wages and the hours of labour; looking at it as far as you can from an independent point of view, do not you think that that might be a very beneficial thing for men as well as masters?—I think not.

13,555. Not if such a body met the employers on equal terms and consulted with them on the conditions on which trade should be carried on?—I think that no body of workmen could take the risks of a colliery, as far as my experience goes.

13,556. But do not you think that supposing masters and men were to agree to meet and consult on such matters, it would be better for the masters as well as better for the men that the organization on the men's side should be acknowledged and strong, than that there should be these sudden rises?—I think that fair competition between labour and capital, which the colliers have an opportunity of in all districts like Derbyshire, is much the best thing for the men. We are obliged to use our men well.

13,557. But capital is thoroughly organized; the employers are thoroughly organized necessarily, are they not?—Well, we are obliged to use our men well. If we did not use them well they would not stop with us; it is our interest to use them well and fairly.

13,558. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Do you think that the management of your collieries would be improved by admitting into your managing power the opinions of the working men?—Certainly not.

13,559. Are they not in the greater number of cases very ignorant men, and men who really do not know about the exingencies of trade?—Certainly; that is my belief. They know nothing at all about it.

13,560. And therefore if you were to bring them in to be partners in your consultations about your trade concerns, you think that you would be very much under the guidance of ignorance?—Yes.

13,561. And therefore you object to the introduction of working men into your partnership for the government of the working of your colliery?—Yes.

13,562. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you think that your men are so ignorant that it would not be right that they should express any opinion as to the mode in which they should be employed?—I do not think that the colliers as a class are ignorant about their own work at all.

13,563. You think it is reasonable that the miners should form and express their own views as to the way in which they are being employed, and as to the details of their mannual labour?—Yes, but not to take the management of the colliery.

13,564. (*Mr. Booth.*) You think that the owners of a colliery can manage it better for their own advantage as well as the advantage of the men without the interference of the union?—Much better, that is my firm opinion.

13,565. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Is it within your experience thet the colliers take the management of a colliery in any place?—Yes, whenever they get under the influence of a union it is so.

13,566. Where has it been so?—North Staveley is one example that I have already given you. First they come up and say that they will not work more than eight hours, whereas we wish the pit to draw ten hours.

13,567. Do you call that taking the management of a pit?—Yes, I do.

13,568. Do you think that the men should not have any voice as to the number of hours that they should work?—By all means.

13,569. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Does not that arrangement as to the 10 hours involve the necessity of keeping some men at work during the whole number of hours?—The stall men are a superior class of workmen, two or three or more may have a stall 40

Mr. J. Campbell.

31 March 1868.

yards in length. They will go down in the morning and get the necessary work ready. They may go down at 4 or 5 o'clock if they like, they will get ready a portion of their own work for a more inferior class of workmen to commence upon at half-post 6 or 7 o'clock, whatever time the pit begins to work. The stall man who goes in at that time may come out in seven hours (and they do) or in eight hours, but another man, his partner, comes in at 8 or 9 o'clock, whatever time he likes, and he stops to see all the coal out of his stall. Now that man without any interference with the work of the colliery can regulate his work without working more than eight hours.

13,570. Are there not some persons who would be compelled to work during the whole number of hours that the pit is at work?—Yes, the loader for instance. He is an inferior class of collier; you can make a loader of a plough man, or anyone that has been working above ground, and he is perfectly willing to work the longer hours and he must be at work the ten hours that we work now.

13,571. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Is there any interruption in that ten hours for dinner?—Half an hour for dinner.

13,572. Is there any other?—Not a time to stop, but the men are supposed to take a little any time they like.

13,573. But for the half hour that they have for dinner the pit stops?—The pit stops drawing then entirely.

13,574. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Have you ever objected to meet your men when they have had any complaint to make?—No, never, except that in the time of the union I objected to meet men that had given notice.

13,575. At your colliery there is an opportunity for the men to bring forward any grievances?—Whenever they like they can meet me in the presence of their overman or without the presence of their overman, and if they are not satisfied with seeing me they can meet the managing director.

13,576. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) They go direct to Mr. Markham without coming through you?—Yes, they have no occasion to come through me, they can go to him if they like, but they do not often do it.

13,577. (*Lord Elcho.*) You have had a great many years' experience, and you have referred to strikes that had taken place in collieries, some of which have been successful and some of which have not as regards influencing wages?—I never knew any succeed except that carpenters' strike—on a small scale that was successful.

13,578. When these strikes have taken place you have been aware of the state of trade as a viewer?—Yes.

13,579. Do you believe that these strikes or the action of the unions have really influenced the rate of wages?—They have injured it in all cases I believe.

13,580. Do you believe that the effect of the action of a union does not even anticipate a rise or check, a natural fall in wages. Supposing for instance that in course of trade the probability is that if there were no union wages would rise and the men strike sooner than that rise would naturally come, do you think their action is effectual in that respect?—I think we should more likely be able to give them more wages if they had not struck, from the better trade there would be.

13,581. In the same way where there would be a mutual fall in wages, do you believe that the unions tend to check that fall?—There is not very often a fall in wages. Wages from my own observation have got very much up since I was connected with collieries. Going back to 1832, collieries are in a much better position now than they were then, but I believe that none of that has been caused by the union to the bettering of the condition of the colliers.

13,582. Then your belief is that the unions and these strikes have really had no beneficial effect as regards the wages of the working man?—Not the least.

13,583. That if they have risen they would have risen without the working of the union?—Yes, certainly.

13,584. And that they have been accompanied, as you have stated to us, generally with a great deal of suffering and distress?—A great deal of suffering. There are men in our works that I suppose will never get over this last strike.

13,585. According to your view there is no set off against the suffering and distress attendant upon a strike, because even assuming that there is a rise, that rise would have taken place whether there had been a strike on or not?—Yes, but I have never seen a rise in my own experience.

13,586. Have you never seen a rise after a strike?—Never a rise caused by a strike.

13,587. You maintain that that rise, if it does take place, would have taken place equally whether there were unions or not, whether there was a strike or not?—Yes, that is my opinion.

13,588. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) So that wages in fact depend upon the state of trade and not upon the interference of the unions?—That is my opinion entirely. Clay Cross, for example, is the largest neighbouring colliery to us. We do not want our men to go to Clay Cross. How can we help that? Only by making them as comfortable as we can at our own works, and on their part they do the same at Clay Cross. I find that we have got nearly all the men back to Staveley now that went off at the union time.

13,589. (*Mr. Hughes.*) I see in Mr. Markham's evidence that he used the words "10 to 12 hours"—you say that 10 hours is the time the pit works?—We always work 10 at North Staveley.

13,590. Was not one of the demands there for a shortening of the hours?—There was a demand, but that would have been given without the union.

13,591. But it was not given without a strike?—It would have been.

13,592. It is possible then that the men may think that that hour and a half was gained by the union?—They may think so.

13,593. How can you be sure that it would have been given without the strike?—I may say that Mr. Appleby has been working on that system some time ago, and that at another colliery of the name of Wells, the proprietors have been working about that time, 10½ hours. Of course we were not going to let our men go away to them. So the trade does it, not the union.

13,594. But do you know how it was done at those other collieries?—I do not know that.

13,595. But at yours it was done through that strike, or at any rate after that strike?—Yes, after it.

13,596. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you know that all the men of the South Yorkshire Mines Association work eight hours and not 10½?—Yes.

13,597. Do you think that the union has had anything to do with that shortening of the hours of labour?—I think they have in that case. But our skilled men only work eight hours; that is to say, the stall men only work eight hours; the pit may work 10, and they work their eight hours.

13,598. You do think that the South Yorkshire Association has done something to shorten the hours of work for its members?—No, it has not shortened the hours; it has shortened the hours of drawing the coal but not the hours of the skilled colliers. That was their mode of doing it, but all I requested our men was to do it in the mode that would not impede the drawing of the pit.

13,599. But do you mean to say that since the establishment and extension of the South Yorkshire Association, the stall men do not work now shorter hours than they did before it?—I do not know what they worked before, but I know that our men only work eight hours and they did not work more before.

13,600. Do you consider that the hours for the same class of men are the same practically in your district and in South Yorkshire?—No, because there the pit only draws the eight hours, I believe; I understand so, but I am not sure.

13,601. Then there is a difference in favour of the South Yorkshire district?—Yes, at some of the places, but not all.

13,602. Do I rightly understand you when you speak of a union being in a district to mean this, a number of the pitmen of a district meeting together and determining to ask for a certain thing or to obtain a certain rule, choosing delegates who go and represent their views, and collecting funds for the purpose of supporting themselves in some strike which is immediately contemplated—you call that a union, do you not?—Yes.

13,603. But that is a very different thing from an established union of which the members are known and which has its regular officers, such as that union which now exists in the South Yorkshire district, and it is totally different, is it not, in its effect upon the trade?—No, because in 1866 in Staveley it was said to be so; they said that they were connected with all the unions in England according to their own report.

13,604. That they said that they were connected is a very different thing. Do you mean to say that at that time they were a regularly admitted branch of some definite established union?—They said they were according to the report.

13,605. With regard to what you have said about a union being formed in a district, one knows that ever since pits have existed pitmen have been in the habit of meeting together; when they think they have a grievance they determine to obtain its redress, or they consider it, and perhaps some one comes from a neighbouring district and tells them what is done there, and offers them, say 100*l.*, to assist them. That is a totally different thing from an association which exists for eight or 10 years and which has its funds and its registered members, is it not?—I think not. I think it is all the same system.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. George C. Greenwell examined.

13,606. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Have you had considerable experience in the management of collieries?—I have.

13,607. How long does that experience extend over?—About 30 years.

13,608. In what districts?—In the north districts, Northumberland and Durham, and also in Somersetshire and Cheshire.

13,609. And have you had a considerable number of men under your management in all those cases?—Yes.

13,610. You are now the agent of Lord Vernon's colliery in Cheshire, I believe?—Yes.

13,611. How many men are employed in those collieries?—Between 600 and 700.

13,612. Have you had any experience of trades unions, or have you had anything to do with any complaint of strikes in any of these districts?—Yes, I have had a good deal to do with them from first to last. The first strike that I knew anything about personally was the strike of 1844, in Northumberland and Durham. There were about 30,000 men on strike.

13,613. What was the cause of that strike?—That strike arose out of a change from the system of yearly hiring to monthly hiring. Up to April 1844 the men were engaged by the year, and there were certain conditions in those terms which obliged the owners to find the men work, or to pay them if they could not find them work. There was a dispute that arose in 1843 as to the employment of wire ropes, I believe at Wingate Grange Colliery, near Durham. The men refused to work with this wire rope, and lay all idle, and they claimed wages for the time that they were off work. That was resisted, and it led to a long protracted trial in which the men lost their case. However, that and other causes of complaint, fomented by Mr. Roberts, who was employed by the pitmen at the time, so offended the masters with the old system, so to speak, that they resolved that they would not have any more of these yearly agreements, but that they would bind the men by a monthly agreement to commence at the end of the then year during which the men were engaged. Previous to the 5th of April 1844 the men asked for a very large advance of wages. That the owners met by refusal, and by a stipulation that the engagement should only be from month to to month. That led to a strike which lasted 17 or 18 weeks, and which ended in the men going to work on the masters' terms.

13,614. Was that brought about by the union?—Yes; I believe that there was a conference between the English members and the Scotch members of the union at that time; that the English miners were in favour of the strike, but that the Scotch were opposed. At any rate the English miners did strike and the Scotch did not.

13,615. (*Mr. Booth.*) I think you said that the strike failed in its object?—Yes, it failed in its object.

13,616. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Can you refer to any other strike?—Yes, a strike which took place in 1849 and 1850. The union ceased after 1844, but not completely; it still kept a sort of status in the district, and from time to time it was revived, but towards 1849 it got a little more strength, and they then resolved upon another trial with the masters, but they thought then that they would go in a different way to work. They found that when the whole of labour was arrayed against the whole of capital, capital got the better, and they thought that by having isolated strikes here and there, the people on strike being supported by the rest of the union, they could beat the masters in detail, and they selected a colliery that I was at at the time, Marley Hill, to try that plan. The owners of Marley Hill made coke to a large extent, and had a large number of coke ovens to keep supplied with coal. They had contracts with different railways to supply this coke. That, as being a place where the masters could ill afford a strike, was selected for the men to try first. They applied for an increase of wages, which was refused, and they then restricted their labour to an amount which would produce about 3*s.* a day instead of from 3*s.* 9*d.* to 4*s.* They found that that did not do, because the owners got supplies to make up the deficiency from adjoining collieries. They then still further restricted their labour to 1*s.* a day as the wage that they would work for. When it came to that, and the owners found that it was really a strike on the part of all the workmen, they made up their minds to get labour from other districts. They sent down to Scotland and engaged some men, who were brought up. It was necessary to take possession of the houses for the purpose of accommodating these men, and the houses were taken possession of by the owners, but it was necessary to have a large force of police, and so on, in order to keep the peace. There were two collieries near to Marley Hill, from which coals were brought to supply the coke ovens to make up the deficiency occasioned by the restriction on the part of the men. To one of these collieries a few men went one night with blackened faces and drove away the firemen from the boilers, and put a quarter barrel of gunpowder under each boiler and blew them out of their seat. That of course stopped that pit from working. At another pit the coals had to come along the North-eastern Railway, across a deep dene called the Causey dene. On that embankment they put a rail across the line, and sent about 16 wagons down 80 feet. In point of fact, they so intimidated the men of the neighbourhood that they gradually ceased working. However, the owners were determined that they would go on as long as they could, and they did; and the men gave way, and they went in on the same terms as origi-

Mr. G. C. Greenwell.

31 March 1868.

nally. There were never any more strikes there so long as I was there.

13,617. You have referred to the engine being blown up. Have you any reason for attributing that to the union?—The only way that I could connect it with the union was this: When the men were turned out of the houses, there was an action brought against one of the owners for damage done to the furniture, and the person who managed the case for the Plaintiffs was Mr. Roberts who was the legal adviser of the union. And there was also some correspondence which took place at the same time in the newspapers, and that was conducted by a Mr. Martin Jude, who was at that time the secretary of the union.

13,618. Can you refer us to any other strike?—Yes; when I was in Somersetshire we had a strike, when I had the management of Lady Waldegrave's collieries. That was in 1863; it was a short strike and lasted about three weeks. The object of that strike was to make me discharge an underlooker whom I had engaged from the North.

13,619. Do you connect that with any union in any way?—No, it was a simple strike for that simple purpose.

13,620. What would your definition of a union be?—I think, generally speaking, that a combination of workmen which may take place at an individual colliery cannot be called a union, because that is a mere family matter. But I think that immediately it extends beyond the precincts of one colliery, and a combination is made between that colliery and another colliery, then it becomes a union which becomes greater in degree the greater the number of collieries connected together; but still it is a union as soon as it goes beyond the colliery itself.

13,621. (*Mr. Merivale.*) You call it a union though it may not have printed rules?—Yes.

13,622. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Is there any other strike that you wish to refer to?—Yes. We had a strike about two months ago in Cheshire. It was a pretty general strike in the Ashton district which comprised the Poynton district as well.

13,623. Was this at your colliery?—Yes, that strike commenced on the 18th of January this year and lasted very nearly a month, if not quite.

13,624. (*Mr. Hughes.*) What was the object of it?—The object was to prevent taking off the rises that had been made in wages while the times were better.

13,625. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) What was the amount reduced?—8½ per cent.

13,626. That was a reduction which you proposed to make, and the men struck against that reduction?—Yes, the men struck against that reduction.

13,627. How long did they remain out?—Nearly a month.

13,628. And what was the result?—They went to work at the reduction.

13,629. Do you think that the course that the men pursued in that case was the result of a union?—Yes.

13,630. Is the union which you refer to now a union in that district, or does it belong to some other part of the country?—It was in the Ashton district. According to the best of my belief there are different district unions combined together under the head of a union of a somewhat national extent. Each of these separate unions has the management of its own funds and the appointment of its local officers. For instance, there is the Wigan district, and there is the Ashton district, and there are others, and I do not know whether the South Yorkshire district may be stated to be one or not, but the Wigan and Ashton I believe to be branches of the General Association.

13,631. Do you consider that colliery owners lately have had greater difficulty in carrying on their collieries regularly than they used to have?—I consider that they have.

13,632. Do you attribute that to the unions?—Yes. I think that generally speaking when the men are in a union they are not so obedient to order, they are a little more independent in their manner; and if you give a man directions as to what he is to do, he is a little more hoity toity, if I may so speak.

13,633. Do you find yourself that you have greater difficulty in the management than you used to have?—Yes, I think so. I do not think however that I have so much more difficulty as I have heard others say they have had; certainly I have had some difficulty, but when my men have come to me and talked about questions of difference, I have not opposed myself point blank to the union; but to a certain extent so long as they conducted themselves properly, I have admitted a certain right that they have to have a union, I have not gone dead against it, and perhaps that is a reason why it may not have affected me so seriously as others.

13,634. You never objected to employ men on account of their being in a union I suppose?—Not at all.

13,635. As I understand you, what you object to is the interference of a union having no connexion with your collieries?—Yes.

13,636. And interfering in what you consider that you must know better than they can?—Yes.

13,637. (*Mr. Merivale.*) Has there been much fluctuation of wages since you have been familiar with this business, have they gone up and down much?—Yes, a good deal.

13,638. Do you find that the difficulty of dealing with workmen is greater when wages are high or when they are low?—It is greater when they are high.

13,639. Whether there are unions or not, it is not so easy to deal with them in a high wages time as in a low wages time?—No.

13,640. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Do you think that the men in your colliery are capable of protecting themselves without the assistance of the union?—Perfectly well.

13,641. (*Mr. Booth.*) Do you allow free access on the part of your men to yourself on all occasions?—Yes, I always encourage it; I do not like deputations coming to me, I like the body of men coming to me themselves.

13,642. Is it your opinion that the union men care less for the good opinion of the master than those that are not in the union?—Men that are in the union care less for the good opinion of the master than those that are not in the union.

13,643. (*Mr. Merivale.*) Have you noticed any difference in general conduct and character between union and non-union men independently of their demeanour towards their master?—I can only repeat what I have said before, that I think the union men are more independent and less amenable to direction and instruction.

13,644. In general respects, in honesty, morality, and so on, have you noticed any difference?—I would not say anything about honesty and morality, that has not come before me.

13,645. (*Mr. Hughes.*) In the 1844 strike, which failed in your district, do you remember what rise was asked?—I think in some cases as high as 33 per cent.

13,646. Do you remember what the wages were then?—I believe that the wages of the district at that time were about on an average 3*s.* 9*d.* per day.

13,647. And the demand was for 33 per cent. on that?—In some cases; I do not know that it was that in all cases.

13,648. And was no rise obtained?—None whatever I believe.

13,649. The wages are much higher now than the figure you have mentioned?—Yes.

13,650. Can you say how soon after the 1844 strike the rise took place?—No. In 1849, at the time of that strike that I was speaking about, the wages at Marley Hill were something like 3*s.* 9*d.* to 4*s.* a day.

13,651. Then they had not risen between 1844 and 1849?—When I am speaking about the wages in 1849 I am only speaking about the wages in the Marley Hill colliery.

13,652. Then at Marley Hill in 1849 the cause of

the strike was an application for an increase of wages? —Yes, an application for an increase of wages.

13,653. Do you remember what increase they asked?—I cannot exactly say, but according to the best of my belief it would be as near as I can recollect 15 per cent.

13,654. And you say that they did not get that?—No.

13,655. But they have got it since, and more?—I think they may; but it is attributable to the improved state of trade and not to strikes.

13,656. Then, as far as your judgment goes, the very large rise in wages which has taken place all through those districts which were affected by the strikes of 1844 and 1849 has taken place not through the unions but spontaneously?—I think so; I would like to give a little qualification, however; I do not wish to give that answer point blank. I do not mean to say but what unions may have had something to do with the rise of wages, because when times are good people rather than submit to a strike would give an advanced wage, because they do not like the threat of a strike to be carried out.

13,657. You think that the natural wish of coal owners to do the right thing and to treat their men justly would have raised wages as rapidly without the union?—I do not exactly say that.

13,658. I wish to have your judgment on that point?—I think that the increase of prosperity in the business with the increase in the demand for coal increased the demand for labour, and that therefore the price of labour rose because its value increased. I do not think that the owners are such angels that they would give a rise quite of their own accord, but I should say that the owners gave it because they were obliged to do it in order to get labour.

13,659. And that the unions had scarcely any influence on that rise?—I have said that the unions had some effect, because the owners rather than risk the strike would give them an increase in wages.

13,660. (*Mr. Booth.*) But the rise would have taken place from general causes pretty soon without a strike you think?—I think that the demand for labour would have done gradually that which perhaps the unions hastened in the first instance.

13,661. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) What was the course pursued in the last strike which you have referred to in Cheshire; did the men come to you and give any reason for refusing the reduction?—The advances that had taken place previous to last June amounted altogether to about 40 per cent., those advances having been given in a prosperous time of trade, when the price of coal was advancing. In June last year there was a reduction made in the price of coal, and a reduction was made in wages to the amount of something like 15 per cent. or thereabouts. After that there was a still further reduction in the price of a portion of the coal, and a reduction in wages was given notice of corresponding to such an advance as had been given at the previous time for a corresponding advance in the price of coals. But they did not seem quite to see the thing in the light that I did. They thought there ought to have been a general reduction in the price of coal before that reduction in the wages was carried out. But the advance that was taken off was an advance given at their request when there was an advance only on the selling price of a certain portion of the coal, and that was explained to their delegates who came to me.

13,662. You say, "their delegates"—Do you refer to delegates of the union?—No, not of the union, their own deputation. They issued a circular stating their view and the reasons why the reduction ought not to have been made. As soon as I saw their circular I wrote a circular in reply, and I called a meeting of the men, and I read my reply over to the meeting, and I asked them (there was nothing in this which I read to them excepting what I had told the deputation) if their deputation had told them all those things; and on their replying in the negative, I said, "It appears "to me that your deputation is not much to be re- "lied upon; and in future I shall deal with no deputa- "tion, but with you yourselves. My answer to you "yourselves is this—I give you the option of going to "work upon the reduction, or I will leave the matter "to any fair arbitration." They said that they would like to have two or three days to consider about it, and at the end of three days they went to work.

13,663. Then you have had no direct communication with any delegates belonging to the union?—No, none at all, only with our own men.

13,664. (*Lord Elcho.*) Have you ever had any communication with delegates from the union? I mean you yourself personally?—No, but our men were in constant communication with the Ashton union.

13,665. You said, some time ago, in answer to a question put to you by Lord Lichfield, that you preferred meeting the men in a body to meeting deputations from them. Why was that? Did you find it more difficult to deal with deputations?—I always have found it best to deal with the whole body of the men. I have had very few occasions on which it has been necessary to meet our men at Poynton since I have been there, but two or three times I have had deputations, and two or three times I have had the whole body of the men, and I have been a little in hesitation as to the best plan. At one time I had a great aversion to meeting a body of men, but now I have got over that, and at that time I thought that I could rather deal with the men through their representatives than as a mass. I have tried both ways, but I have come to the conclusion that the best way for the master to deal with the men is to deal with them as a body.

13,666. What is the objection you find to dealing with individuals?—That they misrepresent things.

13,667. Your objection is that the representatives do not take back to the body whom they represent a fair account of what has passed between you and them?—That is my experience.

13,668. Is that which you say is not a fair account purposely given unfairly, or is it that they do not quite understand what has passed between you and them?—I used to be of opinion that it was because they did not understand what passed between us; but this last instance clearly showed me that they intentionally suppressed what I wished them to tell the workmen.

13,669. At what period of the strike did that interview take place?—At the commencement.

13,670. And you think that if there had been a fair representation of what your intentions were, the strike would not have been continued?—I think so. Of course it would not be quite fair to give as a reason for that opinion that when I did meet the men they did go to work, because it might be said that they were tired of fighting then; but I believe that if I had met the body of men first, instead of the deputation, the strike would not have lasted a week.

13,671. These men who carried back, as your impression is, a purposely unfair account, were those who came on the part of your own men, some might be unionists and some not I suppose?—I believe that at that time they were nearly all unionists.

13,672. At that time you were dealing then with the representatives of a union practically?—Yes.

13,673. You say that they gave an unfair representation of what passed between you, and you think that they did so purposely? What was their object do you suppose?—I can only suppose that they did it for the purpose of continuing the strike for one thing, and perhaps for mischief. I think the probability is that this may be the true state of the case: they had been appointed as representatives of the men; they had been probably leading the men to suppose that if they continued the strike they would gain their object, and they did not like to give the men ground for supposing that their advice had been bad advice.

13,674. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) In what respect did they misrepresent?—They concealed what I had said —they did not say what I had said; it was a misrepresentation by omission.

Mr. G. C. Greenwell.

31 March 1868.

13,675. (*Mr. Booth.*) May it not be the case also that men coming as representatives of others, and as advocates for others, may feel bound to insist with some degree of pertinacity upon their rights, and may be less open to any reasons that you may have to offer them than the body of the men would be?—Yes; that may be so.

13,676. So that the body of the men might have yielded to your reasons when the advocates did not feel at liberty to do so?—Yes, perhaps.

13,677. These men have a sort of *amour propre* in the whole matter, and did not like to go to the men and admit that they had given bad advice?

13,678. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) What did they omit to tell the men?—They did not explain to the men the grounds of the reduction.

13,679. (*Lord Elcho.*) You said although as a rule you did not think that unions affected the rate of wages, still they exercised, you thought, this influence, that in prosperous times they hastened a rise?—Yes, I think so.

13,680. Do you think that in unprosperous times, if one may use that word, that is to say in bad times, they equally check a fall?—I think they do, something in the same way.

13,681. Assuming that they do both, that they hasten a rise, and that they check a fall, and that so far they are sometimes successful, yet they very often fail in both, do they not?—Yes.

13,682. Assuming that occasionally they are successful in both, occasionally they fail in both?—Yes.

13,683. Occasionally they are accompanied by strikes?—Yes.

13,684. Where they are accompanied by strikes, whether they succeed or fail, their is a considerable amount of suffering and distress?—Yes.

13,685. Do you believe that setting the success against the failure, accompanied as they both are by these circumstances of distress, upon the whole the unions are beneficial to the working men as regards the question of wages and wages alone?—I believe as a matter of pounds, shillings, and pence, that they are most detrimental to the working men.

13,686. You believe that if there were a long debtor and creditor account made out since there have been unions, as a question of wages only the account would be very much against the benefit of the unions?—Very much against them.

13,687. (*Mr. Merivale.*) Do you believe that on the whole the men would be better off if they had never struck at all?—I believe that the men would be better off if they had never struck at all, no question about it.

13,688. (*Lord Elcho.*) There are other questions, are there not, in which unions take an active interest, such as the employment of women in mines, and such as the employment of children, such as the hours of labour, and such as weighing and those things?—Yes, I have seen a great deal about that.

13,689. There have been considerable changes introduced in all those circumstances, have there not?—As regards the employment of women I do not know that the prevention of that was the result of any union action on the part of the men. As to the weighing of the coals again, I am not perfectly clear that there has been anything decided done on account of any action of unions.

13,690. There has recently been a committee sitting on the employment of children, has there not, to consider the ages at which they should be employed, and the nature of their employment, and also the weighing at the pit's mouth?—Yes, but I am not aware that there has been any legislation on the point.

13,691. There has been a committee, and that committee has reported, perhaps you are aware?—I did not know that.

13,692. Are you aware that action in that matter by the miners was taken at the instance of the union, or some body of men that might be said to represent them in the union?—I do not know the fact; it is possible that it may be so, and personally I believe it was.

13,693. So that the action of the unions may have been beneficial in that respect?—Supposing that that which they gave in evidence before the Select Committee is carried out by Parliament, as they wish it, then I should consider that the union men have been doing something.

13,694. Take the subject of the employment of women in pits, do not you think it is a good thing that women are excluded from pits?—I think so.

13,695. And supposing it were shown before this Commission that that movement, in regard to the exclusion of women from pits, had originated with unions, you would admit then that in that respect the unions had acted beneficially?—Yes; decidedly so.

13,696. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You say you are not sure that this movement came from the unions. Did it come from the masters?—No; I think not. I believe it came from the unions.

13,697. Did not many of the masters oppose it?—That I do not know.

13,698. (*Lord Elcho.*) What do you say on the question of employing women at the pit's mouth?—I have seen women employed at the pit's mouth, and I do not very much like to see them employed at the pit's mouth; but I do not know that there is any good reason why they should not be.

13,699. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Are women employed at the pit's mouth at the Poynton Collieries?—No; they are employed at the pit's mouth in Lancashire, but not in Cheshire.

13,700. At what age are boys employed by you?—None under 12 years of age are employed by us at Poynton.

13,701. (*Mr. Booth.*) Do you see any objection to women being employed in that way if it does not interfere with their home duties?—No.

13,702. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Do you know any instances where unions have interfered to require greater precautions for the safety of the workers in the pit?—I do not know of any case.

13,703. (*Lord Elcho.*) With regard to weighing, there was a weighing clause introduced, was there not, in 1860?—I do not think it is compulsory.

13,704. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Surely it is compulsory if it is demanded?—If it is demanded, perhaps it is.

13,705. The men have a right to appoint a weighman if they elect him?—I think, if I recollect right, it is weighing or some system of measuring by some fixed standard that the Act prescribes.

13,706. (*Lord Elcho.*) We will take another branch of the subject, namely, the ventilation of mines and accidents in mines. There have been frequent movements in reference to that in Parliament. Are you aware whether in that matter action has or has not been taken by unions?—At the time of the renewal of the Inspection Acts I think there has been something done.

13,707. You cannot speak as to whether these unions, or the representatives of these unions, have or have not for a course of years taken an active part in bringing these questions before Government, and whether we may assume from that that legislation to a great extent has been due to that?—Whenever there has been a select committee on the point they have always given evidence on it, and I have no doubt that when evidence has been given it has been fairly considered.

13,708. With regard to these select committees, and this action on the part of the legislature, do not you think it might be shown perhaps that that had resulted in a great measure from the action of the men themselves?—It may be so, but it must be necessarily a mere matter of opinion because one cannot tell what reasons members of Parliament have for arriving at certain conclusions. There is certain evidence one reads, and that evidence was given with a certain intention, and that evidence had reference to questions of safety, no doubt, but how far that may have entered into the minds of the committee in making certain recommendations of course one does not know.

13,709. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Have any cases of in-

timidation come under your notice in connexion with these strikes?—I think that that case which I mentioned at Marley Hill of the blowing up of the boilers and the turning of the waggons off the railway (and there were one or two cases of sending gunpowder down chimneys), were cases in point.

13,710. You have had no case of that sort at the Poynton Colliery?—No.

13,711. You have had no difficulty in the strike there?—No, except that it has been a strike, the mildest one that I ever knew.

13,712. The men I suppose are regularly employed at that colliery?—Yes.

13,713. Is there any accident fund or sick fund connected with that colliery?—An accident fund and several benefit societies as well.

Mr. G. C. Greenwell.

31 March 1868.

13,714. And are the men compelled to contribute to them?—It is an understanding that they join the accident fund, but so far as the benefit societies are concerned it is entirely optional on their part. As far as the accident fund goes they would not like not to subscribe to it.

13,715. How much do they subscribe?—They subscribe 4*d.* a fortnight. They used to subscribe 5*d.* in one fortnight and 4*d.* in the other, but a year and a half ago I thought that the funds were in a condition to allow it to be 4*d.* each fortnight instead of 4*d.* and 5*d.*

The witness withdrew.

Mr. Thomas Henshaw examined.

Mr. T. Henshaw.

13,716. (*Chairman.*) I believe that you have been a collier nearly all your working time, and that you have been at Staveley for eight years past?—Yes.

13,717. Do you remember the Ere-wash valley strike of 1844?—Yes.

13,718. Were you one of the men that went out in that strike?—Yes.

13,719. How long did you stop out?—Between two and three months.

13,720. You were in the union, I think, before the strike began. How long had you been a member?—About a fortnight.

13,721. When the strike began did you expect to have an allowance for the time that you were out of work?—Yes; delegates that came to the district promised us that we should have an allowance.

13,722. Could you get any?—No.

13,723. Not during the three or four months?—I never had a farthing.

13,724. You applied for it, of course? What answer did you get?—They kept saying that if I would come on Monday morning I should have it; but on Monday morning the money never came.

13,725. When you came on Monday there was no money forthcoming?—No.

13,726. Was there any story that some money had been carried away?—Yes, it was supposed to have been carried away by one of these delegates that used to lecture at the different market towns, he has never worked since.

13,727. That was in 1844. In 1857 was there another strike?—Yes.

13,728. Where were you working then?—I was working under the Wingerworth Company.

13,729. Did delegates come there?—Yes, some delegates came from Yorkshire and persuaded us to form a union. I had a good deal of talk with one of the delegates who appeared to be the most intelligent, and I asked him about what they were getting in Yorkshire, and how they got the coal, and so on, and I showed him that I was doing better without a union than they were doing with a union in Yorkshire; he told me that we were a great deal better off than they were, and he advised me to go on with my work; the delegates called a meeting and I went to the meeting at night, and they chose me to be on the committee, and as I was in a room full of men I did not like to object to have my name put down, but I did not mean to have anything to do with the union; it was then talked about, and it was told to my masters that I would join the union.

13,730. You did allow your name to be put down?—Yes, I had not joined the union, I had had my name put down, but I never paid any money? so I was left to go on with the work. There were many of them that had notice and some got turned off, and then it broke up. I tried all I could to persuade men to have nothing to do with it.

13,731. That attempt to form a union failed altogether, did it not?—Yes, it failed.

13,732. There was another attempt to form a union in 1864, I believe?—Yes; I was at Staveley at that time.

13,733. Did delegates come and speak in favour of the union?—Yes.

13,734. And did any of your men join?—Yes, there were a good many joined; about 200 from different collieries at Staveley, and those that joined paid 1*s.* a piece, and we send our delegates down into Yorkshire for them to bring a report of the system on which they carried on the union there, and to know whether they would be agreeable for the Staveley colliers to join that union, and they support us in case of strike. So they went and they came back again, and they paid their expenses out of the same money that was subscribed. When they brought their report the masters got to know that we had started this union, and they gave many men notice, and some they turned off; and one of the men was turned off for going into Yorkshire to bring these reports back, and as he had no money to go away with I told this man that we had better draw this bit of money at the public-house where we had met. So I sent him up to the public-house and told the landlord we had come up to draw the 6*l.* (he had about 6*l.*); the landlord handed us over the money and we gave Jonas Simmonds the delegate 35*s.*, part of the rest we gave back to the subscribers, and part we spent in drink.

13,735. That was the man that had been for you into Yorkshire and was turned off, to whom you gave this 35*s.*?—Yes.

13,736. I believe as far as you could advise the men you have advised the men against joining the union?—Yes, I have.

13,737. Have you had any other attempts to set up a union in your neighbourhood?—Yes; in 1866 there was a great attempt to start a union in our neighbourhood, and a great many joined as far as I could understand. I never went to any of these union meetings, but I was acquainted with many others who did. These delegates had put these men on to try to win me over to join the union. It was given out that there was going to be a great demonstration at Staveley; we had union for breakfast every morning, and the same for supper; they could talk about nothing else. I told them it would come to nought.

13,738. Then it did not succeed, as far as I understand from the paper of your evidence that has been put into my hand?—No; but they told me that I had a deal better join the union, and that those who joined were going to have 8*s.* a day for eight hours; great misery and distress was brought upon the men and their families by the attempt to form this last union, and I believe that if the men had come to the masters and discussed any grievances they thought they had, the masters would have listened to them and they might have settled their affairs better than Brown or any other of the delegates.

13,739. (*Lord Elcho.*) Is Brown a very fine speaker?—I never heard him. I told them that if they had 8*s.* for eight hours I should have a fine lot of money, because I knew that I could do as much again in a day as they did. I said that they could not afford to pay such men such a lot of money. They went on in this way for a while, and as far as I understand Brown had been fetched into the neighbourhood, and

Mr. T. Henshaw.

31 March 1868.

he knew no more about the system of hard work in the pit than this table, and after he had been going up and down the country it dropped to 4*s.* and 5*s.* 6*d.* So I got the men that did not join the union and I told them that if this system were allowed to go on they would ruin all this part of the country. So we agreed to form ourselves into a non-unionist society, as it was called, and I was one of the lecturers, and I told the master that I would not work for 4*s.* 6*d.* or 5*s.* or 5*s.* 6*d.*, and I would not. And I told him that if I could get more money anywhere else I would not stop there another day. By these meetings, and talking with men in the pit and as we went to work backwards and forwards, we succeeded in persuading many that had joined the union to give the union up, because they were clamming (that is, starving), and some of the wives and children were going about barefooted and barelegged. We succeeded in persuading a lot of the men that had joined it not to belong to it. Then the masters took a very wise view of the subject. They simply gave all the men notice, that they could either leave the work, or else come out of the union and go on with the work. The pits were full of men directly.

13,740. (*Chairman.*) You have worked as your own choice and your own inclination has guided you?—Yes.

13,741. And you think that that would be the best plan for the body of workmen?—Yes.

13,742. (*Lord Elcho.*) As to the benefit fund, it is the fact, is it not, that a certain sum is deducted from the wages at the Staveley Works, which forms a benefit fund?—Yes.

13,743. That is done with the full consent and knowledge of all concerned, is it not?—Yes.

13,744. Do you consider that a good plan?—I do.

13,745. And it works well?—Yes.

13,746. Have the men a control over that fund?—Yes.

13,747. How have they that control?—They have the control in either raising the fee or lowering it.

13,748. How do they do that, through whom?—A certain number of the workmen who form the committee, and the managing director, and the other gentlemen of the firm.

13,749. As I understand from what I have heard, the committee consists of the manager, certain headmen in certain departments, and certain other representatives who are elected from the different pits by ballot; is that so?—Yes.

13,750. And that committee has a complete management of this fund?—Yes.

13,751. With the full knowledge of all the subscribers, they are satisfied with the formation of the committee as to management?—I never heard a complaint.

13,752. Have the subscribers, or those whose money is taken to form this fund, a full knowledge of the sums so taken, the total amount, and how it is expended?—There is a notice put up on every pit bank every month.

13,753. Every month there is a notice put up, signed by whom?—The committee-men, of what money is paid out and what is paid in.

13,754. As to these elected members, how often are they elected, annually or monthly?—I think annually.

13,755. There has been no public question ever raised among the workmen of the pit as to whether this fund was or was not properly applied?—I have not heard a word of complaint.

13,756. You have heard no complaint of there being any secresy in the management of it?—I do not see how there can be any secresy where there is a notice every month.

13,757. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You say that a committee has the management of this fund; the committee is composed of how many of the employers?—I think there are nine of the workmen. I have been on the committee; I think it is nine.

13,758. And nine of the others?—I do not know how that is.

13,759. The seventh rule says that "The affairs of "this club shall be conducted by a managing com- "mittee, and shall consist of the colliery viewer, "secretary of the company, foundry manager, super- "intendent of works, accountant, foreman fitter, assis- "tant viewer, surveyor, and foundry foreman;" those "are all the officers?—Yes.

13,760. Who is their chairman?—Mr. Markham sometimes, and sometimes others.

13,761. But Mr. Markham is a member of the committee besides those nine officers?—Yes.

13,762. That gives him a majority, I suppose?—Yes, I suppose it does.

13,763. Supposing you want to alter a rule, how can you alter it?—Very likely there would not be any difference of opinion about the rule; it would go by vote.

13,764. You say you never heard of any complaint?—No.

13,765. Was not there a complaint made about the doctor?—That was before this accident fund started.

13,766. There was a sick fund then?—Yes.

13,767. What was their complaint about the doctor?—I do not know; I cannot remember to tell you.

13,768. You do not remember that dispute?—There were several disputes. They all fell to the ground.

13,769. How do you mean "fell to the ground"? Did not the men complain that they had not the doctor they wanted?—Some said that they had not.

13,770. Did they mention it to Mr. Markham?—Yes.

13,771. What did Mr. Markham say?—He said that they might have any doctor they liked.

13,772. Did he change the doctor?—It went by a vote through the colliery. Another doctor was proposed, and it went by the vote; and the men who wanted to change the doctor lost; and the man whom they employed for the doctor under those circumstances has brought another man in partnership with him into the neighbourhood, and so we have three doctors now where there were but two before.

13,773. So that you consider in fact you have quite as much your own way as you ought to have?—Yes.

13,774. When you started this non-unionist society what were your objects in starting it?—I thought that if we allowed Brown to go on with his doctrine in the neighbourhood we should have to work for about half of the money that we were working for.

13,775. And so you thought that you would establish a union to keep the wages up?—No; it was not a union.

13,776. What was it? It was a non-unionist union I suppose?—That was what the public had a mind to call it.

13,777. What did you call it?—A free labour society. We wanted nothing but liberty and freedom of labour.

13,778. But you said just now that you would have opposed any reduction of wages in that society?—Yes; there was not a proposal to reduce the wages, only when the union delegates were preaching in the neighbourhood.

13,779. But supposing there had been a proposition to your non-unionist society to reduce wages, you would have thought it right to take any step you could to keep them as they were?—We would have advised and consulted with them on the subject.

13,780. You said you would have left your work?—I would if I could have got better wages.

13,781. And you thought the non-unionist society would be right in supporting the men?—There was nothing to support them with.

13,782. But when you established a non-unionist society, you did not mean to establish it for nothing?—The public called it that; but we called it a free labour society.

13,783. When you established a free labour society,

you meant to have some subscription, I suppose ?—No.

13,784. Who did you mean to pay for it ?—We did it for the good of the public. We had not a farthing from them. I was working regularly, and did not want anybody to pay me.

13,785. What you did was to establish a free labour society ?—Yes.

13,786. Who paid the expenses ?—No one paid any expenses at all ; everybody his own.

13,787. It was hardly a society, was it ? Had you any rules ?—We had no rules, we went by word of mouth ; there was no contribution whatever.

13,788. There was no contribution, and there were no rules ?—No.

13,789. So in fact it was no society ?—It was what the public had a mind to call it, they called it a non-unionist society, and we called it the Free Labour Society.

13,790. In fact if you had left your work because you thought you could get work better elsewhere, that society would not have helped you ?—I did not want any help.

13,791. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You have been a member of the union yourself in former days ?—Yes.

13,792. Have you ever held office ?—Yes.

13,793. What office ?—I was one of the committee.

13,794. Were you ever treasurer ?—No ; I should have kept the funds myself if I had been.

13,795. Did you ever say that in public ?—No.

13,796. You never made a speech in which you said you had actually done so ?—No, I never made a speech to that effect.

13,797. You were present, were you not, at the dinner with which the establishment of the free labour association was begun ?—Oh no, there was no dinner given on that account.

13,798. On what account was the dinner given ?—There was a dinner given because we said the whole country round was clamming. The delegates promised them all round that they should have this money, and the whole of the country was in a bad state, and we begged a bullock of the master and some drink, and we all had it that had a mind to eat it. what were called the union men had it, but I had a good dinner at home.

13,799. As a matter of fact the company found a bullock and barrels of beer, and there was a great feast ?—A little oratorio, and we broke the union up.

13,800. There was a good deal of intoxication I suppose ?—I never saw anybody intoxicated, they had not enough for that.

13,801. Let us know more about this dinner ; you seem to connect the breaking up of the union with the dinner, just tell us how that is ?—300 or 400 men that had been sticking to the union, and who were going with empty stomachs, when they saw this beef were ready to swallow it whole if they could, and they all flocked in and had a share of it, and went to work the next morning.

13,802. And you think the dinner had something to do with the breaking up of the union ?—It had a good effect I think.

13,803. Were there any special allowances or advances made at the time to the men who consented to give up the union ?—No, not that I know of.

13,804. Not an advance, or an allowance equivalent to it ?—I never heard anything of the kind.

13,805. What place do you hold now ? Are you a manager of any kind ?—Yes, I am manager of a stall ; there are two of us, and I am one.

13,806. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Will you describe that a little more fully ?—The stall-men take the charge of a job. There are some stalls 40 yards long, some 50, and others 90 or 100. They let it out to men. They have charge of the place, and as to all men that work under them, they are responsible in a certain degree to make them safe because the inferior class of men, many of them are not capable of making the places safe, and we work for ourselves, although we have it by the ton price, by contract.

13,807. Do you pay those men ?—Yes, they have their work at so much a yard, and the loaders have it at so much a ton. We all work for ourselves, and try to do the best for ourselves ; but these stall men in general are considered the best class of men, because the others could not do the stallmen's work, and very often they could not do above three parts as much work.

13,808. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You contract to do a certain piece of work, and you hire men under you to do it for you ?—They come to work and have it on the yard price, and if they have done one yard they pay them one yard for it, and if they do 20 yards they are still paid.

13,809. They are not paid by the ton ?—No, the loaders are paid by the ton.

13,810. What do you pay the men immediately under you ?—I pay them what they can get.

13,811. How many men have you got under you ?—Three.

13,812. Did you pay the men last Saturday ?—Yes.

13,813. What did you pay them last Saturday ?—It is not my business to tell you. They, perhaps, would grumble. At the price I pay the men by the yard I can get 7*s.* 6*d.* a day comfortably.

13,814. I want to know what the man gets ?—I shall not tell you ; I never worked for less than 5*s.* I will tell you that.

13,815. I want to know what you pay the men under you ?—I shall not tell you that.

13,816. (*Mr. Booth.*) You would tell us how much a person would be able to earn at that work ?—I can get 7*s.* 6*d.* a day.

13,817. A person in a situation under you, a good workman, working diligently, could get as much as 7*s.* 6*d.* a day ?—There are some men that can get more than I can.

13,818. (*Mr. Merivale.*) How are your men paid who work by the day ?—When a man does a day's work for us we give 5*s.* 6*d.*, and some as much as 6*s.*

13,819. (*Mr. Harrison.*) What do you call that system in your part of the country, the butty system, is it not ?—No, the stall-worked system. The butty system is where a man has a pit, and all the other men are under him.

13,820. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You have had three sons in the union, I think ?—Yes.

13,821. Are they in the union still ?—One is not, because he is dead ; one is in the union. They gave him notice to leave when he joined the union, and I told him when he left home, when he left off working with his hands, he must give over eating with his mouth, so they sent him off, and he went and got a job elsewhere, and I got him a character from Mr. Campbell.

13,822. He is still in the union, is he ?—I do not know ; I never asked him the question.

13,823. You said that they tried to persuade you to go into the union, and you tried to persuade them to come out ?—Yes.

13,824. Neither side were successful ?—I thought I could do without it. Many of these delegates can persuade the men to live on the union.

13,825. Your sons are not delegates, are they ?—They said that one of them lectured a bit. I do not know whether he was.

13,826. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) How many of the men in the colliery belong to your free labour society ?—I think that we had a good deal towards a thousand. We had these men who took the names down, and when this bullock eating came I do not know then how many we had.

13,827. (*Mr. Hughes.*) I should think that you had them all then ?—I think we had.

13,828. (*Mr. Harrison.*) The Free Labour Association at Staveley really consisted of the managers entering the names of men off from the pay list ?—No, we did it ourselves.

13,829. The men did not put their names down voluntarily, did they ?—Yes they did, all of them ; we would not have them unless they did it voluntarily.

Mr. T. Henshaw.

31 March 1868.

13,830. (*Mr. Hughes.*) What did they expect to get by it?—To get nothing, only to work quiet, and free from delegates going round the country. We expected to get a fair day's wage for a fair day's work.

13,831. (*Mr. Merivale.*) I suppose when a man is known to belong to the free labour society he is not afraid of being troubled with delegates much?—I am not afraid of being troubled with them much.

13,832. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) How was it arranged that you came here to give evidence to-day?—We heard talk of this Trades' Union Commission, and I said I should like just to say a word to you about this union job.

13,833. To whom did you say that?—To the master I worked under.

13,834. To Mr. Markham?—No, I did not say so to him, but to the gaffer at the pit.

13,835. How did it come about that you came up here?—We read the reports in the newspapers.

13,836. Did you write up here?—No.

13,837. (*Mr. Hughes.*) It is pretty well known that you will break down the unions if you can, is it not?—I am telling you that I shall.

13,838. I suppose that is probably the reason that you were selected, is it not?—I do not know that it is.

13,389. It is known that you have been a leader on the other side?—I have not been a leader.

13,840. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Did not you present Mr. Markham with a testimonial on behalf of the men to celebrate this movement?—No; we presented him with a testimonial for assisting us in the freedom of our labour.

13,841. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Had the men working in the pit with you anything to do with your coming up?—No.

13,842. Then you were selected by Mr. Markham to come and give evidence?—No, it was the gaffer at the pit.

13,843. At any rate you were selected by an overman, the men in the pit had nothing to do with it?—I do not know that any of them had anything to do with it.

13,844. (*Chairman.*) Did you say that the workmen had a voice in raising or lowering the pay in the accident fund?—Yes.

13,845. Have they any voice in fixing the amount of subscription paid?—As to the amount of subscription I do not think it will be altered, but in case a man is sick or lame he makes an application to some of the committee, and they make a report to the committee, and they make him a grant of something out of the fund towards bettering his circumstances.

13,846. That is to say that the workmen have a voice in the amount given to the man if he is sick or has had an accident?—Yes.

13,847. Not in the amount of subscription? The subscription is a given sum, 2*d.* a week, or whatever it is?—The allowance is 5*s.* a week from the accident fund, and 5*s.* a week from the sick fund.

13,848. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Have you made the statement you have made here to anybody before you came up?—No.

13,849. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Did not you go and make it at the office of the company?—No.

13,850. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) I understood you just now to say you thought that Mr. Markham had acted very wisely in refusing to employ any union men in his colliery?—Yes, I do.

13,851. Is that the opinion of many of the men working in the colliery?—Yes.

13,852. A large proportion of them?—All that I talk with. There are plenty that I do not know and do not talk with, but all that I am acquainted with agree with me that we are better off and that they are able to raise our wages more without the union than with it.

13,853. But have the men at any time discussed among themselves the desirability of giving evidence before this Commission?—I have not heard them, only what I have dealt with.

13,854. But do not you think that it would have been more satisfactory if we had been able to feel that you represented the general feeling of the men in the pit, which you might have done if you had had any meeting on the subject?—I am sure they would have agreed for me to come.

13,855. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You are a sort of Brown of the anti-union movement. Do not you hold the same position as he does? You take the lead and make speeches?—I do not know that. I never took the lead. What I did I was put on to by the goodwill of the men who worked on the colliery, because those who know me know that I always wish a man to have a fair day's wage for a fair day's work.

13,856. (*Mr. Hughes.*) As to those 78 men who were dismissed when they joined the union, have you their goodwill?—I never consulted them to know whether I stood high in their estimation or not.

13,857. You opposed them as violently as you could?—Yes.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. E. Smith

Mr. Elijah Smith examined.

13,858. (*Chairman.*) You have been a collier at Staveley I think for seven years?—Yes.

13,859. Were you employed in 1844 at the time of the great strike?—I had just commenced as a boy to be employed.

13,860. How long were you out of employment at that strike?—24 weeks.

13,861. What was your age then?—I was just turned 10.

13,862. You were a boy working in the colliery, I suppose?—I had just commenced.

13,863. Was your father in the strike too?—Yes; he was in the strike. He had a house of his own, and through being in the strike 24 weeks he had to mortgage it. He mortgaged it for 80*l.*, and he never got over that while he lived.

13,864. Was that debt of 80*l.* brought upon him by the strike?—Yes, by the strike, he having a large family.

13,865. I do not understand how he came to a loss of 80*l.*?—There was a large family of us, 11 sons, big boys.

13,866. And they were all of them stopped from work?—Yes; there was no pay in 1844 from the union; they never received a farthing.

13,867. Why did he not receive anything from the union?—It was a failure. There were delegates who kept coming and saying there would be money coming this time and the other time, but there was never any that came. There was Mr. Roberts from Manchester; he came came down to some young men who got into trouble by intimidating a foreman of a colliery, and he lectured to them, and that day I was present, and money was to come the following Monday, but none did come.

13,868. Was there an attempt two years ago to establish a union at Staveley in 1866?—Yes; there was an attempt to establish a union at Clay Cross and Staveley.

13,869. Was there a large body of men that came across to your colliery or to your house?—They came and brought brick ends, and I do not know what, and I and my wife and three children sat by the fire, and they said I had no occasion to be out of the union (I was not compelled to be out) for I had a little money, and they thought that would stand me without pay from the union, and I had a right to join it; and therefore that night I was compelled to go up to the place where they held the meeting, and they proposed me for secretary, and I was obliged to take it. I could not resist it.

13,870. You agreed to be secretary that night, did you?—Yes.

13,871. What was the consequence of that on the part of your employers?—They gave me notice the following Saturday.

13,872. Upon that did you go out on strike?—Yes; 14 weeks I was out on strike.

13,873. What did you receive?—I received 8*s.* a week for some time; of that, with 6*s.* for incidental expenses, and 5*s.* a day for delegation to Chesterfield when we went (some days, not all the days); and then they agreed to give me 6*s.* in addition to that to commission the men to still stick to the union, and get them to pay in secret. I was to go round to the men's houses to collect the money, so that they might meet together in a body.

13,874. In going round during the strike did you see whether there was much distress occasioned by the strike?—Yes, there was. I myself found money for one, and I shall never get it back again, for he will never be able to give it to me. It was a 23*l.* loss to me in 14 weeks.

13,875. Since that have you had anything to do with unions at all?—Oh no.

13,876. Do you belong to the Free Labour Society?—I intend to belong to it. I did not wish to belong to the union. I wanted to keep out of it. I kept out of it from November until they came from Speedwell and forced us.

13,877. That is to say, a large body of men came?—Yes.

13,878. And you did not like to stand against them?—No.

13,879. They did not threaten violence, did they?—They threatened to smash my windows, and I have three children and a wife there, and they would have thrown brick ends in if I had objected to be a union man.

13,880. You gave your assent under those circumstances?—Yes.

13,881. And they appointed you secretary?—Yes.

13,882. And it was a loss to you of 23*l.*?—Yes.

13,883. (*Mr. Booth*). You were afraid to decline to undertake the office?—Yes, I dared not. What was I to do in a room full of men—all union men?

13,884. You felt persuaded, whether it was really the case or not, that some violence would follow?—Yes; I could not resist I am certain. I had to join or they would have bumped me well.

13,885. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Do you take a contract and have men to work under you?—I have nobody to work under me. My contract is for myself.

13,886. (*Mr. Harrison.*) What are you?—I am a header.

13,887. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Whom are you paid by?—I am paid by the company.

13,888. (*Chairman.*) What is a header's work?—Making roads for the people to walk on and for the tub to be brought to bank.

13,889. Have you opportunity to know what wages the colliers are getting at other collieries?—Yes.

13,890. Do you know whether yours are paid as much as the men in the unions in Yorkshire?—Yes, I know that I am paid as well as anyone in Yorkshire.

13,891. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You are paid by the day, are you not?—No, I am paid by contract; if I drive a yard I am paid so much.

13,892. You have nothing to do with the getting of the coal?—Yes.

18,893. Indirectly; but you are not paid for any coal you get, are you?—Yes, so much per ton, along with the yard price.

13,894. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You have so much per yard for driving the head, and so much for the coal you cut as well?—Yes.

13,895. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) How is it you have nobody under you, because the last witness told us that the work at the colliery was done by a contractor with two or three men under him?—In the stalls they have ordinary men under them. My work is the same as what theirs is in the stalls.

13,896. (*Mr. Hughes.*) In 1844 you were 10 years old?—Yes.

13,897. You were working in the colliery?—Yes, I began to work in the colliery then.

13,898. You were working in the colliery then at the time that that great strike took place in 1844?—Yes.

13,899. Supposing a great strike were to take place now, could boys of that age be working in the colliery?—They could not.

13,900. Why not?—Because it is prohibited by Act of Parliament.

13,901. Do you know how that Act was obtained?—No.

13,902. Did you ever hear that it was obtained by the influence of the union?—No, I never heard that it was obtained by any influence of any union.

13,903. Who do you think started the agitation which obtained that Act?—I do not know.

13,904. Are not your colliers interested in that matter?—It may be, but I have not been interested in it.

13,905. You do not care whether boys or girls work in collieries or not?—Such a case has not come under my knowledge since I have come out.

13,906. Do not you think it is a much better thing that they should not be employed at that early age?—Yes.

13,907. And supposing that anybody can prove to you that the unions had made that change you would think they had done a good thing for the trade?—That they had done a good thing for the population.

13,908. And for the colliers?—Certainly for the colliers.

13,909. (*Mr. Booth.*) Have you been concerned in any other strikes than those you have mentioned?—No.

13,910. Are the wages in the Staveley Colliery, where there is no union, generally higher or lower than in the neighbouring collieries where unions are prevalent?—I have found them better. I have been up in Yorshire a little bit, but I have had better remuneration at Staveley for my work than I have had at any other colliery I have ever worked at.

13,911. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Do you remember when the 78 men were sent away for being unionists?—Yes, I remember the talk of their being sent away, and receiving notice.

13,912. They were sent away by Mr. Markham?—Yes.

13,913. Did you tell Mr. Markham the names?—No.

13,914. How did he find it out?—I cannot tell how he found it out.

13,915. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Do you find that the men who are working by contract under the stall managers (I think they call them) are equally satisfied with the wages they get there?—I have not heard any complaining about it, and I should think a man would be at liberty to complain where he makes his own contract; he must give notice if he wishes to leave his place and better himself.

13,916. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Did you show Mr. Markham any balance sheets or lists of the union while you were secretary?—No, I never had any communication with him until I went to get employment, and that was when the union had given over bringing pay; I did not get my pay; they did not pay the men, and there was a great deal of misery.

13,917. You said that you got 8*s.* a week for some time?—Yes, for some time, but not all of that time.

13,918. And you got 6*s.* extra for going round and collecting money?—Yes.

13,919. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Who sent you up here?—I saw a paragraph in the paper myself, and I thought that I should like to come up here. I discussed the thing with my employer, that is the foreman of the pit, I told him what I had seen, and that I should like to come.

13,920. He sent up an outline of your evidence I suppose?—Yes, we talked things over.

Mr. E. Smith.
31 March 1868.

13,921. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You never joined the union till this night they came to you?—No.

13,922. Did you pay any subscription to the union?—I had to pay the following Saturday when the contributions were taken.

13,923. At that time the strike had begun?—There were several parties that had had notice before.

13,924. How many weeks was it after that time before the strike broke out in your pit?—It had broken out for some time. As they found them out, they were locked out as they call it.

13,925. They sent away every man they found out?—Yes.

13,926. How many weeks did you pay your subscriptions before you were found out?—I did not pay one subscription before I was found out, and my master threatened me with notice as soon as he heard I was one.

13,927. You never paid anything to the union, did you?—I paid all along till I was locked out. The rule was this, that a person paid 1*s.* contribution, and I paid that till I left off work, and then it was 6*d.* a week.

13,928. And you got back 8*s.* a week for some time?—Yes, for some of the time I was out. I do not mean the whole time.

13,929. What was the name of the union?—They called it the union men uniting together as a body.

13,930. Did they call it the Staveley union?—They called it the Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire union.

13,931. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Whom did you pay your contribution to?—I paid it to the person that was secretary up to the time of my being secretary. He had gone away and they proposed me.

13,932. You paid to the secretary of the Nottinghamshire union. Is that what I am to understand?—They had intimidated me into it, as I call it. They proposed me as secretary. My name was written down that night by the secretary that was going away. He was going away because he had got notice to leave from his employers, and that was the reason that they would propose me, and my name was set down by him, but I never paid to him, because he went away previous to my coming on to the lodge night, the night that they called the contributions together.

13,933. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Do you remember anything about that question of the doctor?—Yes, I remember the question.

13,934. Did not the men ask to have another doctor?—Yes.

13,935. Did they get it?—They wanted another doctor, and they have appointed another.

13,936. In the colliery do you mean?—Yes.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. George Whitworth examined.

Mr. G. Whitworth.

13,937. (*Chairman.*) I think you have been a collier nearly all your working time?—Yes.

13,938. And you have worked at Staveley 20 years?—Yes.

13,939. There was a great strike there, I believe, many years ago?—Yes, in 1844.

13,940. How long were you out?—About 26 weeks.

13,941. Did you get your pay from the union during that time?—I never got anything. I had a little bit of my own, and by begging and getting what I could it helped me out.

13,942. Did you spend all that you had saved before?—Yes.

13,943. How much was that?—It was somewhere about 20*l.*

13,944. You having got nothing did the strike succeed? Did the working men get what they wanted by the strike?—No, they did not.

13,945. What was it they wanted?—They wanted about 6*d.* a day increase at that time.

13,946. Have you tried the wages at different places in Yorkshire and Wales?—No, not in Yorkshire, but I have tried them about Dronfield.

13,947. You have worked chiefly at Staveley, have you not?—Yes, I went to Staveley and have stopped there ever since.

13,948. As far as you know have your wages at Staveley been as good as the wages of the men where the unions have been established?—Yes.

13,949. Was there a strike afterwards?—Yes, there has been this late strike.

13,950. When was that?—In 1866.

13,951. Was there violence threatened to the men who did not join that strike?—At this pit where I worked they all left except about 70 labourers and myself. I was the only pitman that stopped in the pit. There was not a strike at the other four or five pits, but this was a place called Springwell Pit, and the men gave notice and struck, and there was only myself left. I never was in the union and I never lost a day's work.

13,952. Did these men threaten you under those circumstances?—Yes, they did threaten me and my father-in-law also.

13,953. What did they threaten?—I built myself a house and they said that they would knock it down. And my father-in-law had a house that was thatched, and they said that they would set it on fire. My father-in-law had two pigs and they cut one up; they cut it straight down each side, and another down his back, and they both had to be killed. And I had a pig, and another man had got two, and he killed these two; but I said to myself, "I will catch them; "if the cat comes to catch the mouse I will see if I "cannot catch the cat." They got aware of that and they never came near me.

13,954. They used this violence, but you kept on your work during the whole time of the strike, did you not?—Yes.

13,955. After that strike was over did the men, as far as you know, gain what they wanted by that strike?—No, they did not, they got nothing but misery by that strike.

13,956. That was Mr. Brown's time when he came and addressed the men was it not?—Yes. I never saw Mr. Brown. I never went to one of his meetings. I determined not to have anything to do with him, but that I would manage my own affairs and leave other folk to manage theirs.

13,957. And you have as far as you know had as much profit as you could have got elsewhere?—Yes, and I think rather more.

13,958. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) I suppose you belong to the Free Labour Society?—I belong to none of them, I have attended to my work.

13,959. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You were selected and your name has been sent in to us from the office in which you are employed, you were not selected by the workmen at all as representing them, were you?—No, I wanted to tell you what I had to say about these pigs, and so forth.

13,960. You were selected by the manager of the company to come here?—I saw that advertised. I do not know about their selecting me.

13,961. The manager has informed us that you were selected?—I daresay I was sent by the manager.

13,962. He selected, he said, three of the most intelligent men in the works to give evidence and you among the rest. Are you employed in any way under or in the same pit with Mr. Campbell, who is at present the viewer?—Well, he is the head viewer over it, then he has managers under him.

13,963. He is in the same pit in which you are?—He is at one of the pits.

13,964. You do not know whether it is a fact that the company has requested that Mr. Campbell should be present whilst you gave your evidence?—It might be so, no matter whether it is or not, it is truth that I speak.

13,965. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) At any rate, whoever sent you, I suppose that you are come here to give us an honest opinion on the subject?—Yes.

13,966. Are you a contractor in the colliery; have you men working under you?—Yes, one.

13,967. You pay him, do you not?—Yes.

13,968. He is not paid by the company?—No.

13,969. Have the company anything whatever to do with the wages of the one man you have under you?—The company gives a man say, a labouring man, not a pitman, so much.

13,970. It is optional with you to pay that man what you choose?—No, not less than what the company give them, but they will allow us to give more. The company give such an amount of wages to their labourers, so much a day, and they do not allow us to give them less, but we may give them more if we think proper.

13,971. What is the least they allow you to give?—They give 4*s.*

13,972. 4*s.* a day?—Yes, for a labourer; but then they do not allow us to give any less than they give.

13,973. Do you give your man the minimum price?—I give my man that works with me 4*s.* 2*d.*, and I pay for his club besides, and find him candles.

13,974. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Is there any difference of opinion in the Staveley colliery amongst the men as to the benefit of unions or not?—Well they never benefited me at all.

13,975. Is there any difference of opinion in the colliery; do you think there are any men that still think the unions beneficial?—I can tell you they were all very glad to come back and work at the same price they left it at.

13,976. You do not think that there is any such division of opinion?—I do not discuss with them very much.

13,977. At any rate you three persons who have been here to-day, Henshaw, Smith, and Whitworth, represent the men who disbelieve in unions altogether?—I disbelieve in them; I have nothing to do with them.

13,978. But you represent in fact the same opinions as the owners of the colliery?—I am of that opinion that I have told you; if I had not been of that opinion I should have been in the union the same as the rest of them.

13,979. If there be any persons employed at the Staveley colliery who still think the unions a beneficial thing for the workmen, they are not represented here?—I can tell you what the unions have done at Staveley.

13,980. I know what the unions have done at Staveley. The men who take the other view are not represented, in fact all who have been here to-day represented exactly the same opinion as the owners?—I am of my own opinion; I do not know what opinion the owners represent.

13,981. Mr. Markham selected you to come up here and give evidence?—And I have given evidence.

13,982. I only say you do not represent all the men?—I believe all the men are very well satisfied and getting good wages.

13,983. You represent a certain number of them only?—I cannot represent every man's mind.

13,984. You do not represent in any way, do you, the opinion of the men in the colliery? You have your own strong opinion which entirely coincides with the owners; you cannot see any good in the union at all in fact?—I cannot.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to Tuesday the 22d April, at 11 o'clock.

INDEX OF WITNESSES.

	Page
Briggs, Archibald	54
Briggs, Henry Currer	46, 58
Campbell, James	77
Elliot, George	1
Eley, William	38
Gleadow, William	34
Greenwell, George C.	85
Haddock, James	31
Henshaw, Thomas	89
Higginson, Arthur	43
Knighton, William	71
Markham, Charles	7
Pickard, William	32
Pickles, John	64
Pyrah, Joseph	59
Smith, Elijah	92
Toft, John	68
Whitworth, George	94
Wood, William Outterson	19
Woodhouse, John Thomas	24

CLUB
PALL MALL

APPENDIX.

Memorandum drawn up by Mr. Alexander Glen Finlaison, Actuary to the National Debt Office.*

National Debt Office,
Sir, Sept. 25, 1867.

In conformity with the desire of the Trades Union Commission that I should examine the several rules and reports of the "Amalgamated Society of Engineers," &c., and of the "Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners," and advise the Commissioners as to my opinion of the pecuniary soundness, or the contrary, of the institutions to which these documents respectively apply, I beg leave to submit the following statement of the views which I entertain of the condition and regulations of the associations in question, and of the prospects which in my judgment they severally have of permanently being in a situation to fulfil their various engagements.

The position, in a pecuniary aspect, of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners having already been subjected to professional examination, I have proceeded to deal, first in order, with the condition of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, and I find that at the close of the year 1866, the date of the last report of the general secretary of the society, the association was composed of 33,007 members. It possessed at the period just mentioned a capital of 138,113*l.*, exclusive of a sum of 10,068*l.* arrears of contribution, &c., then due to the fund.

The principal rules of the society are to the following effect:—

Admission at any age from 21 to 40 years.

Evidence as to age, character, and health is required. If certified as unfit for admission to the sickness benefit, the member may join nevertheless, on contributing for all the other benefits, at a somewhat lower rate of subscription. No deaf and dumb, or cripple, or maimed, or subject to fits, or deprived of one eye, being above 30, is admissible.

The contributions are as follows:—An entrance fee ranging from 15*s.* to 50*s.*, and a weekly subscription of 1*s.*

The contributions are payable for the benefits held out by the rules, *and such other objects as the rules contemplate.*

Members are likewise subject to levies. But no levy can be enforced unless carried by a majority of votes.

Members are exempt from payment of contributions and levies during their receipt of benefit.

The benefits consist of weekly allowances in sickness; pensions in old age; sums at death; and liberal compensation in case of accident, or loss of limb, or loss of faculties. A small sum in case of loss of tools by fire is also assured; and further, weekly donations while out of employment.

The sickness benefit is 10*s.* per week for 26 weeks, and 5*s.* per week for the remainder of the sickness. All claims to this allowance cease when the pension in superannuation commences. The pension in superannuation consists of a weekly allowance for life when the member has been in the society—

30 years, of 9*s.* per week, or 23*l.* 8*s.* per annum,
or 25 years, of 8*s.* „ or 20*l.* 16*s.* „
or 18 years successively of 7*s.*, or 18*l.* 4*s.* „

The stipulation that the member shall have been successively 25 or 30 years in the society being omitted in respect of the two higher amounts of pension.

The sums payable on death are 12*l.* on the death of a member, or 5*l.* at the death of a member's wife, in which case and at the subsequent death of the member the balance of 7*l.* only is payable.

The compensation in case of accident entailing loss of limb or in other severe afflictions such as blindness, paralysis, epilepsy, &c., is to the very liberal extent of 100*l.* It would at first seem to be a compulsory commutation of all the other benefits in cases where the member has not been in the society 18 years, or has not attained the age of 50. But the third section of rule 23 states that "Any member having received "the benefit of this rule and who is entitled to benefit "in case of sickness, may continue to be entitled to "sick and funeral benefit by paying contribution at the "rate of 6*d.* per week. No member to receive benefit "for the same complaint which entitled him to the "100*l.*" As no period is stated in this rule for the cessation of the right to claim sickness allowance, it is possible that the benefit may be permitted to continue for life. The acceptance of the 100*l.* clearly extinguishes the claim to superannuation. But the denial of this benefit, which, in ordinary cases, puts an end to the receipt of sickness allowance, would seem by implication to give permanence to the claim to allowance in sickness. Under any circumstances the provisions of this rule make an important addendum to the normal risk of claims for sickness likely to arise from among the members at large, because the composition leaves a class of contributors with acknowleged damaged constitutions, assured for the benefit, and this too at a very low rate of contribution.

The liability for assurance against fire is comparatively so small in extent that it may safely be allowed to escape consideration in the presence of far heavier risks.

But there is one other item of expenditure which is of much importance. This is the annual outgoing for donations to members out of employment. The disbursements under this head transcend in amount any one of the other charges; and on the average of the last five years has pressed on the resources of the fund with nearly double the weight of the demands for allowances in sickness. Under this head, there is allowed to the member while out of employment—

10*s.* per week for 14 weeks,
7*s.* „ for 30 do.
6*s.* „ for 8 do.

or within 2*s.* of 20*l.* for the 52 weeks of the year.

And in this channel during the last five years has been expended 125,046*l.* The outgoing for sickness allowances during the same period has been 64,538*l.*

The above summary of the benefits guaranteed suggests the reflection that the engagements entered into by the Amalgamated Society of Engineers are onerous; in consideration of a contribution of 52*s.* a year.

But the fund relies upon two important resources not always taken into account in benefit clubs. It relies in some measure, it is said, upon the faculty of levying extra contributions; but it relies also in a much greater degree upon the non-appearance at a future period of the bulk of its present contributors; in other words upon secession

The rule concerning levies is not very clear or decisive. It states that the council may consult the

* The oral evidence given by Mr. Finlaison, previous to the drawing up of this Memorandum, will be found at p. 79 of the Fourth Report of the Commissioners.

members on the propriety of raising a contingent fund, a benevolent fund, or a fund for granting assistance to other trades. But no levies are to be enforced unless carried by a majority of votes. Again, a large class of members is exempt from payment of levies.

It is not apparent that, under the above rule, levies can be made expressly for the purpose of supplementing deficient contributions unless the provision for a contingent fund may be interpreted to be applicable, if necessary, to this object. But, in any event, for a levy the consent of a majority is indispensable, and the reluctance to self-taxation is proverbial. There is no trace in the annual receipts of the society of any recourse to the practice. Even admitting that it might be overcome on a few occasions, there is a strong probability that a persistence in the infliction of levies would speedily bring about a break-up of the society, through the inducement given to the younger members to form new associations and to leave the old and chargeable members to shift for themselves. From a dread of this result permanent reliance can never be placed on a system of levies raised in aid of insufficient regular contributions.

The safeguard principally relied upon is secession. Much stress is laid, and very fairly so, upon the influence which this auxiliary will probably have on the claims to benefit.

There is no reason to doubt that the influence of secession has always had a powerful effect on the affairs of benefit clubs. In the statistics supplied by the returns from the friendly societies of England and Wales it has been perceived that the outflow of secession prevails to an extent and takes place with such constancy as to assume all the features of a law. In small clubs, with their limited transactions, there may be grounds for refusing to take it into account, through fear of oscillation and abnormal effects arising out of a casual operation of the principle. But in large associations there does not seem to be any reason to fear that the effect of secession will not always be felt with perfect regularity, nor that a certain but considerable per-centage of the members will not annually disappear from causes independent of removal by death. Caprice, displeasure, or distaste will have some weight; retirement, by reason of removal to remote places of employment, or expulsion for contravention of rules, or for other reasons, will bring about withdrawal. But there is one cause, greatest of all, which will assert its predominance, namely, inability to keep up the necessary payments. Each and all of the above forces act, for obvious reasons, with the greatest power at the younger ages; and, although the ratio of their combined effect diminishes with advancing age, it does not quickly disappear, but continues to exert an influence up to the period when the benefit of a provision for old age generally commences.

The question then arises as to the degree of force and regularity with which the probability of secession will come into play.

A reference to the digest of returns relating to friendly societies in England and Wales, published by order of the House of Commons in 1853 (Parl. Paper, No. 955), will supply information of the per-centage of secession that takes place at each age among the contributors to benefit clubs.

There is much reason to surmise that a very large proportion of those who secede from their clubs rejoin them at an early opportunity. The expediency of such a course makes its pursuit more than probable. It is in evidence that this is also the belief of the general manager of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners; for he deposes that it is a common occurrence in all trade societies for the members to rejoin three and four times over. Under these circumstances, one individual perhaps having supplied two or three examples of desertion, the actual nett permanent secession will be much less than that which is set down in the gross. In many instances, again, there are placed to the account of secession cases in which the candidate has abstained from qualifying himself for admission by payment of his entrance fee, and not seldom the candidate is found to labour under disqualifications which by the rules of the society rendered him altogether ineligible as a member. In both these cases the removal of the newly elected from the list of members is wrongfully put to the account of secession. The growing certainty that a man will obtain a pension by adhering to the fund will also act in time as a powerful check on desertion; for it is not likely that men will leave the society at their former rate when they remark a growing pension list of thousands a year. The rate of exclusion returned therefore requires generally some considerable modification.

On these grounds I am led to consider that a scale of secession, such as fairly represents the real extent of withdrawal from the roll of permanent members, may be framed after attentive observation of the Friendly Society experience. For the purpose of dealing accurately with certain important public interests, it has been my duty to attempt the construction of a table of this description. The nature and details of this computation of the probable decrement caused by secession among the members of benefit clubs were carefully set forth and published between eight and nine years ago in the appendix to the Report of the Commission for Manning the Royal Navy. I am of opinion that the scale in question may be taken to represent correctly the extent of secession which usually prevails in large benefit societies of the ordinary class. Stated in an abbreviated form, the scale of secession, that is, the per-centage of withdrawal out of 100 men present at each age, which has been adopted by me for the normal rate, is as follows:

Medium age.	Secession, per cent.
18	2·714
23	2·841
28	1·995
33	1·661
38	1·026
43	·824
48	·570
53	·520
58	·451

When this measure of secession is combined in the proper technical manner with the law of mortality, the number present in great benefit societies at each successive year of life, out of a certain number starting at any one particular age, is brought under observation.

For instance, where the mortality is that found to prevail among the members of friendly societies,* and the rate of secession is in the ratio of that above set forth, the decrement by reason of the two combined causes alluded to, which would take place among 100,000 men starting at the age of 18, is as undermentioned. And in order to judge of the force of the principle of secession, the decrease, through the agency of mortality only, in a similar body of men at the age of 18, is supplied for the purpose of comparison:—

Age.	Number present. Mortality and Secession.	Number living. Mortality only.
18	100,000	100,000
20	92,744	98,069
25	77,076	93,941
30	65,849	89,721
35	57,105	84,922
40	50,220	79,277
45	44,464	73,334
50	39,672	67,574
55	34,710	60,746
60	29,297	52,489

From these results it may be gathered that where the effect of mortality by itself would be the reduction of a force of 100,000 men first observed at the age of 18, to a corps of but 52,489 men at the age of 60, the further effect of secession would at the same age of 60 have reduced that force to the much lesser number of

* Report on Friendly Societies, Part 2, 1854. Parl. Paper 506.

29,297 persons. No small weight therefore is given of the effect of secession, in the above computation framed, in recognition of its influence.

On carrying the process a step further, and on combining the above tables respectively with a suitable rate of interest common to both, the present value of a life annuity at each age can be shown; and the additional force of secession in contrast with the effect produced merely by mortality alone will perhaps be more clearly appreciable where the results are shown in a pecuniary form.

Medium age.	Present value, Life Annuity.	
	Mortality only.	Mortality and Secession.
	£	£
18	20,438	14,864
20	20,174	15,013
25	19,285	15,436
30	18,250	15,514
35	17,162	15,333
40	16,074	14,834
45	14,875	14,050
50	13,420	12,882
55	11,923	11,619
60	10,500	10,408

It is by this table, where the elements of mortality and secession united supply the results above set forth, that the worth in ready money of the engagements and resources of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers has in the present inquiry been subjected to computation.

Of the 33,007 members of which the Amalgamated Engineers Society was composed at the close of 1866, 3,639 were admitted during the year, 376 died, and 1,137 were excluded during the same period. One-half of the admissions therefore falls to be deducted, and one-half the deaths and exclusions has to be added to obtain the mean number of members present during the whole of the year; namely, 31,944 persons.

The average age of the 3,639 candidates admitted members during the twelve months is stated to have been $26\frac{1}{2}$ years. It is a singular coincidence, if it be nothing more, that from certain returns prepared during the present year for the purpose of determining a question relative to the wages of the artificers employed in the royal dockyards, it appears that the average age at entry of 9,486 artificers is $26\frac{3}{10}$ years, (Parl. Paper, No. 454, App. to).

It has been stated that 1,137 persons enrolled as members were excluded during the year 1866. But among these, a reference to the appendix (pp. 404-421) to the report of that year, shows that 164 of the number never were members *de facto* at all, not having been eligible from over age, or under age, or from want of character, or not having qualified themselves by payment of entrance fees for admission to the society. Nearly $14\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. were not in the category of secession therefore, and the real seceders were in truth but 973 in number out of the 1,137 set down as excluded.

Again, out of the 376 deaths, 11 were those of non-free members, leaving 365 as the number of deaths which took place among the free members.

No one of the 3,639 members admitted during 1866 could claim the position of a free member until the year expired. The number of free members at the end of the year was therefore but 29,368 out of the 33,007 on the books. But as during the year 365 free members died, and as 973 persons qualified to be free members (though perhaps not all such in fact) were excluded, one half the sum of these two numbers, that is to say, 669 persons, must be added to the 29,368 members above mentioned to give the mean number of free contributors present during the year, viz., 30,037 for the average strength, out of which 365 deaths took place; and these facts being given, from them it results that the mortality among the members during the year was at the rate of 1·215 per cent. on the average.

A reference to the table of mortality deduced from the experience of the friendly societies of the metropolitan province, and published in the "Return to an "order of the Hon. House of Commons, dated 11th "August 1854, for copies of reports and tables by "the actuary of the National Debt Office on the sub-"ject of sickness and mortality among the members of "friendly societies" (Parl. Paper, 506), will disclose that the above-mentioned rate of mortality corresponds very nearly with that assigned to males of the age of 35 years.

From the means available for the purpose the mean age of the artificers employed in the royal dockyards was computed to be 37 years. Accordingly, in placing the mean age of the members of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers at 35 years, there will probably be no discrepancy with the fact; and most certainly there will be no unfavourable view taken of the case in proceeding to a valuation of the benefits on this basis.

It has been stated before the Commission on competent testimony that the members of the Amalgamated Society generally failed to earn the full rate of wages, or in other words decayed in their powers, about the age of 58. On authority already alluded to it is found that the dockyard artificers are usually pensioned at the age of 56. Ample liberality will be extended to the case of the Amalgamated Engineers, therefore, if the probable average age of the members at the period of their entering upon the superannuation allowance is placed at 60 years.

The mean age of the members at present on the pension list is quite another thing. In the absence of positive information it must be a matter of estimate. But looking at the progress and rapid increase of this item of charge, which within the last four or five years has grown up from 2,654*l.* per annum in 1862 to 5,232*l.*, or double the amount, in 1866, and which observed much the same rate of growth in the five years ending with 1862; keeping in view also the probable age on admission to the list, it will perhaps be no unfair assumption which puts the mean age of all the superannuated members now on the pension list at the age of 66.

As the sick allowance ceases when the superannuation allowance commences, the duration of the first-mentioned benefit does not go beyond the age of 60 years.

For similar reasons, as the payment of contribution ceases when the benefit of superannuation is entered upon, the yearly contribution is in the nature of a temporary life annuity ceasing at the age of 60. But its ordinary value is subject to two causes of diminution. One is the suspension of its payment during any receipt of sickness benefit by the contributor. The other cause, which is of more importance, has been alluded to already.

It is at this point that it should be observed that the influence of secession is trenchant both ways. If it diminishes the probability of any future claims, so also does it reduce the probability of any constant future payment by the members. The value therefore of the temporary life annuity is proportionately decreased by the effect of the secession so much relied upon in another direction; and the gain is not all on the side of those assuring the benefits. The real nett liability of the fund is a question of balance between the present value of the benefits assured, and the present value of the contribution assets. The further question of the solvency of the fund is determined by the relation borne by that balance to the tangible assets which should be in hand to meet and liquidate it. But reserving this last matter for future decision, it is clear as far as regards the value of the contribution payable by the members of the Amalgamated Society, that it is deteriorated in worth by the two causes above mentioned, namely, occasional suspension and secession.

It is necessary to advert to one other point in taking account of the society's position. The rate of interest at which the tangible funds in hand, and those falling in by future contribution, are assumed to be laid up

for improvement is a point of some moment. From the information supplied by the report it is shown that the balance at the credit of the society at the close of the year 1866 was 138,113*l.* The balance at the close of 1865 was 115,357*l.* A medium between these two sums shows that the probable average balance in hand during the year was 126,735*l.* Credit is further taken in the statement of income and expenditure for the receipt during the year of 3,658*l.* 12*s.* 0*d.* bank interest. From these data, therefore, it would appear that the yearly rate of improvement of the whole capital in hand was about 2*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.* per cent. on the average.

Consequently, in giving the society credit for being capable in the long run of accummulating their funds at the rate of 3¼ per cent. per annum, and in discounting their liabilities in the valuation at this rate of interest, a further step of advantage is conceded in favour of the position of the association.

Practical application of the foregoing considerations to the engagements and resources of the society will now follow.

The number of members, contributng and non-contributing, who are assured are respectively as undermentioned. The report states that at the close of the year 1866, 33,007 members remained assured. Of this number, however, a certain portion was in receipt of superannuation allowances, which allowances in their aggregate amounted to 5,632*l.* per annum. Dividing this outgoing by the lowest average year's rate of pension, viz., 18*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.*, in order to reduce to a minimum the amount of charge in the other branches, it would appear that 287 members are no longer paying contributions, by reason of their position on the superannuation list. There remained, therefore, at the close of the year 1866 32,720 contributing members, assured for all the benefits contemplated under the society's rules.

From this fact a conclusion follows, which has not perhaps attracted sufficient attention. The number of members being on a very large scale the engagements of the society are of corresponding dimensions. 10*s.* a week in sickness being guaranteed to each of 32,720 members, it follows that 16,360*l.* per week in sickness is the allowance assured to the whole mass. The average annuity in old age being taken at 20*l.* 16*s.* per man, it follows that a pension for life of 680,576*l.* per annum is assured to the collective body. And 12*l.* at death being the sum assured to each member, it results that the sum assured to the whole corps of contributors is 392,640*l.* Further, a reference to the printed annual statement shows that in addition to these contingent benefits there is as already stated absolutely at present in course of payment pensions to the amount of 5,232*l.* per annum.

On the other hand, there is forthcoming from the members a contribution of 1*s.* a week per man, which in the aggregate produces a revenue of 85,072*l.* per annum.

Valued in the ordinary way by the tables contained in the Report on Friendly Societies, Part 2nd, 1854, like the engagements and contributions of any common benefit society, the liabilities and assets of the Amalgamated Engineers can be shown to be as undermentioned:

STATEMENT.

Liabilities.									
To present value	£16,360 weekly allowance in sickness until 60							£355,339	0 0
,, ,,	680,576 per annum pensions for life after 60							1,985,512	0 0
,, ,,	392,640 sums payable on death							168,167	0 0
,, ,,	5,232 pensions at present in course of payment							44,697	0 0
						Liabilities		2,553,715	0 0
Assets.									
By present value	£85,072 yearly contribution payable until 60					1,254,395	0 0		
,, ,	£1,636 weekly contribution suspended during sickness, which abate					35,534	0 0		
					Remains	1,218,861	0 0		
,, Tangible assets in hand					£138,113	0 0			
Arrears					10,068	0 0			
						148,181	0 0		
							Assets	1,367,042	0 0
							Deficit	£1,186,673	0 0

This view of the society's affairs, however, is not justly admissible. It was very properly observed in the evidence given by the society's general manager at the last meeting before the recess, of the Commission that calculations with reference to the operation of the ordinary friendly societies must necessarily differ very much from those necessary in the case of a society combining benefit with trade purposes. The effect of secesssion no doubt was here alluded to. I will, therefore, now proceed to exhibit the influence of this principle on the various liabilities of the society as far as I consider it can be legitimately applied.

A reference to the Friendly Societies Life Annuity Table in the published report already alluded to will show that the present value at the age of 35 of a temporary life annuity of 1*l.*, ceasing at the age of 50, is 14,2451 (14*l.* 4*s.* 11*d.*) year's purchase. When the element of secession, prevailing to the extent set forth in the present paper is introduced, the value of the temporary annuity will be diminished to 12·933 (12*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.*) year's purchase. The ratio of the value of the first annuity to that of the second is therefore as 1 to ·9079.

The allowance in sickness, guaranteed by the society is 10*s.* per week for 26 weeks, and 5*s.* per week for the remainder of the sickness. This allowance is secured until the pension in old age commences.

In the last five years of the society's proceedings the sums paid in sickness to those sick out of an aggregate mean strength of 129,613 free members was 64,538*l.* This is at the rate of 9*s.* 11½*d.* per week each, or nearly the payment for seven days' sickness. By the friendly societies general experience this is the number of days sickness in the year which falls to the share of a male aged 35 years. The computation is not of very much weight; but it serves to strengthen the opinion that the mean age of the members is not unfairly taken when placed at the number of years above mentioned.

In order not to overstate the present value of the charge for allowances in sickness, the table based on the general experience of the sickness prevailing among all classes of the members of friendly societies has been selected for the purposes of computation; although it is probable that in the opinion of some the higher values set forth in the table for trades engaged in heavy labour would have been more applicable to the case.

At the age of 35, the present value of 1*l.* per week in sickness where the claim to allowance ceases at the age of 60 is 21·720, according to the table (No. 4) in the report on the Friendly Societies' experience in 1854 (Parl. paper 506.) Consequently 16,360*l.* per week of allowance in sickness must be worth in capital

value a sum of 355,339*l.* And again, this sum, when reduced in the proper ratio (·9079) on account of the principle of secession, is diminished to a result of 322,612*l.* as the true worth in ready money of the sickness benefit guaranteed by the society.

It may perhaps be pointed out that under the rules the sickness allowance is reduced at the end of 26 weeks to half its previous amount. This stipulation has not been overlooked. But it is considered that the advantage arising to the society from this regulation is counterbalanced by a liability dismissed hitherto from valuation, but which otherwise would have to be brought into account. The item of charge alluded to is the compensation given for accidents, in addition to the further privilege of continuing assured for the sickness benefit at a moiety of the ordinary contribution. The society's accounts show that the outgoing for compensation is about 11 per cent. of the expenditure for sickness—an amount sufficient to prove that the moderate advantage derived from the reduction at the end of the 26 weeks must be completely neutralized by a constant charge of the above nature and extent. There is not sufficient ground on this account therefore for any reduction of the value placed above on the liability for allowances in sickness; which will accordingly remain at 322,612*l.*

The superannuation benefit is next in order for valuation.

The yearly pension in superannuation where the member has been 30 years in the society is 23*l.* 8*s.* 0*d.* Where the member has contributed but 25 years it is 20*l.* 16*s.* 0*d.* And where the member has been on the books 18 years it is 18*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.* It has been already mentioned that a temporary life annuity of 1*l.* ceasing at the age of 60, is worth at the age of 35 a sum of 12*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.*, or 12·9331 years purchase, where the principle of secession is combined with the law of mortality. At the age of 35 by the same table an annuity of 1*l.* for the whole duration of life is worth 15*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, or 15·3334 years' purchase. It follows, accordingly, that 2*l.* 8*s.* 0*d.*, or 2·4003 years purchase, the difference between the two foregoing quantities, is the present value of the deferred annuity, commencing at 60 and continuing until death. Because the two annuities together, temporary and deferred, must make up the complete annuity for the whole continuance of life.

It is not probable that men who are supposed to enter the society at the age of 26, and who otherwise are qualified for receipt of the pension, will on attaining the age of 60 or thereabouts be generally found to have contributed to the funds of the society but for 18 out of the 34 intervening years time, and so have disentitled themselves to any but the lowest amount of benefit. Neither is it much more likely on the other hand, reference being had to the probabilities of secession, that all who are found entitled at the age of 60 to superanuation, will have been constant subscribers for a period of more than 30 years, and thus have qualified themselves to claim the highest class of allowance. The more probable result will be that the bulk of the superannuated members will be found to be entitled to the medium amount of pension, which proceeds upon the supposition that the claimant has been "in the society" for at least 25 years. This would allow for about nine years or so of absence on different occasions from the society, and would place the date of the member's permanent connection with the association from about the age of 34. This seems a reasonable position. Under this view of the case the member on superannuation would be entitled to the average provision of 8*s.* a week, or 20*l.* 16*s.* per annum, and the aggregate pension guaranteed to the 32,720 members of the society would, as already has been assumed be, 680,576*l.* per annum.

As each 1*l.* a year of life annuity commencing at 60 is at 35 years age worth 2·4003 years purchase as above stated, it follows that the 680,576*l.* of pension is worth in ready money no less a sum than 1,633,586*l.*

Funeral Benefit.

On the death of a free member the sum of 12*l.* is to be paid to defray his funeral expenses. But a free member can receive 5*l.* at the death of his wife; "7*l.* to remain for his own funeral expenses." "No member to have more than 12*l.* funeral benefit both for himself and wife."

This is an arrangement which in effect assures 5*l.* at the death of either husband or wife, and 7*l.* besides at the death of the husband. The risk of assuring 12*l.* under the foregoing conditions is a trifle greater (about 10 per cent.) than where 12*l.* is assured simply on the single life of the husband. But probably all the members of the society are not married men. It will simplify the question, and be to the advantage of the fund, if it is assumed that every member remains assured for 12*l.*

At the age of 35, by the Friendly Societies experience (p. 34, Rep. 1854, F. S. Returns, Parl. P. 506) it appears that 10*l.* may be assured for a sum paid down of 4*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.* A sum of 5*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.* paid down (or more exactly in decimals 5·1396) would therefore assure 12*l.* But this single premium of 5*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.* should be diminished by about 10 per cent. on account of the probabilities of secession. This will reduce the cost of the assurance to 4*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* in respect of each member; consequently, as there are 32,720 members assured, the present value of the risk undertaken by the society in this particular class of benefit must be set down at a sum of 151,330*l.*

Finally, as regards the debit side of the account, there are the pensions at present in course of payment. In the report of the society's affairs this item is stated to be an outgoing of 5,232*l.* per annum. At the probable mean age of the annuitants at present in receipt of this benefit, viz., 66, an annuity of 1*l.* on a male life, according to the Friendly Societies experience (p. 32, Rep. 1854, Parl. P. 506) is found to be worth 8·5413. This value is not affected by the question of secession, as this principle ceases to act on those who have entered into receipt of superannuation benefit. It follows therefore that an annuity of 5,232*l.* must be worth, in ready money, a sum of 44,688*l.*

There is yet one other description of benefit, although the charge on this account certainly does not fall within the ordinary category of allowances. This is the donation to members out of employment.

It is not easy perhaps to bring this detail of expenditure under precise conditions of valuation. Nevertheless, there does seem to be a method of casting it with more or less accuracy into the shape of present value. Any claim to benefit under this head of relief ceases of course when the period of superannuation is attained. The yearly issue of money on this ground is of irregular, and, to a certain extent, of fortuitous amount. But, as a matter of fact, it appears to have amounted on the average of the sixteen years of the society's experience, to nearly two and half times the outgoing for sickness allowances. And, indeed, to this description of benefit it seems to bear a sort of rough analogy. If it should be assumed that in the long run this particular charge, to the inherence of which in the constitution of the society it is unnecessary more fully to advert, will not, on the whole, exceed *two*-fold the limits of the outgoing for sickness, it will figure in the general liabilities of the society for a sum of 645,224*l.*; or in plain language double the fund required to guarantee the present sickness benefit.

To meet the society's liabilities, both ordinary and extraordinary, there are the following resources; namely, the funds in hand, the arrears due to the association, and the regular contributions.

It has been pointed out that the 2*l.* 12*s.* per annum payable by each member is in the nature of a temporary life annuity, continuing on the average until the age of 60 is attained. As the annuity in the present case is receivable in small weekly instalments made in advance, it is enhanced in value by half a year's purchase. Under the rules, however the

contribution in question is subject to occasional suspension during the receipt of benefit in sickness. As this abatement prevails during sickness to the extent of 1*s.* a week, the loss to the society is obviously of neither more nor less present value than an allowance in sickness to that amount. It has already been shown that a temporary life annuity of 1*l.*, where secession is present as an element, is worth in ready money 12*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.*, or with half a year's purchase added thereto, 13*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.* It results therefore that 2*l.* 12*s.* per annum must be worth 34*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* But as it may be ascertained from the value placed upon the aggregate sickness benefit that an allowance of 1*s.* per week in sickness is worth 19*s.* 8¾*d.*, this sum on being deducted from 34*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* leaves the nett value of the contribution subject to occasional suspension in sickness at a sum of 33*l.* 18*s.* 9¼*d.* (in decimals 33·9385). Multiplying this amount by 32,720, the number of contributors, the present value of the contributions payable to the society is found to be 1,110,468*l.* The tangible assets of the society are as already stated 148,181*l.* Putting all these various items together in the usual manner, the amount will stand as follows:

STATEMENT.

Liabilities.			
To present value of the weekly allowance in sickness		£322,612	0 0
„ future pensions in superannuation		1633,586	0 0
„ sums at death		151,330	0 0
„ pensions in course of payment		44,688	0 0
Liabilities		£2,152,216	0 0
Assets.			
By present value contributions payable	£1,110,468 0 0		
„ tangible assets	148,181 0 0		
Assets		1,258,649	0 0
Deficiency		£893,567	0 0

For this deficit of 893,567*l.*, which is exclusive of the further probable charge for donations to those out of employment, valued at 645,224*l.*, there does not seem to be any remedy but a resort to the system of levies.

In confutation of a statement which attributes such an enormous deficit as that above-mentioned, it will no doubt be alleged that although a certain allowance has been made for the probable secession, sufficient abatement on this point has not been conceded. There may be some force perhaps in this allegation. But it will be made evident, nevertheless, that even when the most extensive modification of the values attached to the respective liabilities in the foregoing account are allowed to take place, the balance against the fund still remains of vast dimensions.

It is not impossible that in the guarded estimate of the ordinary rate of secession which has been adopted as the basis of the valuation above given, the per centage of secession prevailing among the Amalgamated Engineers may be inadequately represented. I have endeavoured previously to show, however, that there is reason to believe that the amount of exclusion which is inaccurately accepted as secession is an exaggerated statement of the true amount of departure in the law of benefit clubs. It is also open to conjecture that the facilities of joining a trades union society, although it may combine with its primary purpose the usual advantages of a friendly society, are far greater than those afforded by the ordinary institutions which have merely the assurance of a provision in sickness, old age, and for burial in view. But an attempt will be made to give full weight to the secession which appears to prevail in the amalgamated society.

The mean number of members present and the exclusions during the last five years of the society's proceedings, were as follows:

Year.	Mean number present.	Excluded.
1862	23,490	812
1863	25,192	842
1864	27,551	859
1865	29,904	1,074
1866	31,944	1,137
	138,081	4,724

But deducting from both of these amounts 14½ per cent. of the exclusions, viz. 685 persons, for those who were never qualified to be members at all, the correct numbers will be 137,396 contributors and 4,039 exclusions or secessions. From these figures it would result that the proportion of secession during the last five years has been at the rate of 2·94 per cent.

According to the table which has been used for the purpose of this enquiry, the 137,396 members in question would group themselves at the ages undermentioned in the following order; and according to the rate of secession which went to form the same table, the number seceding out of the several groups would be computed to be as follows:

Age.	Members present.	Seceders.
26 and under 31	28,323	565
31 „ 36	24,444	406
36 „ 41	21,373	219
41 „ 46	18,872	156
46 „ 51	16,801	96
51 „ 56	14,856	77
56 „ 61	12,727	57
	137,396	1,576

By the table made use of, therefore, the average per centage over the whole mass would be computed at 1·15 per cent. And where the experience of the Amalgamated Engineers, accepted as the true normal rate, the table adopted would seem to undervalue the secession by 60 per cent.

An endeavour will be made to give the case of the Amalgamated Society the full benefit of this supposition as to the rate of secession prevailing among the members; and to correct what may appear to some the too rigorous valuation already given.

According to the first valuation made in the ordinary fashion without reference to secession of the engagements undertaken by the Amalgamated Engineers, the liabilities, excluding the premiums in course of payment, were valued as under-mentioned:

In respect of sickness	£355,339
„ of future pensions	1,985,512
„ sums at death	168,167
Total	£2,509,018

Where the element of secession was a consideration admitted into the valuation, the same items were valued—

In respect of sickness	at	£322,612
„ future pensions	„	1,633,586
„ sums at death	„	151,330
Total		£2,107,528

Consequently the difference between the above two computations of the liability, namely, 401,490*l.*, grew

out of the important element of secession merely. But there appear to be grounds for thinking that this element has been undervalued by 60 per cent. Admitting that it is so, the above difference should be correspondingly increased in this ratio, and there should be abated from the first valuation, not 401,490*l.*, but 1,003,725*l.*; for, take off 60 per cent. from 1,003,725*l.*, the residue will be 401,490*l.* The liability under the second mode of valuation should, in this case, therefore have been put at - - £1,505,293 0 0

And adding thereto the item for pensions in course of payment, which are not affected by the question of secession, viz.: - - - - - - - - - - - 44,697 0 0

The total liability should be placed at - - - - - - - - -			£1,549,990 0 0
But under a corresponding regimen the present value of the contributions is likewise reduced to - - - - - - - - -	£947,879 0 0		
To which, adding the tangible assets - - - - - -	148,181 0 0		
The whole assets now only amount to - - - - - - - -			1,096,060 0 0
And the deficiency under this view of the case is found to be - - - - - -			£453,930 0 0

As the item of the liability for sickness under a similar mode of computation is now found to be but 273,521*l.* in lieu of 322,612*l.*, as before, the probable present value of the future charge for donations to the members out of employ will be computed at twice the above amount for the sickness liability, viz., at 547,042*l.* And when this is added to the computed deficiency on the other benefits, viz., 453,930*l.*, there will appear to be 1,000,972*l.* of liability, for which there seems to be no mode of provision but by the method of levies.

If it were desired to know what common rate of contribution could prudently have been adopted in the commencement by the Amalgamated Engineers for the provision of the benefits in sickness, old age, and at death, contemplated by their rules, it might in my opinion be shown from the tables made use of for the second of the foregoing valuations, that a weekly subscription of 1*s.* 6*d.* per man would probably have been sufficient.

Had this rate of contribution now been payable, and had the sums paid away in donations and aids to other trades, viz., 313,397*l.*, been now in the society's strong box, the increase in the present value of the contribution assets, together with the amount last mentioned*, would, on a rough computation, in which any reference to the consideration of interest of money is omitted, have very nearly effaced the deficiency of 893,567*l.* shown in the valuation.

As regards the constitution of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, it is in principle generally the same as that of the Amalgamated Engineers. In certain points of detail also the rules of both societies are identical. The amount of weekly contribution, the amount of weekly donation to those out of employ, the funeral benefit, and the accident benefit with its attendant privilege, are the same in both cases. But there is a difference between the two sets of rules in respect of the sickness and superanuation benefits. The Carpenters and Joiners give 12*s.* a week in sickness for the 26 weeks in lieu of 10*s.* a week for a similar period, and the maximum provision in superannuation to members over 50 years of age is 8*s.* a week after 25 years successive contribution.

The average pension after 18 years successively is 7*s.* a week, and there is a minimum pension of 5*s.* a week after 12 successive years contribution. A grant of 6*l.* for emigration purposes is given in certain contingencies. Some trifling variations from the model there are, in respect of the limits of age on admission, and the amount of entrance fee. But they are not important. The virtual coincidence on most of the material stipulations contained in the rules of either society seems therefore to make any more detailed account of the regulations of the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners perfectly unnecessary.

The society was formed in 1860. Its experience is of too short duration, therefore, to have any weight. It consisted at the close of the year 1866 of 8,002 members, possessing a fund 13,052*l.*, besides arrears due to the amount of 2,173*l.* It is stated that the number of members admitted during the year was 3,743, and that the number excluded was 1,149. The number of deaths during the year was 39. Out of the gross number of 1,149 members excluded, 410 were removed for non-payment of the entrance fees. Consequently they never were members at all, and the true extent of secession was 739 members. This fact demonstrates that secession is not the same thing as exclusion, so termed. In the present case the gross amount of exclusion is 36 per cent., above the true amount of secession, while in the Engineers society it was 14⅔ per cent.

As the number of members forming the society at the close of the year 1865 is returned at 5,670, and the excess of admissions over removals during the year was 2,561, I am unable to see how it is that the number of members at the close of 1866 does not exceed 8,002. But admitting this number to be correct, and abating therefrom, and also from the number of admissions and exclusions, the 410 persons who never qualified as members, and following the mode of computation adopted in the like circumstances in the case of the Engineers society, it would appear that the mean number of members of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners present during the year consisted of 6,314 persons. If this result may be accepted, it would follow that the rate of secession during the year was more than 11½ per cent.

The rate of mortality deduced from the deaths of the year likewise present an anomalous result. 39 deaths among 6,314 persons gives a death rate of 6·177 to 1,000 persons This is a rate which corresponds to a mean age of 15 years only in the Friendly Societies experience. The truth is that the excessive rate of secession and the recent establishment of the society are causes which prevent any trustworthy conclusion on this point.

Under these circumstances, and in the absence of any information as to the present average age of the members or their age on joining the society, it is difficult to present any unquestionable statement of the probable position of their pecuniary liabilities. The utmost it appears to me that can be done is to adopt the not unreasonable supposition that the case of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners does not materially differ on the point of age from the circumstances of the Amalgamated Engineers or the dockyard artificers, and that like these persons they enter their trades unions at the usual age, and as an assemblage are on a medium of the age of 35 years. If this position may be taken up valuations or estimates of the present value of their engagements and assets may be formed on the plan adopted in the case of the Engineers. Nevertheless, as the amount of secession prevailing among the members of the Carpenters Society is so considerable as to argue an instability of purpose not inseparable from a corresponding immaturity of years, it may be nearer the truth, perhaps, and more fair to the Carpenters to assume that the mean age of the society is two years below that of the Engineers, and that on a medium the present members are of the age of 33 years.

* £1,110,468
½
555,234
313,397
£868,631

The aggregate benefits of the ordinary class guaranteed under each head by the Amalgamated Carpenters' Society are as under mentioned. In sickness, until the age of 60, 4,801*l.* per week. In old age after 60, 145,636*l.* per annum; an average pension of 7*s.* per week per man having been assumed. Sums payable at death 96,024*l.* There are no pensions in course of payment.

On the other hand, the yearly contributions payable are taken at 20,805*l.* per annum, and the tangible assets at 15,225*l.* of money.

Valued in the ordinary way like any common benefit society, the affairs of the society would be shown as follows:

STATEMENT.

Liabilities.				
To present value	£4,801	per week of sickness benefit		£105,329 0 0
„ ditto	145,636	per annum of future pension		389,489 0 0
„ ditto	96,024	sums assured at death		39,783 0 0
		Liabilities		534,601 0 0
Assets.				
By present value	£20,805	per annum of contribution	£321,079 0 0	
„ tangible assets			15,225 0 0	
		Assets		336,304 0 0
		Deficiency		£198,297 0 0

But giving, on an estimate of the condition of the society, the benefit of a reasonable diminution of the present value of the charges on account of the probable effect of secession on the future claims, the amount would result as under mentioned:

STATEMENT.

Liabilities.				
To present value	£4,801	per week sickness benefit		£94,216 0 0
„ ditto	145,636	per annum of future pensions		310,172 0 0
„ ditto	96,024	sums assured at death		35,385 0 0
		Liabilities		439,973 0 0
Assets.				
By present value	£20,805	per annum of contributions	£287,204 0 0	
tangible assets			15,225 0 0	
		Assets		302,429 0 0
		Deficiency		£137,544 0 0

And assuming, as previously was done in respect of the Amalgamated Engineers, that the donations are in present value about twofold the amount of the sickness benefit, there would exist a probable further liability of 188,432*l.*

But it may be urged with the same force as might apply to the case of the Amalgamated Engineers, that the rate of secession in the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners will probably far exceed the cautious estimate taken of the effect of the withdrawal which takes place among ordinary great benefit clubs.

In reply to this proposition, and without admitting that the amount of secession which took place last year in the society is a true measure of the normal decrement which will perhaps hereafter prevail at a later stage of the society's growth, it may be conceded for the purpose of a more liberal calculation of the engagements of the association that these annual percentage of secession among the Amalgamated Carpenters will at least be as high as that supposed for the purposes of argument to obtain among the Amalgamated Engineers. In this case the rate of secession adopted above must be enhanced to the extent of 60 per cent., and the liabilities and assets should be computed to be as follows:

STATEMENT.

Liabilities.			
To present value of the three benefits already specified			£298,031 0 0
Assets.			
By present value of the annual contributions		£236,392 0 0	
„ Tangible assets		15,225 0 0	
	Assets		251,617 0 0
	Deficiency		46,414 0 0

And adopting the same measure of the present value of the future donations as that already laid down as affording a fair gauge of the pressure, the further liability on account of this charge would be placed at a sum of 155,094*l.*

It may also be observed, that after balancing the extent of increase in certain benefits guaranteed by the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, against the decrease in other engagements, and notably in the scale of pensions, it is probable that a weekly contribution of 1*s.* 6*d.* would likewise be a fair subscription for the benefits in sickness, old age, and death secured under the regulations of the Carpenters and Joiners Society. In conclusion it may be remarked that it is too frequently unobserved that regulations which leave the funds required to meet definite contingencies open to diversion for casual and incalculable demands, have also the effect of removing the conditions which are generally indispensable to permanent success.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
ALEXANDER GLEN FINLAISON,
Actuary of the National Debt.

J. H. Patteson, Esq.
Secretary,
Trades Unions Commission.

SIXTH REPORT

OF

THE COMMISSIONERS

APPOINTED TO INQUIRE INTO THE

ORGANIZATION AND RULES OF TRADES UNIONS AND OTHER ASSOCIATIONS:

TOGETHER WITH

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE AND APPENDIX.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY GEORGE EDWARD EYRE AND WILLIAM SPOTTISWOODE,
PRINTERS TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.
FOR HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE.

1868.

SEVENTH REPORT

OF

THE COMMISSIONERS

APPOINTED TO INQUIRE INTO THE

ORGANIZATION AND RULES OF TRADES UNIONS AND OTHER ASSOCIATIONS:

TOGETHER WITH

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY GEORGE EDWARD EYRE AND WILLIAM SPOTTISWOODE,
PRINTERS TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.
FOR HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE.

1868.

CONTENTS.

	Page
COMMISSION - - - - - - - - - -	iii
REPORT - - - - - - - - - -	v
MINUTES OF EVIDENCE - - - - - - - -	1
INDEX OF WITNESSES - - - - - - - -	60

REFORM CLUB
PALL MALL

COMMISSION.

VICTORIA R.

Victoria, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith.

To Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Sir William Erle, Knight; Our right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin Thomas George Earl of Lichfield; Our trusty and well-beloved Francis Charteris, Esquire (commonly called Lord Elcho); Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Sir Edmund Walker Head, Baronet, Knight Commander of Our most Honourable Order of the Bath; Our trusty and well-beloved Sir Daniel Gooch, Baronet; Our trusty and well-beloved Herman Merivale, Esquire, Companion of Our most Honourable Order of the Bath; Our trusty and well-beloved James Booth, Esquire, Companion of Our most Honourable Order of the Bath; Our trusty and well-beloved John Arthur Roebuck, Esquire, one of Our Counsel learned in the Law; Our trusty and well-beloved Thomas Hughes, Esquire, and Frederic Harrison, Esquire, Barristers at Law; and Our trusty and well-beloved William Mathews, Esquire, greeting.

Whereas it has been represented unto Us that it is expedient that inquiry should be made into the several matters herein-after mentioned.

Now Know Ye, that We, reposing great trust and confidence in your ability and discretion, have nominated, constituted, and appointed, and do by these Presents nominate, constitute, and appoint, you, the said Sir William Erle, Thomas George Earl of Lichfield, Francis Charteris, Esquire (commonly called Lord Elcho), Sir Edmund Walker Head, Sir Daniel Gooch, Herman Merivale, James Booth, John Arthur Roebuck, Thomas Hughes, Frederic Harrison, and William Mathews, to be Our Commissioners for the purposes of the said inquiry.

And We do hereby enjoin you, or any Four of you, to inquire into and report on the Organization and Rules of Trades Unions and other Associations, whether of Workmen or Employers, and to inquire into and report on the effect produced by such Trades Unions and Associations on the Workmen and Employers respectively, and on the Relations between Workmen and Employers, and on the Trade and Industry of the Country; with power to investigate any recent acts of intimidation, outrage, or wrong alleged to have been promoted, encouraged, or connived at by such Trades Unions or other Associations, and also to suggest any improvements to be made in the law with respect to the matters aforesaid, or with respect to the relations between Workmen and their Employers, for the mutual benefit of both parties.

And for the better discovery of the truth in the premises, We do by these Presents give and grant unto you, or any Four of you, full power and authority to call before you, or any Four of you, such persons as you shall judge necessary, by whom you may be better informed of the truth in the premises, and to inquire of the premises and every part thereof by all other lawful ways and means whatsoever.

And Our further Will and Pleasure is that you, Our said Commissioners, do, with as little delay as may be consistent with a due discharge of the duties hereby imposed upon you, certify unto Us from time to time, under your hands and seals, your several proceedings in the premises.

And We do further will and command, and by these Presents ordain, that this Our Commission shall continue in full force and virtue, and that you, our said Commissioners, or any Four of you, shall and may from time to time proceed in the execution thereof, and of every matter or thing therein contained, although the same be not continued from time to time by adjournment.

And for your assistance in the execution of these Presents We do hereby authorize and empower you to appoint a Secretary to this Our Commission, to attend you, whose services and assistance We require you to use from time to time as occasion may require.

Given at Our Court at St. James, the Twelfth day of February 1867, in the Thirtieth Year of Our Reign.

By Her Majesty's Command.

S. H. WALPOLE.

SEVENTH REPORT.

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

We, Your Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into and report on the Organization and Rules of Trades Unions and other Associations, whether of Workmen or Employers, and to inquire into and report on the effects produced by such Trades Unions and Associations on the Workmen and Employers respectively, and on the Relations between Workmen and Employers, and on the Trade and Industry of the Country; with power to investigate any recent acts of intimidation, outrage, or wrong alleged to have been promoted, encouraged, or connived at by such Trades Unions or other Associations, and also to suggest any improvements to be made in the law with respect to the matters aforesaid, or with respect to the relations between Workmen and their Employers, for the mutual benefit of both parties, have held several meetings, and humbly beg leave to submit to Your Majesty evidence given before us at our meetings held upon the 21st, 28th, and 29th days of April 1868.

(Signed) W. ERLE, Chairman.
LICHFIELD.
ELCHO.
DANIEL GOOCH.
H. MERIVALE.
JAMES BOOTH.
J. A. ROEBUCK.
THOMAS HUGHES.
FREDERIC HARRISON.
WM. MATHEWS.

REFORM CLUB PALL MALL

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE THE

ROYAL COMMISSION

APPOINTED TO INQUIRE INTO

TRADES UNIONS AND OTHER ASSOCIATIONS.

1, Park Prospect, Westminster, Tuesday, 21st April 1868.

PRESENT:

The Right Hon. Sir WILLIAM ERLE.
Lord ELCHO, M.P.
Sir DANIEL GOOCH, Bart., M.P.
JAMES BOOTH, Esq., C.B.
JOHN ARTHUR ROEBUCK, Esq., M.P.
FREDERIC HARRISON, Esq.
WILLIAM MATHEWS, Esq.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR WILLIAM ERLE IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. ARCHIBALD HOOD examined.

13,985. (*Chairman.*) Are you the manager of White Hill Colliery, at Lasswade, near Edinburgh?—I am the lessee of the White Hill Colliery.

13,986. Have you had much experience in the management of coal and ironstone mines?—I have been all my life engaged in that occupation.

13,987. And during that time have you had knowledge of several strikes;—Yes. I remember all the principal strikes in Scotland during the last 30 years.

13,988. All the strikes in the iron and coal trade you mean, I presume?—Yes.

13,989. Have they for the most part been strikes for a rise of wages?—The strikes have mostly occurred when the masters proposed to reduce the wages.

13,990. That is to say, the strikes have been on account of wages, either for a rise or to prevent a fall?—Generally to prevent a fall I should say. The miners had no difficulty in getting up their wages when trade was good, it was when the masters proposed to reduce the wages that the strikes generally took place.

13,991. Have the men for the most part succeeded in their object?—No, they have never succeeded in any of the great strikes in Scotland, so far as I can recollect, that is to say, they have never succeeded in anything like general strikes.

13,992. For what length of time have they been out on strike, taking the longest strike?—From five or six weeks to 12 or 13 weeks.

13,993. (*Mr. Mathews.*) When there is an attempt to reduce wages in Scotland, what does it generally arise from?—From dull trade.

13,994. From a falling price of coals in fact?—From a falling price of coals and iron.

13,995. Add the result of a dull trade, a falling price of coals and iron, is that the coal master finds it necessary to reduce wages?—Yes.

13,996. Are you aware what proportion in the cost of a ton of coals the labour bears?—It varies very considerably, I should say.

13,997. Will you give some general estimate?—From a half to a fourth I should say.

13,998. What is the selling price of coal now at your colliery?—The selling price of coal averages perhaps about 5*s.* a ton at our colliery.

13,999. What proportion of that consists of wages to colliers and other people employed in raising coal? To the colliers perhaps from 1*s.* 8*d.* to 2*s.*

14,000. About two-fifths?—About two-fifths for the colliers.

14,001. And what other description of labour which is affected by the colliers' wages exists besides the labour of the colliers themselves?—There are what we call "oncost" men above ground and under ground.

14,002. Are their wages generally affected in the same proportion as the colliers by fluctuations in the price of coal?—No, not to the same extent.

14,003. Are they at all affected?—Yes, but not to the same extent.

14,004. When you reduce colliers' wages, you consider, I suppose, that some reduction is necessary in the wages paid to the other descriptions of labour?—Yes.

14,005. Combining all those descriptions of labour what proportion will the whole reduction bear to the cost of a ton of coals?—Perhaps all the other wages put together would be a little more than one-fifth.

14,006. That would make more than three-fifths in all as the proportion of labour?—Yes, I think it would be rather more than three-fifths, but I have not gone into that matter minutely.

14,007. When there is a fall in the price of coals, unless the colliery owner is to lose money, a reduction in the men's wages is absolutely necessary?—Yes.

14,008. When that attempt, however, is made on the part of the coal master the men are generally dissatisfied and strike?—Generally.

14,009. Do they strike as a matter of form or is there any organization which directs the strike?—There is generally organization when the strikes commence.

14,010. Is that organization the organization of the unions?—Yes.

14,011. Are the unions pretty general throughout the Scotch collieries?—They are.

14,012. As general as in England?—I think they are much the same.

Mr. A. Hood.

21 April 1868.

14,013. Whenever there is a notice for a reduction of wages the union steps in and suggests a strike on the part of the men?—Well, I should think it is done through the instrumentality of the unions; in fact, the men have often told me that they could not act themselves without consulting the union.

14,014. You say that the strikes have generally been unsuccessful?—Generally.

14,015. Is it not almost impossible that they should be successful when the price of coal is reduced?—Quite impossible.

14,016. The coal master could not carry on his colliery giving the old rate of wages with a reduced price of coal?—No.

14,017. He is compelled to reduce wages, and it is not done from any choice of his own?—That is so. I myself never attempt a reduction unless I find it absolutely necessary.

14,018. And I suppose that is the policy of the coal masters generally?—Yes, I believe so.

14,019. How long was the longest strike that you have known?—Thirteen weeks.

14,020. How long since did that take place?—In 1856.

14,021. Was that successful or were the men obliged to succumb?—The men were obliged to succumb.

14,022. There was no improvement, then, in the coal trade during the 13 weeks' strike?—I cannot say that. Prices went up to an enormous extent during the strike, but the masters did not yield, because they knew that prices would fall again when work commenced.

14,023. That state of things formed no general criterion of what the price of coal would be when the men commenced work?—Not the least.

14,024. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Where was that strike?—In Lanarkshire.

14,025. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is that where your collieries are?—I have one colliery there.

14,026. Was the strike general all over Scotland at that time or was it confined to Lanarkshire?—It was chiefly in Lanarkshire. I do not think it extended over the whole of Scotland.

14,027. Has there been any subsequent strike to that of any duration?—No, not of any duration. There have been partial strikes, but none so general as that was.

14,028. In the event of the coal trade improving and prices getting better, there is never any disinclination, is there, on the part of the masters to meet that by an advance of wages?—We are all too glad to do it.

14,029. It is an advantage to you, in short?—Yes; because we can generally advance the price more than we give to the men.

14,030. You get more yourselves by the advanced price than the advance which you give to the men?—Yes.

14,031. On the contrary, in a falling market, you lose more by the price at which you sell the coal in the market than the reduction which you make to the men?—Yes.

14,032. So that it is a disadvantage to the master to contemplate a reduction in the price of coal and the necessity of reduction in wages?—Yes.

14,033. Have you ever had any conversation with the men independent of the unions in order to discuss these matters with them during a strike?—Yes; the communication that I have had has mostly been with our own men, but I always understood that they were regulated to some extent by the union.

14,034. What arguments do the men use to show that wages should not be reduced when there is a fall in the value of coals?—I do not think that they go into reasons very closely on that matter.

14,035. They do not like a reduction, and therefore they resist it as long as they can, that is the fact?—Yes.

14,036. And when they are tired of play, or compelled by the exigencies of their position to yield, then they yield and not before?—Yes.

14,037. Have you a good understanding with your men now notwithstanding these unions?—Yes, very fair.

14,038. Can you allege any reason besides the councils of the officers of the union why the men should strike for 13 weeks when they see that there is an absolute necessity for a reduction of wages?—No, they do not condescend upon any reasons.

14,039. They act without reason?—Yes.

14,040. Do they pay the officers of the unions?—I believe they do.

14,041. And have the officers of the unions any other occupations besides that for which they get paid by the union members?—Yes, some of them. We have officers of the union constantly working to some extent.

14,042. Are they employed as colliers?—Yes.

14,043. But they are not altogether dependent upon their work as colliers?—No.

14,044. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) What wages do the men earn in your trade?—In Scotland just now they are earning I should say from 3*s.* to 4*s.* a day.

14,045. And what sort of fluctuations have there been in the rise and fall of wages there?—I believe the fluctuation during the last three years has been to the extent of 50 per cent.

14,046. That is upon 4*s.* a day?—Between 4*s.* and 6*s.* a day. But then they restricted their labour also.

14,047. Reducing the quantity of work you mean?—Yes.

14,048. Have they a rule of that kind in your district?—They have worked upon that principle of restricting their labour to a very great extent during the last few years in Scotland.

14,049. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Whom do you mean when you say "they?"—The men, the colliers.

14,050. Have they come to you and said, "We do not intend to work for you so many hours a day"?—No, they gave us no intimation whatever; they just did it.

14,051. So that you ascertain the fact from the fact and not from any statement of theirs?—Just so.

14,052. During these strikes you say that you have had communication with your men; have you had any communication with the officers of the union?—No, excepting with officers in my own employment.

14,053. Do you ever communicate with people out of your own employment, people representing unions but not men of your own?—No, I have never communicated with persons in that way.

14,054. Have you made any resolution of that sort that you do not communicate with men outside your works?—No, I have not.

14,055. But you have acted upon that?—I have acted upon it.

14,056. When this strike to which you have referred ceased in what condition were the men?—In a very wretched condition.

14,057. So that the effect of the strike only was to make the men miserable?—That was all I am sorry to say.

14,058. Did that misery affect also their families?—Yes, to a very great extent.

14,059. Have you any idea of the sort of effect that it did produce upon the families; had they less to eat, for instance?—Most unquestionably.

14,060. What food usually does a collier have in Scotland when he is in full work?—He generally has the best food that the district can produce.

14,061. That is to say he has meat I suppose?—Yes.

14,062. Has he meat every day?—Yes, I should say so as a rule.

14,063. During these strikes has he been obliged to leave off meat?—Yes, and to steal potatoes. In the strike of 1842 or 1843 I have seen men going out ometimes in droves at night to steal potatoes.

14,064. During such a time of strike have you made any remonstrances with the men, and said to them, "Why do you continue the strike, we cannot do any-

"thing more for you"?—Yes, when I have had an opportunity.

14,065. What answer did they make?—Some of them would say that they were willing to commence, but that they dared not.

14,066. And when they said they "dared not," what did you suppose they meant?—They meant that the other workmen would have prevented them.

14,067. In what way; violently?—Well I believe that they would have tried first to prevent them without violence. But it is quite a common thing in the neighbourhood of Glasgow for a man to be prevented from working in the morning. Sometimes a deputation of two or three or four men are sent to each colliery to prevent the men from going down in the morning.

14,068. First of all you say they use what they I suppose would call moral suasion?—Exactly so.

14,069. But is not that moral suasion always accompanied with this sort of thing. "Now do not go down; "it is not for your interest to go down, but if you do "go down, why then ——"?—Exactly.

14,070. And that "why then" means violence in fact?—I believe it does.

14,071. (*Mr. Booth.*) In that long strike in Lanarkshire which you spoke of, did you take any steps to get men from other quarters?—We did eventually take steps, not to get men from other quarters, but to induce some of our old men to go in, and we succeeded to a small extent. They were in fact in complete starvation.

14,072. Were they interfered with by the other men, the men who were out on strike?—They were, but eventually they were all very glad to get in I believe.

14,073. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) A pinching belly compelled them to go into the pit?—Yes.

14,074. (*Chairman.*) Have strikes had any effect in depressing the trade after the men have resumed work?—No, I do not think that they have had any effect in depressing trade after the men have resumed work; but an effect was produced before the strike when the existing wages were higher than the trade could afford.

14,075. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) To whom do you chiefly sell your coal?—We ship a small portion of it, and we sell the rest to manufacturers and for household purposes.

14,076. During the strike, the manufacturer having no coal from you, did he go to other people to get coal?—Yes. Coal was brought from a great distance during that strike in 1856.

14,077. Then when you resumed work did you find that your customer came back, or did he stay with the person whom he had been compelled to employ during the strike?—Our customers could not leave us, because they were bringing coals from Newcastle at that time, where the stock was lying.

14,078. In fact, you could supply them more cheaply than anybody else?—Yes.

14,079. (*Mr. Booth.*) Owing to the circumstances of your colliery you did not, in fact, lose the market in consequence of the interruption?—No.

14,080. (*Mr. Mathews.*) The cost of the extra carriage from Newcastle and the other districts to which your customers resorted would soon bring them back to your collieries?—Yes.

14,081. How many hour do the men work for that 3*s.* or 4*s.* which you say they get?—From eight to twelve hours a day.

14,082. Do they work by a stint, that is, by so much, holing or hewing for a day's work, or what is the system?—In some parts of the country they have what they call a darg, that has the same meaning as your word stint.

14,083. How about your own collieries?—In some of my own collieries they have a set darg, and in others of them they have not.

14,084.—Where they have this darg, as you call it, how many hours a day do they reckon as a day's work?—That depends a good deal upon the character and ability of the man.

14,085. Taking an average man what would it be?—About 10 hours.

14,086. And for that he would get 3*s.* to 4*s.*?—Yes.

14,087. In case of a strike or any privation on the part of the men or their families do they go to their parish or get assistance from it?—No, they do not get any assistance from the parish as long as they are able bodied.

14,088. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What was the number of hours that men worked when you began your business ife?—They worked very long hours.

14,089. Can you recollect the number?—They worked from 10 to 12 and even 15 hours a day.

14,090. And now you say they work how many?—I should say on an average 10 hours a day.

14,091. With regard to that shortening of the hours of labour, is that attributable to the action of the unions or to a feeling on the part of the masters, combined with a feeling on the part of the men; has it been brought about, in fact, by the unions advising the men?—I would not say that it has been brought about by the unions. I think that scarcely any good has been brought about by the unions. I think the Mines Inspection Act has been very useful in bringing about all these arrangements. It has made us a great deal more particular, and we rather vie with each other now who shall have the best-conducted colliery.

14,092. When you began your business life I suppose that women and children worked in the mines?—They did.

14,093. And that was prevented by Act of Parliament?—Yes.

14,094. Are you at all aware of any improvement in the manners and condition of the colliers since the prevention of women and children working in the mines?—Yes, there has been a gradual improvement in the condition and manners of the colliery population.

14,095. Are they mostly educated. Do they receive good school instruction?—Yes, we have all good schools.

14,096. When you began your business life did the colliery men partake of that good instruction which you are famous for in Scotland?—No, not then.

14,097. But they have done so since this Act of Parliament was passed?—Yes, they have been gradually improving in that respect, and I do not know any colliery district now without a first-rate school.

14,098. When you say "a first-rate school" have you any notion of the cost that it is to a man at one of those collieries to send one child to school?—About 2*d.* a week.

14,099. And for that what sort of instruction does the child get?—He gets English and geography and the usual elementary branches of education.

14,100. He reads, writes, and ciphers, I suppose?—Yes, he reads, writes, and counts, as we call it in Scotland.

14,101. What number of years does a child usually continue at school?—Unfortunately they are taken away too early from school. I do not allow them, if I can help it, to get into the pit before they are 12 years of age.

14,102. What is the limit by the Act of Parliament?—It is 10 under certain restrictions. They get away at 10 years of age if they can read and write. They get a certificate monthly or quarterly that they can read and write, or they attend school a certain number of hours weekly until they are 12.

14,103. From 10 to 12 years of age that is?—Yes.

14,104. I think you say that you have made it usually a rule not to let children into your pit until they are 12?—Yes.

14,105. Is that because their coming in was attended with difficult restrictions, or because you felt that it was not for the child's good?—It is because I felt it was not for the child's good. In special cases I allow it. If a family is very poor, or if a widow for instance

Mr. A. Hood.

21 April 1868.

has a very apt child that can read and write well, I permit it, but very rarely.

14,106. You say that the manners of the colliers have improved of late years. Has there been less violence in your district of late years?—Yes, much less violence.

14,107. I suppose that when you began there was a sort of brutality (I do not like to use a harsh word) about the manner of the men?—Yes.

14,108. Has that disappeared now?—It has to a great exent.

14,109. And you attribute that to the improved education they can get in consequence of the restriction of hours, and the prevention of women and children going into pits?—I think it is as much due to education as anything else.

14,110. But the education could not have been given under the old circumstances?—No.

14,111. (*Chairman.*) Has there been a greater improvement in the miners, do you think, than there has been in the other classes that live by daily wages?—No, I would not say there has.

14,112. There has been a general improvement throughout society?—Yes.

14,113. You say there has been an improvement since the Mines Inspection Act. Do you know to what influence you are to attribute the Mines Inspection Act; was it to the trades union men?—No, I do not think it was. I think that it was due to the general feeling of the public.

14,114. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) But how was that feeling raised?—I do not know how it may have originated.

14,115. There was a feeling at that time in the public mind of the impropriety and injustice of employing women and children in mines?—There was.

14,116. Do you know whether that was preceded by any attempt on the part of the leaders of trades unions to instruct the public in the injustice of the arrangement?—I do not know; I do not recollect so far back as that.

14,117. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Were there many women employed in mines in Scotland previous to the first Inspection Act?—Yes, a great many.

14,118. More in Scotland, if I remember rightly, than in all England put together?—None were employed in the west of Scotland, but in the east a great many were.

14,119. Who were the great proprietors in the east of Scotland at that time?—The Marquis of Lothian, the Duke of Buccleuch, and Mr. Wardlaw Ramsay, my landlord, and other small proprietors in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. There never was a woman employed underground in the west of Scotland within my remembrance. I speak more particularly to the west of Glasgow where I was brought up.

14,120. About the employment of boys in mines, you employ no boy under 12 years of age as a general rule?—No.

14,121. But in certain cases where you find a steady boy who has been to school, and whose mother might be in some degree benefited by his labour, you employ him under that age?—Yes.

14,122. As a rule the Act has excluded all boys from the mines under 12 years of age?—Yes.

14,123. (*Chairman.*) Do you employ boys and women on the surface?—We do not employ women on the surface at any of our collieries.

14,124. (*Mr. Mathews.*) There is no restriction as to the age at which boys may be employed on the surface, is there?—No, I think not.

14,125. (*Chairman.*) What was the work of the women when they worked under ground?—They hauled the coal from the working faces to the pit bottom, and sometimes carried it up the shaft in baskets, or creels as we call them.

14,126. They were not employed in breaking the coal?—No.

14,127. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What weight would the baskets be which they carried?—Some of them 2 cwt.

14,128. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Did they climb up?—They got up a ladder.

14,129. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) With 2 cwt. on their back?—Yes.

14,130. (*Chairman.*) Had you not machinery, and would not that be more profitable to the proprietors?—In some of the shallow collieries they have not machinery, and in some of the collieries in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh the coal seems to lie very steep on edge, and they had ladders up the strata; they commenced to work at the very surface, and then they went down and continued just as far as the women could carry the coals up.

14,131. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Have they employed machinery since the women have left off doing that work?—Yes, they always do so now.

14,132. So that the necessity which was created by the women's absence led to this improvement of the use of machinery?—Not so much that as the increasing depth of the mines. Even now the women could not have been employed to carry the coals to the surface, the mines are getting so much deeper.

14,133. (*Mr. Booth.*) As far as your experience goes the authorities of the unions did not take any steps which led to the prohibition of the employment of women and children in collieries?—No.

14,134.—They confined themselves more to the question of wages I suppose?—Yes.

14,135. (*Mr. Mathews.*) What is about the rate of royalty to a ton of coals in Scotland?—I should say from 5*d.* to 1*s.* 4*d.*

14,136. I think you stated the wages of colliers and other assistant labourers to be three-fifths, that is 3*s.* out of the 5*s.*?—Yes, but in some cases the cost of wages will not be so much as three-fifths.

14,137. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) If you could give me the evidence I should like to find out all the items that go to make up the value of a ton of coal at the pit's mouth. First of all I suppose there is the rent of the mine?—Yes.

14,138. What comes next?—There is the labour of the coal hewer and other labourers.

14,139. Is there anything besides the rent of the mine that goes to make up the element of value in the coal excepting labour; have you any machinery for instance?—Yes, we have machinery, and there is the cost of sinking pits and providing oil, tallow, and timber.

14,140. And supervision?—And supervision.

14,141. When all those items are combined, excepting labour, what proportion do you think the amount bears to the whole value?—I should say very nearly a half of it excepting labour; but it varies very considerably.

14,142. What occasions the variation?—Some collieries have a much better roof to the coal than others. That is a very important item, where a thick seam is worked with a bad roof there is a very great expense for timber; sometimes as much as 3*d.* or 4*d.* or even more per ton. But I shall be glad to make up a statement if you would allow me to have time to do so.

14,143. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Give the rate of royalty, which you say varies from 5*d.* to 1*s.* 4*d.*, and given the cost of sinking the pits and the introduction of machinery and other charges of that nature, those are charges which you cannot vary at all, they are fixed and constant?—Yes.

14,144. The only charges you can vary are the wages paid for getting coal?—Yes, they are the chief ones.

14,145. And when there comes a reduction of 6*d.* a ton, or whatever it may be, in the selling price, it becomes a matter of absolute necessity therefore that the wages should be reduced?—Yes.

14,146. That reduction is one of absolute necessity from the exigencies of the case?—Yes.

14,147. So that in point of fact the coal master is a mere passive agent in those circumstances, and can exercise very little discretion of his own?—Yes, and

I believe no combination amongst coal masters could prevent a fall in the price.

14,148. So that any advice that the officers of the unions may give to colliers to resist the reduction of wages rests upon a fallacy which is untenable and can by no possibility succeed?—No doubt of it.

14,149. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) I do not know whether I am going to ask an indiscreet question, but what in the trade is considered the ordinary and proper rate of profit on capital employed in the coal trade?—I do not know that I could answer that question directly. I do not know that there is any exact per-centage, considered to be the proper thing.

14,150. There must be something in your mind that determines you to say that you cannot afford to sell coal at a certain rate; that means that you cannot turn your capital and make the ordinary profit that is required to induce you to go on with it. What I want to know is what is considered in the trade the ordinary and proper rate of profit for capital employed in that way?—I never heard any person name what he would consider the proper rate. I know that some of them work with a very small profit, perhaps so low as 5 per cent. It may vary from 5 to 20 or 30 per cent. on the capital, and occasionally we lose as much. If you were to ask me the question how much any individual concern may have made for a series of years I might be able to answer it.

14,151. That is a question that I should not dare ask?—And I do not know that I would answer it.

14,152. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You consider the coal trade, of course, to be one of very considerable uncertainty as to its results?—Very great uncertainty.

14,153. But you would be satisfied, I presume, in taking your lease upon a royalty and making the necessary outlay if you could be quite sure of 10 per cent. or even less on the capital?—Yes.

14,154. Do you think that the Scotch coal masters, as a rule, get more than 10 per cent.?—I do not think they do.

14,155. They do not get more than 10 per cent., you think, taking the whole of their losses into account, even if they get as much as that?—I do not think they do.

14,156. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Has there been any attempt in your part of the country to associate the working men with the proprietors of the mines in the working of the mines through a system of participation in the profits?—No.

14,157. You have never heard it suggested?—I have suggested it myself to our workmen.

14,158. What have they said?—That they would rather work away as they were if I would give them what they wanted.

14,159. That is to say they would like the profits without the risk, but they did not want to indulge in the expectation of profits with the risk?—Just so.

14,160. (*Chairman.*) Are you at all acquainted with the co-operative mines?—Yes, I have looked at the results occasionally of some of the co-operative mines in England.

14,161. It is an advantageous thing for a working man to belong to them, as I have always understood, because he has a share of the profits?—Yes. When I proposed it to our men they said that they were willing enough to take a share of the profits but they did not see their way to bear any proportion of the losses.

14,162. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Do you know any case in Scotland in which that co-operative system has been introduced in the working of mines?—No, not in the working of mines. We have had it very successfully introduced in the stores, and at one of my own collieries we have a very successful store for supplying the workmen with all the necessaries of life. It answers very well in that case, but I do not believe that it would be successful generally in the working of mines, or in any manufacture whatever.

14,163. (*Mr. Booth.*) Is that a co-operative store?—Yes, a co-operative store.

14,164. Carried on by the men themselves?—Carried on by the men themselves. I give them every assistance they require, and encourage it as much as I can; and it has been very successful.

14,165. Still it is entirely under their control, I suppose?—It is entirely under their control.

14,166. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What goods do they sell?—Almost everything the men require.

14,167. Do they sell meat, for example?—They do sometimes; they get a butcher to supply the members at so much per cent. less than the usual selling price.

14,168. And groceries, I suppose?—They have a regular shop for groceries and cloth; and beer we allow them to sell. We do not allow them to sell whiskey.

14,169. Do you allow them to take beer into the pit?—No.

14,170. (*Mr. Mathews.*) It is a ready money establishment, I suppose?—It is a modification of a ready money establishment. They purchase so many shares in the store, and they get goods to the amount of those shares.

14,171. In the event of a strike or any privation among the colliers, do they get any assistance in the way of credit from these co-operative stores?—No.

14,172. Where there are small shops supplying the people, is it the custom of those shops to give the workmen credit during a strike, or when they are out of work?—Yes.

14,173. That advantage then the workman is entirely deprived of if he is a member of one of these co-operative societies?—Yes.

14,174. Therefore, though they may be of great advantage to him when he is getting good wages, they are of no advantage to him when he is not?—Just so.

14,175. But then the open shop is a great advantage to him and keeps him out of the workhouse for a great number of weeks, perhaps, by the assistance it renders him?—Yes.

14,176. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Do you call that assistance a benefit; does it not continue the strike?—I think that it is no real benefit, but that the co-operative store will have a very good effect in preventing strikes, because the men must know that they have no credit, there and that if they strike they cannot get anything from the co-operative store.

14,177. (*Mr. Mathews.*) The advantage of the co-operative store is that it rather deters men from striking from the consciousness that they can get no assistance if they strike?—Yes.

14,178. On the other hand, if a man is thrown out of work for want of work or accident the open shop gives credit, so that it has its advantages too?—Yes, but I do not think it is any advantage for the men to have the means of striking.

14,179. (*Chairman.*) Have you had experience of combination among the employers for the purpose of keeping up prices?—Yes, I have, and I do not think they have ever been fruitful of benefit to anyone.

14,180. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Whenever the masters attempt to keep up prices in the face of a depressed condition of trade under the notion that it operates upon the price of coal, it is generally an entire fallacy upon the part of the masters?—Yes, generally.

14,181. The regulation of the price is beyond their reach in fact?—Yes.

14,182. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Has that combination amongst masters existed to any extent in your part of the coal country?—Not that I am aware of. I have never been called upon to enter into it to any extent.

14,183. And when it really did exist what form did it take; did the masters enter into any understanding with each other?—Sometimes it was for the purpose of regulating wages and sometimes for regulating prices, and in every case our combinations have completely failed.

14,184. Did they ever enter into combinations for the purpose of resisting strikes?—Yes, I believe we have done so.

14,185. Did those succeed?—No, we had all to act separately and individually in the matter to a very great extent. It was the interest of every individual to resist these strikes, and therefore we succeeded in reducing the men.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. P. Cooper.

21 April 1868.

Mr. PHILIP COOPER examined.

14,186. (*Chairman.*) I believe you are a coal-master at the Holmes Colliery?—I am the general manager of it.

14,187. Is it an extensive work?—We employ upwards of 500 workmen and raise from 3,000 to 4,000 tons of coal a week.

14,188. How long have you been the manager of it?—About six years.

14,189. And had you experience before that?—Yes, in the north of England, in Northumberland, and Durham.

14,190. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Do you come in contact with these trades unions in the coal trade in your district much?—Yes, in Yorkshire they are very strong, and our colliery is included in the district.

14,191. There is a larger extent of trades unionism in Yorkshire than you had in Northumberland when you were there?—Very much so.

14,192. You had not much in Northumberland had you?—We had unions occasionally, but they never lasted long.

14,193. How long have you been in Yorkshire?—About six years.

14,194. And during that time the unions have been very active in your district?—Yes, I think during the whole of that time.

14,195. When was the last strike at your colliery?—We have not had any general strike at our colliery except for a fortnight, I think, in 1864. The colliery was then new and small, and we had a strike of something like a fortnight only, but in the district there was a strike of many weeks, 20 I think.

14,196. What did the strike arise from, was it from an attempt to reduce wages or a demand for an advance on the part of the men?—I think it was a demand to increase wages for this reason—the way that we avoided the strike at that time was that we gave provisionally an increase, subject to the increase that might be given at other collieries when the matter was settled.

14,197. So that your policy was to wait and see what the result of the strike was at other collieries?—Yes, we were new, and winning the pit out, and did not wish to be stopped.

14,198. Was the strike at the other collieries owing to a demand on the part of the men for an increase of wages?—My impression is that it was; I have no doubt indeed that it was.

14,199. What is your impression of the cause of a strike generally; does it arise from a demand for an increase on the part of the men, or from a notice on the part of the masters to reduce wages?—I am not aware of any attempt to reduce wages, except the attempt which is being made just now, and which is not settled. We have called the men together to recommend a reduction on account of the state of trade and if they do not agree to it it will be considered whether we must not give them notice.

14,200. There is no strike existing now in fact?—No.

14,201. Have you come in contact with the unions in your attempts to reduce wages in Yorkshire?—Yes, we always have the interference of the union in cases of dispute. The men are in the union, and any general question is not settled without a reference to the leading persons in the union.

14,202. Are all your men in the union, do you think?—I believe principally at the present time.

14,203. And whenever there is an agitation for an alteration of wages, either lowering or raising them, they generally refer to the officers of the union, and are guided by their advice and direction, are they?—Yes, I think so.

14,204. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) When the officers of the union are not amongst your working men, do you still communicate with them?—We do not exactly communicate with them, but they communicate with us; that is to say, on being requested we confer with them—we meet them at the colliery on the subject in dispute.

14,205. You meet and discuss with the men outside of your pit who do not work for you, and negotiate with them about your own pit?—Yes.

14,206. So that you allow the interference of the trades union in the working of the pit?—We suffer it, not by preference exactly.

14,207. Have you felt any mischievous effect from that interference?—I should say generally not, because I think that when it has come to be a matter of some importance in dispute, and the leaders of the union apart from our own workmen have interfered, the matter has been settled without a strike, when perhaps otherwise it would have ended in a strike.

14,208. And that you attribute to the influence of the union?—No, I attribute it to the influence of having the thing fairly stated by those who have the power to say whether the men would be supported in case of strike or not.

14,209. In those individual cases you suggest that the union has prevented strikes, and not created them, as I understand you?—No, I suggest this, that by our having a conference with the leading men of the union—with the secretary of the union, say—he has had a more clear understanding of the nature of the dispute than he otherwise would have had, and has been able to use an influence with the men to prevent them from striking; the influence of advice and counsel in some cases, and perhaps a hint that they would not be supported by the union in such a course.

14,210. Then it comes to what I said, that you in that case attribute the beneficial influence to the working of the union?—Well, I have no doubt that it has prevented in certain cases with us a further cessation of labour when it has existed, and has prevented it from beginning in other cases.

14,211. (*Mr. Mathews.*) What is the selling price of coal now at your collieries?—It depends upon the kind of coal, to begin with. The slack coal of course is sold for less than the rest—that is 3*s.*; house coal for 6*s.*, and hard coal for 7*s.* per ton, at the pit's mouth.

14,212. Taking the portions all together, what would be the average?—Perhaps 6*s.* to 6*s.* 3*d.* or 6*s.* 6*d.* per ton of 21 cwts.

14,213. Have you any control over the circumstances that regulate the price of coal?—No, exceedingly little.

14,214. If the price of coal is disposed to go down, owing to a bad trade or a falling off of consumption to any material degree, you cannot prevent the price of coal so going down?—No, we have no means of controlling that.

14,215. On the other hand, when there is an extra demand for coal, all the collieries very soon find that they have more demand than they can supply, and they naturally raise the price?—Yes.

14,216. When they raise the price does it end in colliers' wages rising in the same proportion?—It has done so in Yorkshire of late.

14,217. And when the market falls you reduce the wages in the same proportion, I suppose?—We are now trying to do so.

14,218. And if you do not succeed what will be the result?—We shall either be compelled to stop or to work at an absolute loss.

14,219. And you would not go on at a loss long, I suppose?—Not if we can help it.

14,220. So that a falling market and reduction in the rate of wages is infinitely more to the disadvantage of the coal-master than it is for him to raise the wages and raise the price of coal?—Certainly.

14,221. You find that the coal market is very little influenced by any combination on the part of the coal-masters themselves to raise the price or keep it from coming down?—I believe it is beyond our control.

14,222. And the rate of wages is compelled by circumstances to be regulated by the price of coal?—It ought to be.

14,223. And it is in point of fact, is it not?—It is in advancing, but we have not always found it so in reducing. I have in several cases found that coal-

owners would rather bear the loss, and did bear it, if they thought it was temporary.

14,224. That is to say, there is always an unwillingness on the part of the coal-master to reduce the wages of the workmen if he thinks there is any prospect of the trade recovering itself?—Yes.

14,225. If he sees that the state of trade is such that there is a probable prospect of a rise in price there is no disinclination on his part to raise wages, provided he can do so securely?—I think not; indeed we should always be more ready to raise the price of wages with an advancing market for selling coal than to reduce it.

14,226. In order to keep the collieries at full work you mean?—In order to keep the collieries at full work.

14,227. So that, in point of fact, your experience is, that on the one hand the masters have very little influence in retarding a fall in the price of coal, or in causing an advance, and that on the other hand the workmen also have very little influence?—I believe the influence that either can bring to bear on the matter is temporary, and is over-ruled in the end by more certain rules of trade.

14,228. What is the average rate of royalty to the landlord payable upon coals in your district?—It differs very materially, but for the Barnsley bed it is something like 1*s.* a ton.

14,229. And that 1*s.* a ton you cannot alter, of course?—No; whatever the state of trade is that remains the same.

14,230. And what proportion of the residue do you think consists of workmen's wages that are influenced by fluctuations according to circumstances?—Including the royalty I should say something like 60 per cent. as wages.

14,231. And the remainder would be royalty and common charges?—Yes; that leaves 40 per cent. for the royalty, and material, and other charges for the maintenance of the pit, and so on.

14,232. Which are not materially affected by a rise or fall in the rate of the colliers' wages?—Which are not affected by the rise and fall of prices at the colliery, but are charges for work done by manufacturers, and for the keep of horses, and so on.

14,233. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Who is the proprietor of the Holmes Colliery?—It is a limited liability company, consisting principally of gentlemen of the neighbourhood.

14,234. (*Mr. Booth.*) I think you said that your interviews with the officers of the unions have sometimes been useful in settling the differences between the workmen and yourselves, and in preventing a strike?—I believe so.

14,235. Had the unions anything to do with bringing about those differences in the first instance?—I think that what I should call the general union had not anything to do with it, but the mere local lodge in which our own men were. I should think that the first steps were not taken by any arrangement of the general union.

14,236. What were the subjects of dispute in the case to which you refer?—They were various.

14,237. Questions of wages?—Sometimes wages; an application for increase of wages which was not general in the district, or which was confined, say, to our works; some special advance of wages.

14,238. Had the unions anything to do with suggesting that advance of wages originally?—When it was a general advance applied for in the district they had, no question about it; but what they do in other isolated cases I cannot say. I believe that as far as our own place is concerned the application for an advance has been made without the concurrence of the principal leaders of the union in the district, I mean their council, or general committee, or whatever it is that manages their affairs, and that it was a local thing got up by the men themselves.

14,239. You think your intercourse with the officers of the unions has led to the adjustment of those differences?—Yes, I think sometimes they have prevented, too, a further cessation of work, the interview leading in too many cases to very large concessions on the part of the employers.

14,240. Do you think that it was to the advantage of the employers that there should be that kind of intermediary between you and the workmen?—That of course is a very wide question. I do not believe that these unions are beneficial to anybody, either workmen, or the public, or employers. I believe that they are injurious in the end, but I believe that under the peculiar circumstances of a strong union, such as that existing in South Yorkshire, the policy of any colliery manager refusing, in case of dispute, to meet the secretary, or the committee, or other persons requested to meet him, who did not belong to his own works, would be a suicidal policy on his part; that it would lead to those persons having only the statement made by the workmen, and not knowing the facts of the case, and probably sanctioning and supporting a strike which otherwise they would not do. And to that extent it must be beneficial to meet the officers of the union.

14,241. But supposing there had been no such union in existence, do you think that there would be any difficulty in settling your differences with the men?—I think not. I think there would be less than there is in the case of the union existing.

14,242. (*Mr. Mathews.*) In case of your refusing to see any officers of the union who might wish to communicate with you, and restricting it to men in your own employ, what steps would the officers of the union take with the men to interfere with their work?—I think that if they believed their statements and approved of what they wanted they would support them, in the event of a strike.

14,243. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) In what way would they support them?—By paying them a weekly allowance.

14,244. Have you ever known any violence on the part of persons attempting to keep them from going down the pits?—Frequently; indeed a great source of contention at our works has been the demands of the men to force men to go into the union. We have always held ourselves neutral, and very frequently they have laid the works idle because a few men were not paying into the union, or because they were in arrears with their payments. Not only that, but they have come and asked more than once that we should compel men to subscribe to the union, or else not employ them, or that we should promise not to employ any man without asking whether he would pay into the union. However, in all these cases I have steadily refused interfering with the union in one way or the other, so far as regarded trying to induce any man to join or not join, to pay or not pay, to the union.

14,245. Did they ever ask you to pay a man's arrears?—No, I think not. They have asked us to make the men pay up their arrears or to discharge them, but they have not asked us to pay up the arrears themselves. I think that has not been done in the coal trade, though it has been done in other trades in the neighbourhood.

14,246. (*Mr. Mathews.*) When they have asked you to compel other men to join the union and you have refused, has the result been that they have proceeded to call out your men?—For a little time, a day or two; indeed at one time for weeks together we were idle I should say one day a week, solely on account of men not paying to the union. The fact is, that at the beginning of the union, at our works, they had to force the men into it; a few joined by the influence of other men outside, and then these few used to place themselves at the pay office door on the night of the pay, and by threats and violence they compelled men to pay that were not in the union at first.

14,247. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Have you ever known a case of a man being ill-used for persisting in his refusal to pay?—Yes, one was seriously ill-used on the colliery premises in returning from his work.

14,248. (*Mr. Mathews.*) So that you would infer from that fact that the men are rather unwilling sub-

Mr. P. Cooper.

21 April 1868.

scribers to the union, and that they subscribe only because they are afraid of being ill-used if they do not?—I believe that throughout the whole district a large proportion of the men would rather not join, but they do it for peace and quietness sake.

14,249. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) They do not in fact like to work with men who are at strife with them?—No.

14,250. And on that account as well as from fear of violence they pay, in order to have a quiet world?—Yes, but they have good reason to have the fear of violence because they have been subjected to it so often during the last four or five years. When this man was seriously ill-used the pit was laid idle. His eyes were injured and his head was broken, and the men who took part in it were prosecuted and committed; several other persons have been illused.

14,251. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Was there any evidence in those cases that that misconduct had been sanctioned by the officers of the union, or that it came before the governing body in any-way?—Not the general union; at least I have no reason to believe that the general union sanctioned it, though in some cases the leaders of the local union, that is to say, the men at our colliery, were not averse to it, but rather in favour of it. Indeed some of the leading men were prosecuted for taking a part in it. But I have no reason to think that the officers of the general union had anything to do with it in any way.

14,252. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) The general officers were at a distance I suppose?—Yes.

14,253. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Was there any evidence that it was in consequence of any declaration come to at a union meeting, or that it was a thing regularly commissioned to be done, sanctioned by the society in fact, before hand?—I believe in this particular case the men not paying, and that sort of thing had been discussed at a meeting of our own workmen (I do not refer to the general outside union), but I am not aware that there was any resolution that they should do anything to him. But the thing was discussed generally, and the man's conduct was disapproved of because he would not pay.

14,254. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) I suppose that your men are all shrewd Yorkshiremen, are not they?—I fancy that half of the colliers in Yorkshire are not Yorkshiremen, and very few of our men are Yorkshiremen.

14,255. (*Mr. Booth.*) Were any steps taken on any of these occasions by the union to express their disapprobation of any of these violent proceedings?—No, on the contrary they found the money for the defence of these persons who were prosecuted, and kept their wives and families while they were in prison.

14,256. So that they did virtually sanction what had been done?—I think so—I mean that they did so locally. I do not mean to speak for the general union, because I have no means of knowing that.

14,257. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Let me direct your mind to the general union. You say that you do not think that they sanctioned these proceedings?—I say that I have no means of knowing.

14,258. Do you think that men of that sort would do so foolish a thing as to inculpate themselves by any declaration that they might make on the occasion? do not you think that they are shrewd enough to get the thing done without endangering themselves?—Yes, but I do not think that there was any formal arrangement to do any mischief.

14,259. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you suppose that the authority of the central union, which now exists at Barnsley, for instance, had anything whatever to do with this act of violence in arranging it beforehand?—No, I think not. I have no reason to think so.

14,260. (*Mr. Booth.*) Can you call to mind any case in which a rise of wages was brought about through the intervention of the union, in which in your opinion that rise would not have taken place at least within a short period supposing the union had not interfered; I speak of a permanent rise of wages?—Yes, we have frequently had to make advances within the last four years that we should certainly not have made had it not been that we as a single colliery seemed to have been selected to be applied to for an advance, and we considered that if we refused it then inevitably we would have to fight the whole union. The consequence was that we submitted to what we considered in many cases, and do yet consider, very unreasonable advances, for the sake of preventing our colliery from being suspended entirely.

14,261. Have those advances been permanent?—They are permanent to the present time, and I do not know whether there is any prospect of their being taken off.

14,262. Have similar advances taken place in the neighbouring collieries?—At several of them.

14,263. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Then, *pro tanto*, the men have received an advantage from the existence of unions?—I have no doubt that they have in some cases in the increase of the rate of wages, but not in the increase of the actual amount of earnings.

14,264. (*Mr. Mathews.*) That rise of wages may have even caused a loss for the time?—No question of it. I have always found that every increase in the rate of wages, piece-work wages, tonnage prices, and yard prices, leads to a greater reduction in the amount of labour performed in proportion, and that the men actually make less wages than they did before with the less rate of pay.

14,265. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You mean that they do less work?—Very much less work; and work fewer days.

14,266. And what money they get they get at a less expense of labour?—Yes, they earn less wages altogether.

14,267. (*Mr. Mathews.*) And they effect that rise in wages by fixing on some one colliery at which to strike while the men at the other collieries continue at work and support those on strike?—I do not say that the union generally do it, but I say that our men make a proposition that they shall have something, the general union hear what they have to say and they believe their statement, or perhaps it may be that it is a necessary part of their policy not to restrain the men on every occasion of an application being made, though they may think them unreasonable, but that they should sanction it and furnish them support. I suppose in that case if we thought that a strike would be the result and that we should have to fight the whole union ourselves, while the other collieries were working to support the men on strike, we should certainly, if it was possible, yield the point rather than have a strike.

14,268. That is taking for granted the probability that the men would have the support of the union funds if a strike took place?—The certainty of it in the South Yorkshire district. In a very large adjoining works they were out of work very nearly three quarters of last year through some dispute sanctioned by the union.

14,269. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What colliery was that?—The Chapel Town Colliery.

14,270. Belonging to whom?—Belonging to Mr. Chambers.

14,271. (*Mr. Mathews.*) The operation would be this. The men having given you notice for an advance of wages, if you refused to give that advance of wages the unions would support those colliers out on strike for an indefinite period?—Yes.

14,272. And they might have the power of stopping your colliery altogether and ruining it?—Yes, with a limited number to support and 7,000 or 8,000 paying members they could go on any length of time supporting that limited number as well as if they were employed.

14,273. So that if one colliery were victimized they would gain their object by causing a conviction in the mind of the master, "If I do not give way my colliery will be ruined"?—Yes.

14,274. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Have you known that the central authority has originated a strike, say at your own works, without any suggestion of the kind coming from your own men?—No, on the contrary; I said that the question very probably began with our own workmen, or the workmen of the individual

colliery, in the first instance. I am not aware of any arrangement of the central authority of the union that they would attack any particular colliery or that the men should do so; but the thing has worked itself out in that form; the men have made an application and the leaders of the union have thought it was right that they should make it, or that they should support them, and the consequence has been that you have had to fight the whole union as one isolated colliery.

14,275. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Even if they do not originate it, the fact remains that the whole union sanctions the strike of your men and supports them?—Yes.

14,276. You do not want legal evidence, because you have the fact before you that they contribute to your men on strike?—Yes.

14,277. If you wanted to get legal evidence it would be almost impossible to get it, I suppose?—It would be almost impossible to get it without the aid of the delegates or some of their officers, which is not likely.

14,278. (*Mr. Harrison.*) I understand you to say that something of this kind occurs. The men at a particular pit, say your own, think that the time has come when they should have an increase of wages, and they then communicate with the other members of the union to ascrtain whether they would be supported. That demand is considered, and sometimes it is admitted and sometimes it is not admitted?—Perhaps before they communicate with the leading union they have made the application and given notice to leave.

14,279. Then they have taken the step themselves?—In the first instance, I quite believe so in most cases. I have no reason to believe that the leading members of the union have selected any one colliery to try that policy which I have described, but the thing has worked itself out by the operation of the men and other circumstances bringing it to bear in that form, and the result has been a considerable advance in prices. And I believe that that has restricted the development of the Yorkshire district very much. During the last six years I believe that the Yorkshire district has only increased about 5 per cent. in the output of coal.

14,280. (*Mr. Mathews.*) The unions have been more rife in the South Yorkshire district than they have been in other parts of England?—I believe they have during that time.

14,281. And more mischievous, in your opinion?—They have in several ways increased the cost much more than the increase in the rate of wages, and restricted the quantity, and by their doing so, and laying the pits idle, the result to Yorkshire is that the output there has only increased in six years 5 per cent., while the average increase of the country has been something like 25 per cent., and in the immediate neighbourhood in Derbyshire, where there is no union, there has been upwards of 20 per cent. increase in the six years ending with 1866.

14,282. You infer from that that the union interference is as prejudicial to the men as it is to the masters?—I believe so.

14,283. (*Mr. Booth.*) Supposing that the natural increase in the output had taken place, there would have been a consequent rise of wages?—Yes, ultimately.

14,284. And the men would have got the advantage without a union?—Yes, as the natural result of the state of trade, instead of its being forced when trade could not bear it. I do not think there is any fear of wages lagging behindhand when trade is good.

14,285. Then, under the ordinary state of things, the advance would have been gained without the unions?—Yes.

14,286. But I asked you just now whether on the occasion when you yielded to the representation of the union in order to avoid a strike, that rise of wages would not have taken place of itself, and I understood you to say it would not?—I referred in that case to special advances of a very objectionable character, but as regards general advances in the trade and a general improvement in the rate of wages I think that in the natural state of improving trade they would rise independently of any union.

14,287. That is, that the men who succeeded in getting the rise would have got it even without that kind of violent proceeding?—Yes, in regard to the general advance; but I speak more particularly with reference to exceptional advances, such as selecting one particular colliery for something out of the usual rate of payment. In that case ordinary improvement in trade would not have gained it, because we hold that the thing was unreasonable in all states of trade.

14,288. It might not have taken place so soon, but if I understand you, in the development of trade it would have taken place without the intervention of any union?—A general increase in payment, but not the special advances for local and special things.

14,289. Not those immediate advances I suppose you mean?—What I refer to is something like this. You have in the ordinary state of trade an improving demand for coal, and consequently you have an improving price, and you are anxious to get more coal, and the wages are very freely raised. But what I call the objectionable advances are advances asked for sometimes I think with the policy in view of preventing your working an increased quantity of coal. Now we have had to submit to payments which I think exceedingly objectionable, and which the ordinary improvement of trade ought not to have produced, and would not produce in any case; that is to say, payments to men working under special circumstances. We are paying at the present time 30, 40, and even 50 per cent. more than we were paying four years ago for certain kinds of labour, labour that is necessary to the development of the underground works. Very frequently in collieries, indeed almost constantly (and with the view I think in some cases of restricting an increased quantity of coal being raised,) we have been asked prices, and had to submit to and pay prices that I think are excessively unreasonable; prices that have enabled those particular men to make more wages by 30 or 40 per cent. than the average rate of wages in the colliery, and I think that those rises would not have been effected by a natural development of trade.

14,290. Will those prices be permanent?—I do not know I am sure.

14,291. (*Lord Elcho.*) You speak of some particular kind of labour in some particular kind of work; what kind of labour and what kind of work do you refer to?—Ordinary coal mining, but under peculiar circumstances.

14,292. What peculiar circumstances?—The coal, as you are aware, is quite solid, to begin with, and we have to make our way into that coal, by exploring or winning drifts. In doing that it is very frequently necessary to press the working of these drifts forward so as to enable the men to go on safely with the ordinary coal working. In that case you may wish perhaps instead of working one shift per day of eight hours to work in these places two or three of eight hours, or four of six hours. Now that is usual more or less in most collieries, but in our particular case we have had to pay an exceptionally high price, a higher price than ever was known in the coal trade in any part of this country, no doubt.

14,293. Are there any peculiar circumstances attached to your colliery that render that high price necessary in your colliery, but not necessary in others?—No.

14,294. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Then under those circumstances do not you think that it would be fair on the part of the persons who advocate trades unions to speak to the men and say, "Now, here we point you out "one matter in which we have done you benefit, in "which you have got an increase which you would not "have got but for our assistance," and is not that to the working men an argument *pro tanto* in favour of trades unionism?—I have no doubt but that the result of a firm combination by workmen is an advance of prices, or a reduction of labour in times when trade is good, but in times when trade is bad such combinations become utterly powerless.

Mr. P. Cooper.

21 April 1868.

14,295. In those times when trade is good would not the rise have taken place without the aid of the union?—General advances would.

14,296. But you point out particular instances in which there would not have been a rise without the aid of the union?—Exactly so.

14,297. Then under those circumstances do not you think persons justified when they speak to the working men in this way; "We point you out here an advan- "tage derived by you, a working man, from the "union"?—Yes, I have no doubt of that, and I have no doubt also that these little matters are brought about in a measure to show that the union does good, that is to say, these little things are pressed with the object of showing that unions really bring some benefit to the workmen; and for the purpose of restricting production.

14,298. (*Mr. Harrison.*) This special work which you have been speaking of is in reality overtime, is it not, either work at unusual hours, or for an unusual length of time?—The whole of it is piece work to begin with. It is not overtime, but there are perhaps two sets of workmen employed in succession in the same working face instead of one set.

14,299. It is work at special hours, at night for instance very often, is it not?—That is not so in the case of two sets of men per day. In some parts of this country, in the north of England, for example, the constant and ordinary state of things is, to have what we call two shifts or two days work performed by different workmen in one place, in succession.

14,300. You tell us, as far as I understand you, that for a special kind of work you have had to pay 40 and even 50 per cent. extra; that is work different from the ordinary work for which you pay the other rate; the work upon which you pay these advanced rates is in reality work at special hours, and where you are going on the whole 24 hours is necessarily work through the night, and therefore you would naturally pay more for it, would you not?—No, it is not the custom in the coal trade to pay more for night-work; there is always a large number of persons working during the night.

14,301. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Does it make any difference to a man working in the dark whether it is night or day?—No; it reduces the risk by reducing the number of men in the pit at one time.

14,302. (*Mr. Harrison.*) The union has introduced that custom of requiring an extra rate of payment for work under these conditions?—Yes; for the purpose of restricting the production.

14,303. It is overtime is it not, in fact?—Not in the sense that the men work a day and a quarter for a day.

14,304. It is work done at different hours from that of the other men?—Some of them; they do it alternately.

14,305. I think your evidence is that on the whole the effect of the union operations has been to reduce the amount of time which is worked, that is to say, to reduce the hours even where at the same time you think that the wages earned on the whole have been raised?—That the rates of payment have been raised and the hours the pits work coal per day at the same time reduced, and consequently the cost increased beyond the increase of wages.

14,306. As a rule in your district the union men work rather shorter hours, do they not, than in some other districts, Lancashire, and Wales, and Derbyshire, for instance?—I believe in South Yorkshire the men work as short hours as they do in any district except it be in Durham. I believe that in all other districts of this country the men work much longer hours than they do in Northumberland, Durham, or Yorkshire. It has been the custom in Durham for eight hours or less to be a working day for a man ever since I can recollect. In Yorkshire now the rule is for a collier to work about eight hours or less. In Lancashire they work longer, and in Derbyshire they work longer, and in Scotland I believe they work very much longer. And indeed I believe that generally in this country, except in Northumberland, Durham, and Yorkshire, the hours are longer.

14,307. You said just now that on the whole you believe that the rates of wages would have risen with the natural increase of the trade without the influence of the union. Do you think that at the same time the hours of working would have been also reduced by the operation of the same natural law?—Yes. I speak from experience when I say that I have known more increases of wages without any union whatever, and more reduction of hours without any union whatever, than I have known during the existence of a combination in the same district.

14,308. In what district was that?—In Northumberland.

14,309. What reduction of hours took place there?—In Northumberland the hours have been gradually reduced within the time of my own connexion with colliery matters, that is, during the last 25 years, from something like what they are in Scotland, namely, twelve hours or so, down to eight hours for a man as a positive rule, and for boys especially the hours have been greatly reduced.

14,310. That has been under the influence of legislation so far as the boys are concerned, has it not?—No, I believe it was only confirmed by legislation, and extended to other districts besides Northumberland and Durham.

14,311. Do you mean that the labour of boys was common in other districts before that time?—Yes.

14,312. But there has been combination among the colliers in those countries from time to time for the purpose of obtaining those objects, has there not?—Yes, for limited periods of time, but I do not recollect at the present moment one case where any combination of the workmen leading to a general contest with their employers in the north of England was successful. In all cases where a determined resistance was decided upon by the employers, they have fought it out till they succeeded.

14,313. But do you think that the existence of combination in some form or other, has had nothing whatever to do with reducing the hours?—I think it is possible, indeed I think it is probable that combinations may have had something to do with it, still I do not think they have been the cause, I do not think that combinations were the cause of removing women from working in the pits. They never did within my recollection, or long before that in the North of England, either work in the pits or on the surface.

14,314. But the association that existed at the time of the agitation used all their efforts to obtain that end, did they not?—I have no doubt, speaking to the best of my recollection, that unions have always advocated less work and more pay.

14,315. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Was not the suspension of the employment of women in collieries the result of a commission of inquiry issued by the Government?—Not in Northumberland and Durham.

14,316. But the Act that prohibited the employment of women in collieries was the result of a commission of inquiry issued by the Government?—Yes.

14,317. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Are the great bulk of the men who work in your pits at the present time members of the union do you believe?—I believe they all are. I believe that if we had any that were not paying regularly we should hear of it.

14,318. I suppose you have had some experience either there or at other collieries of men not members of the union?—Yes.

14,319. Judging from your experience at that time, do you say that the men you now have at your pit, for instance, are at all inferior as workmen to the non-unionists whom you have had to deal with?—I think they are as good, I have no reason to find any fault with the men generally as regards their being good, well qualified workmen.

14,320. Do you find that they are difficult to manage and insubordinate—I am not speaking of a case where there is any question of dispute, but in the ordinary working of the pit?—There is decidedly a great difficulty in maintaining discipline in the mine. If a person has been doing anything wrong, for example, and he be punished or dismissed for it, perhaps you have the pit laid idle a day or two (which

men themselves coming to know why this man was dismissed, and you have to defend yourself by giving your reasons, and then you have Mr. Normansell, as secretary, coming to see about it, and the whole thing must be gone into, and in the end it comes to this, that the man was properly dismissed for some insubordination or something of that sort. But in almost all cases of discharging a man we have that opposition, they always seem to think that it is because he is a union man, either a leader or a member of the union, that he is a victim, and you may set on any number of men you require, but you must be exceedingly cautious in South Yorkshire at the present moment before you discharge one man. You must be sure that that it is not only a case where the man ought to be discharged, but a case that can be clearly set before your men, because you are sure to be brought to their bar.

14,321. (*Mr. Mathews.*) If they did not approve of the reasons you gave for discharging the man, what would be the result?—I have no doubt the result would be that he must be re-employed.

14,322. Supposing that you did not choose to re-employ him, what then?—Perhaps the colliery would be stopped.

14,323. It resolves itself into this, that the master is deprived by these unions of the power of discharging any man except on giving satisfactory reasons to the union why he discharges him?—Yes, he must be very particular indeed how he does it.

14,324. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do not you think that that sometimes works very well?—I think that it works very well for a man if he chooses to be a bad workman and a badly behaved man, because it may preserve him in work when he might not got it otherwise, but I think that it has a bad effect to have everybody master and nobody master; everybody doing what he likes. In a coal mine especially the effect is bad, because there is greater jeopardy there from employing unfit men. And, moreover, the nature of the employment is such that it requires strict discipline. The men are employed apart from each other, out of sight, and away from control during a great portion of the day, only being seen every two or three hours or so, and it requires that discipline should be maintained in a proper way to insure safety as well as order.'

14,325. Do you find by experience that this insubordination in your judgment endangers the safety of the pit, or makes it very much more difficult to provide for the safety of the pit?—I would not say that it makes it very much more dangerous, but I think that it tends to increase the danger in some cases.

14,326. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Supposing that that operation were to be extended, and that the union were to say in any considerable number of instances, "We oblige you to take these men back," though you were satisfied that they were not fit for the work, and there were an explosion, should not that relieve you from responsibility?—It ought to do so. I was going to illustrate that by referring to a few cases (which have happened not very recently) of punishing men for damage to the safety lamps, and discharging them on account of damage having been done to the lamp, damage that was thought to be careless and not merely accidental.

14,327. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Or intentional?—No, I do not know that I ever met with a case where it was intentional, but cases where it was exceedingly careless, and where we thought it amounted to such an offence that the man ought to be discharged. We have known cases where that has been interfered with, and where we were obliged to have a deputation from our own men to urge that that man should not be dismissed. And your time in such a case may be taken up every day, for weeks together, when the evil is very rife.

14,328. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Do you know any case in your experience of a man having been properly discharged for damaging his lamp, and in which when it has been explained to the men they have not been satisfied, but have said, "You ought to take that man back again"?—No, I have not known that in any case, and recently, especially since the last year's accidents in Wales, I really think that the men have very much improved in aiding us in having the lamps attended to safely.

14,329. They have grown wise by experience?—I think so.

14,330. (*Mr. Harrison.*) We are not to understand you to say that the power of the union is habitually exerted to compel you to employ inefficient, careless workmen?—No, but this is what happens. We know from experience that you never can know for a certainty who the man is that would be considered by the union as a victim if you discharged him for any fault, and therefore you are exceedingly chary about discharging a man. You do not want your colliery stopped, nor do you like to submit to the consequence of being told by the leaders of your own union, You must take that man back or have your pit laid idle. You are exceedingly cautious, too cautious I think, in discharging a man even where it is necessary, because you know that the union are apt to interfere with it, and are apt to take the view that he has been discharged because he is a union man. Frequently in our district they have paid what they call victim wages, and they have kept a man loitering about for weeks together on those victim wages. I have kept men for years at the Holmes Colliery that I do not think worth keeping, to the great injury and cost of the colliery, and I would not keep them in the capacity of ordinary workmen were it not that if I were to discharge them the men would say that they were victims to the union.

14,331. But if they are all members of the union that cannot apply?—They think then that the man discharged is some active member, some committeeman, or some person that has been extra officious. I have been sometimes astonished when they have named as being victims, and considered to be victims, men that I had no idea were active men in the union; but that shows how careful we have to be in discharging them. A short time ago, immediately after Christmas, the foreign trade of course fell very slack, and we decided on stopping a considerable quantity of very expensive work that was necessary, and would be necessary, but we considered we could not afford it at the time and should let it hang over. We gave notice to I think 50 or 60 persons that we had thus to spare. Some of them (I should say perhaps a third or a half, I forget exactly which) were colliers. Well after we gave the colliers notice I think we had the pit laid idle one day, and then the men came and we had the matter talked over, and they expressed themselves as thinking that these men were discharged on account of the union. I said, "I am very sorry that you take these views of things, but to prove to you that it is not so, if you will share the work that there is left among you with these men, if you can contrive any way to take these men in with you so as to let them share it, I will take every man back," and we did so ultimately. But that shows the suspicion that is exercised on the part of the union over discharging the men, and the great caution that is required.

14,332. You think it would be better that the power should be exercised irresponsibly?—By the managers of the colliery. They are the responsible persons, they are held to be responsible by the state and by the public, and they have their own property at stake and that of the persons whom they represent, and they are certainly the responsible persons in the end.

14,333. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You think that responsibility quite sufficient to make them do their duty?—Yes.

14,334. (*Mr. Booth.*) The master is also responsible to the law with reference to keeping the agreement he has made with the workman?—Yes.

14,335. You think that that is sufficient without his being responsible to a union?—Yes; I think that the union is the worst possible tribunal for him to be we have had frequently happen) and you have the

Mr. P. Cooper.
21 April 1868.

responsible to. The judge is biassed in favour of his own fellow-workman, the man who pays him, and I think there can be no worse tribunal to submit a case to than a tribunal of that sort. I have had to do it over and over again. I have had to explain with the greatest possible care and minuteness every detail to get them to a correct view of the case.

14,336. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You think that the law in the first instance and the public opinion in the next constitutes quite sufficient responsibility for a coal-owner without his being responsible to a trades union?—I think so. If we are to have any further responsibility I think it should be an independent tribunal.

14,337. (*Mr. Booth.*) I think I may collect that the general result of your experience with regard to the operation of the union in your neighbourhood is this: that though it may have led to a rise of wages in some particular cases, which rise otherwise would not have taken place, yet that on the whole it has prevented the development of the trade, and in that way prevented a general rise of wages?—Yes, I think so. In some cases it may have anticipated a rise which would have naturally followed and been more permanent. No rise can be maintained in my opinion if it is artificial and not the natural result of the state of trade.

14,338. (*Lord Elcho.*) You said that this rise arose in your colliery from some particular circumstances, and as to other collieries you said, I think, that there had been a rise there also, though not a general rise?—There has been a general rise in the South Yorkshire district once or twice during the last six years; once I know for certain there has.

14,339. I am speaking more particularly of these special advances. You said that your own colliery had been singled out, but then I thought you went on to say that other collieries were somewhat similarly situated and had to raise their prices?—That is the invariable result. Whoever takes the first step the others have to follow.

14,340. So that all the other collieries in the neighbourhood which have this peculiar system have had to raise their prices?—Yes, or to abandon the mode of working.

14,341. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You used a word just now which I want to ask you to explain. You talked about a tribunal that might arbitrate the matter. Now, do you think it possible to establish any tribunal of arbitration that should arbitrate disputes between the manager of a colliery and the colliers who work it?—Yes; I do not see why there should not be or could not be. I should as soon appeal to you or any independent gentleman not acting in the capacity of magistrate for the decision in any case as to a magistrate, and sooner.

14,342. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Does not it require technical knowledge as to the working of collieries for the decision to be of any value?—So it does if the case is before a magistrate.

14,343. (*Mr. Mathews.*) But supposing the arbitrator were to decide, when the question was referred to him, that the coal-master should pay a higher rate of wage than he had been paying, is there anything to prevent the coal-master from saying, "It "would not answer my purpose to carry on the pit at "that rate of wages, and I shall stop it rather than "do so," and would not that render the decision of the arbitrator an entire nullity?—Yes, but I did not refer to disputes of that character relating to wages, but rather to disputes arising out of existing agreements and arrangements—local disputes.

14,344. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) I want to know whether from your experience you would agree that there could be a tribunal created that could so arbitrate between the men and the master. Supposing, for example, the men said to the master, "You have a rise in the price of coal, and we want a rise in wages," I want to know whether there is any tribunal which could say to the master, "You must raise your wages 6*d.*," if the master says, "I cannot do it; it would ruin me." Do you think it possible that there should be an institution that should compel that master to do that which he says would ruin him?—No, I should not advocate that. I should not advocate any legislative or judicial interference with the rate of wages.

14,345. Then again, I put this to you. The masters are a small body; they could be got hold of, and they might be subject, we will say, to an arbitration bond, but the workmen are numerous. Do you think it possible by any mode whatever to make the workmen responsible by an arbitration bond?—No, I do not think it would be possible, because you have them in South Yorkshire one day and you have them perhaps in the county of Durham the next, and in the course of a fortnight, if trade be good, perhaps they are in Scotland.

14,346. Therefore the masters and the men do not come under equal circumstances before a tribunal of that kind?—No, I think not, nor do I see my way clear to recommend any sort of arbitration on the general question of the rise or fall of prices or the general question in any way; but I say that I should rather take an independent arbitrator than take an interested arbitrator, especially when that arbitrator may be a secretary, or committee-man, or union leader, who naturally must have a bias towards those with whom they co-operate.

14,347. Then I want to know what is the tribunal to do. You must know perfectly well that there is a great talk about arbitration and submitting matters to arbitration, and there is a noble Lord at this table who is a great friend to arbitration. I want to know whether in your opinion arbitration is possible?—Not, I think, as to the rate of wages.

14,348. In what questions is it possible?—As to the fulfilling of engagements without appealing to a magistrate, I think perhaps in some cases it might be found to be a sort of friendly suit.

14,349. That is to say, you think that a better mode might be adopted of adjudicating in those cases?—I think it might be done in a more kindly way perhaps by some such mode, in case of minor disputes.

14,350. Do not you think that that is a very small matter to reduce the whole question to which is now so much talked about of arbitration between masters and men?—I think it is an exceedingly small proportion of the question, and I do not think that any arbitration could possibly operate permanently on or arrange the prices of labour.

14,351. Further than that I want to know is there any case in which you could make the men really responsible under an arbitration bond?—No, I do not see how it can be done.

14,352. Then how could you possibly institute an arbitration court?—I do not think it would apply to serious cases like an advance or a reduction of wages.

14,353. What I want to know is this, how could you in any case bring the master and men upon an equality in the case of an arbitration bond (I want to reduce the matter to a point), and make the men subject to the decision of the arbitrator. You say that the workman may be to day in South Yorkshire and to to-morrow in Durham, and the next week in Scotland. I want to know how you can possibly make that man subject to a tribunal by his own decision beforehand, so as to bring him on an equality with his master who is bound to his pit, while everybody knows that the workman is a wandering animal, that you never can tell where he is or what he is?—I think that is perfectly correct, and that is the point where the arbitration fails.

14,354. (*Lord Elcho.*) You said that a man might be in South Yorkshire to day and in Scotland next week, but would all the men of the pit remove to Scotland?—No, I do not think that the whole of the men would emigrate at one time, but they can quit the colliery at any time by a month's notice.

14,355. So that as regards emigration that might affect a few; they might go or might hold out, but the mass do not move, and the mass might agree. That is practically what might happen and would generally happen, is is not?—The mass might agree.

14,356. The mass might either differ or agree, but

the mass would remain?—Yes, I think so. I think that half or three-fourths of the men would not remove hastily from the district, still it leaves individual workmen in the same way, they can leave at any time.

14,357. In such a case of arbitration do not assume that there is a bond or any legal power to enforce the arbitration, but do you not believe (and as I understand it it only goes this length, in the view of some who take an interest in the matter) that if there was a dispute between the master and the men, and the question was submitted to some independent person, although there might not be any bond or power of enforcing such a decision, yet the decision of that person upon the question in dispute would have a moral influence upon the men or the master?—I think it is quite possible that it might, and possible that it might not. It depends upon the confidence of the different parties, and the capability of the arbitrator for judging the thing. But if they have confidence in his being sufficiently acquainted with all the circumstances of the case it might succeed.

14,358. I assume of course that the person selected is a person selected with the concurrence of both parties, and that they both have confidence in him?—Then I think it would be a sort of friendly law suit and would settle the thing in a friendly way, and have its advantages.

14,359. Now let us assume this sort of case, that there is a dispute in a district, that there is a threatened strike, but that before a strike takes place, and before any bad blood is raised, certain representatives of the masters and certain representatives of the men meet together without an arbitrator. Do you think that such a meeting as that might have a good effect and tend to prevent bad blood and a strike?—Yes, in some cases. I was going to say that that which you now name used to be and is now at the present time not an unusual mode in the north of England collieries. If a dispute arose, not about the general rate of wages in the district but about the rate of pay in some section of a colliery, which the men thought was worse to work in than the rest, and that therefore the men there ought to be paid more, the thing became discussed and there was some difference of opinion about it, and in the end they very often agree that three persons ought to be chosen, two viewers, one of whom was chosen by the men and the other by the masters, and a third person as an umpire, and they went down and viewed the place and gave their opinion, and generally it was accepted.

14,360. (*Mr. Mathews.*) That is in case of piece-work?—Yes.

14,361. (*Lord Elcho.*) You cite that as an instance of the principle of an amicable meeting betwixt masters and men to decide a disputed point?—I have known it frequently adopted.

14,362. Where?—In the north. I have heard of one or two such cases in Yorkshire since I came into it.

14,363. In those cases did the union take any part either for or against such a proceeding as that?—The colliery itself in Yorkshire was in the union, in other cases in the north of England it was independent of the union altogether, indeed when there was none.

14,364. But such a proceeding as you describe has taken place in a colliery where there was a union?—Yes, there has been one case in Yorkshire to my knowledge.

14,365. Was that proceeding at all opposed by the union or supported by the union?—It was not opposed by them for they selected their man.

14,366. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Can you give us the names?—The person chosen by the men is Mr. Wilson, a viewer, at Darfield Colliery, near Barnsley. The dispute was at Snydale Colliery, near Pontefract.

14,367. What was the dispute about?—About the rate of wages. Of course the men wanted more than the masters thought proper at the time.

14,368. What was the result?—The result was that the workmen chose one viewer and the masters chose another, and they inspected some adjoining collieries working the same bed of coal, and they gave their decision. The result of the decision I do not know, but I was applied to to know whether in case of dispute I would be umpire in the matter.

14,369. (*Mr. Mathews.*) The question really was not as to a rise of wages, but as to whether the men could get a certain rate of wages by doing certain piece work at a certain price?—Yes.

14,370. It was left to arbitration to decide whether this certain price of piece work would realize the wages to the men or not, and it was not a question whether they should have a rise of wages or not?—That is so.

14,371. (*Lord Elcho.*) You do not know, perhaps, whether this question to which you have just referred embraced the whole colliery or only a portion of it?—No; but I think it was explained to me at the time that it was some increase in the thickness of dirt in the bed, either over a portion or over the whole of that colliery.

14,372. It was a question, however, which had led to a dispute, and which might have led to a strike?—I think so.

14,373. You have known strikes occur from les causes?—Yes.

14,374. You said that you were asked to act as umpire; did you consent to act as umpire?—I was applied to by one of the parties only, and I said that if the case became sufficiently ripe and they would come to me again I would give them an answer, but I heard no more of it.

14,375. From their not coming to you you assume that it has passed off quietly?—Yes.

14,376. Are you aware that in the lace trade of Nottingham, for instance, this system of masters and men meeting together instead of going to war at once and striking has had beneficial results?—Yes, I have.

14,377. From your knowledge of the coal trade have you any reason to believe that a system which has been found to work well in one very important trade where up to that time there had been very bad feeling and frequent strikes, would not work equally well in the coal trade?—I think it quite possible and quite likely, though I feel some little hesitation in saying so, that there is less knowledge possessed of the details and operations of coal mining by the general public, to whom such a thing might be referred, than there is of almost any other large class of manufacture or trade in this country, and therefore I see difficulty in getting persons possessed of sufficient knowledge of the facts and circumstances of the case to be relied upon.

14,378. But you misunderstand me altogether. As I understand the Nottingham case it is not at all the case of a question that is referred to the general public or to any special arbitrator, but it is the case of the masters and men appointing a certain number who meet together and settle these questions by discussion instead of settling them by dispute and strike. Now, I ask you whether (without taking any foreign arbitrator, as we may call him, or any man from the general public) you think there is any reason why a system which has worked well in the lace trade should not work equally well in the coal trade?—I see no difficulty in the masters and men meeting together, and it is a thing which I have always encouraged as far as possible.

14,379. But as there would be no difficulty necessarily in their meeting together, and they are both thoroughly conversant with the matter in dispute or under discussion, do not you think that it is, reasoning by analogy, probable that a system which has been satisfactory in one description of trade would be equally satisfactory in its results in another?—Excepting this, that if you go to the manufacture of iron or cotton or lace, or anything of that sort, you have far greater uniformity of material to deal with, and the production as well. If you go into a coal mine you have such a variety of circumstances in the same bed within a very limited distance that I think no special rule or arrangement could be applied generally, and I think there are certain objections

Mr. P. Cooper.

21 April 1868.

which indeed I have seen before to leaving it to two or three viewers referred to by both parties to settle the question. A person who was at an adjoining colliery, even if he was half persuaded or more than half persuaded, that an advance was required, might be influenced by the fear of it coming upon himself, and these little matters seem to be the only barriers. I do not know why there should exist much more difficulty in colliery matters than in any other matters.

14,380. But be that as it may, you can speak to this, that in cases where it has been tried in collieries it has succeeded?—Yes, it has worked satisfactorily.

14,381. And there is no reason why having succeeded in one case it might not be generalized a success in another?—I think that many local disputes not of a general character might be so settled. But I believe the great difficulty is that the men have not confidence in colliery viewers and managers as a rule, and therefore they cannot get a man that can arbitrate for them. I believe that on the whole the obstacle is more on the part of the workmen than on the part of the managers.

14,382. Some time ago you were asked a question with reference to the influence of the unions in promoting a reduction of the hours of children's labour, and also as regards the removal of women working in pits, and you said that that had been done without combination. Now, there is no doubt, I believe, that it was done without combination, but still might it not be possible that the beneficial influence of the union in that case might have been felt in Parliament in endeavouring to get the members to take an interest in the subject and effecting legislation in that way without having recourse to a strike?—I think the most remote influences may have produced some effect, but I question whether the efforts of the union have been directed to anything else than less work and more money, at least it has been very seldom, as far as my experience has gone. They seldom take up the question of education, for instance.

14,383. Should you be surprised to hear that miners' unions have at all directed their attention to those points, and that they have endeavoured to get that legislation to effect changes which they believe to be beneficial to their body in general?—There was a petition last year, I know, with sundry complaints, and stating sundry things that the miners thought were wrong. But what I did say was this, that I believe there have been more alterations made in the rate of wages and in the hours of working, independent of unions existing in the district where they took place, than there were where unions really did exist—that is my experience.

14,384. That is a question of wages, but I referred to such questions as the hours of children working in the pits and women working in the pits, questions of inspection and instruction, and those matters. I ask you, whether to your knowledge unions have had any influence in bringing about changes which have been proved by experience to be beneficial?—I have no doubt that they have had some influence, that is to say they have advocated several of these measures while they were under discussion, and perhaps they may have moved them in some cases; indeed, generally speaking, the working colliers have been advocates for inspection. I am not aware, however, that inspection was originated by the unions of colliers.

14,385. You cannot speak to that?—No, I do not recollect that it was, but I think they did advocate inspection, and I advocate it.

14,386. You said, that with reference to that rise in wages for some special mark at your colliery the result had been that less money was gained in consequence by the men, that is to say, less was paid in wages in the pit, and that therefore this rise in wages was merely nominal, because the men really had not more to spend amongst them than they had previously?—That is what I mean.

14,387. But your explanation of that was, that the men work less, and that it was done by piece work. They played more, they worked shorter hours, and they did not gain, but the contrary?—Yes, I have not the slightest doubt, and it has always been so in my experience. An advance in the ordinary scale of payment on piece work prices has always led to the workman working less, that is to say, less in proportion, and making really less earnings per week than he did before.

14,388. That is to say, that in consequence of this charge you pay less in wages than you paid previously?—Yes, but not less per ton of coal—less over a week or over a year, a smaller gross sum, but a very much larger sum per ton of coal raised.

14,389. Then did you raise less coal?—Less for the same number of men certainly.

14,390. But was not your object in making this change in the working to raise more?—If you refer to these special places, it was certainly not to raise more at the moment, but to open out a working area to employ the men when other working areas were finished and were done with.

14,391. In that you have succeeded?—We are doing it now.

14,392. So that you are reaping the benefit from it, and eventually the result will be perhaps that more wages will be paid by you?—We are reaping or shall reap a benefit, but I should like to put it in this way—we should have no objection to pay a fair tax on it, but we do not like to pay a prohibitory tax on it.

14,393. You consider this a prohibitory tax?—Certainly; it is not anything like a compensation for the disadvantage, it far exceeds anything like that. That we are quite willing to pay, but it is asked, and demanded and enforced in my opinion in order to prevent that sort of work under the idea, a mistaken idea, that it would restrict the general output of coal in the country.

14,394. With reference to that case of violence to which you referred, questions were asked you implying that that case of violence took place without any knowledge, cognizance, or approval of the union. You said that as regards the local union you of course could not say whether it was done with their knowledge and cognizance, but that they endorsed what was done by defending the person when he was tried—that was so, was it not?—No; I said that with regard to the general union they had not any knowledge, but as regards the local union I think they knew beforehand that that man was held obnoxious, and that he deserved this, that, and the other; indeed, I have heard their leading men, representatives whom they sent to me, say that a man who would not join the union deserved to be drowned, and I have known them throw men into the canal.

14,395. But as regards the leaders, you said that there could not be any proof brought of their sanctioning such things?—We had no proof that they had any definite arrangement to that effect. Some of the union leaders at our colliery were convicted and imprisoned for this case.

14,396. But you had no doubt in your own mind, and you think there could be no reasonable doubt in the mind of anybody, that they knew what was going on, but, at any rate, they expressed their approval by supporting the men?—Yes.

14,397. So that really as regards the local union that violence was approved and sanctioned because it supported the men?—Yes; I think so in these cases and others of ill-using the men because the men will not pay into the union.

14,398. So that the local union approved of that course?—I think the great majority of them did; they thought it served the man right.

14,399. Now as regards the general union, did the general union disapprove or take any steps to show that they disapproved of the local union defending the man who was prosecuted, and so far endorsing what had been done?—I do not call to mind that they in any way introduced the matter to me, or that I knew of that having been done.

14,400. The general union must have known, I imagine, of all these proceedings?—Sooner or later, there is no question, they would know of it, but perhaps

in the case of a colliery being laid idle a day or two they might not know at the time or they might. I really do not know.

14,401. Is the probability in favour of their having known of this act of violence, and of their knowing that it had been defended by the local union?—I should think that there is no doubt of that.

14,402. And you are not aware of the central union either at the time or subsequently having disapproved of the conduct of the local union in defending that act of violence?—No, I have no means of knowing that. I do believe, however, and I think it is only just and right to say so, that the secretary of the union would not approve of it. Mr. Normansell is the secretary; he is here, and I think he would not approve of it, so far as I have heard him speak of such matters.

14,403. (*Mr. Harrison.*) The defence you speak of consisted, I suppose, in endeavouring to get these men a fair trial. When you say they defended them you mean in the way of paying for legal advice?—Yes, and supporting their families afterwards.

14,404. What do you think about the co-operative scheme which has been introduced by Messieurs Briggs. Have you considered it at all?—Not fully, I think, or with any very great care. I believe that the general opinion entertained by the people connected with it is that it is answering in their case, and that it is attended with benefit in their case. How it could be generally applied I really do not know. I fancy the men would be very glad to take any proportion of the profits, or every proportion of the profits sometimes, but how to get them to take a proportion of the risk or loss is the difficulty. I see that Messieurs Briggs have made some sort of statement that they would recommend two sorts of reserve funds to be formed to provide for seasons of loss, one of these to be taken from that portion of the fund which is set aside to go to the workmen and the other from that portion of the fund which is set aside to go to the capitalists, and to let these accrue for bad times, and take from them in some proportion in such bad times.

14,405. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Have you any knowledge whether trade unions exist at Nottingham where these arrangements as to courts of conciliation have been made?—I do not know anything of that.

Mr. P. Cooper.

21 April 1868.

14,406. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Are you not aware that in many towns in England in certain considerable trades there has been now for some years established a code of working rules, which code includes hours of work and rates of payment, and in which there is no bond or any other legal liability whatever on either side, but which code of rules is in practice perfectly respected and followed out?—Yes, I believe it is generally the case that they have such a code of rules in manufactories, and it is very strictly the case in collieries in the north of England prescribing a definite and fixed period of work, it is only partially so in Yorkshire.

14,407. Then the want of legal liability and the difficulty of drawing up a bond is not an insuperable obstacle to there being a common understanding in a particular district, or a particular works, or a particular town?—No, I believe that these arrangements in the north of England have been the result of fighting in years gone by. It is the same system as has gone on in other parts of the country; they have quarrelled about the rates of wages and the time of working, and the time for beginning work and ending it, and the age of employing boys, until they have come to a sort of settled code or system, and any interference with that would not be permitted in any individual colliery. It would have to be general or it would not be entertained. The whole of the coal-owners for miles round would support any single colliery that was attacked in the way of interfering with a well understood and organized general arrangement. It is the natural result of these combinations of the workmen that they will produce combinations of the employers, and it is the only safeguard that the employers have, and I do not think that either arbitration or ordinary means, or anything else, is of much use to them. I believe that the only resource is counter combination.

14,408. (*Chairman.*) Are there many places where there is a basis of wages and work agreed upon between employers and workmen?—Yes.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to Tuesday next, at 11 o'clock.

1, Park Prospect, Westminster, Tuesday, 28th April 1868.

PRESENT:

The Right Hon. Sir WILLIAM ERLE.	JOHN ARTHUR ROEBUCK, Esq., M.P.
The Right Hon. the EARL of LICHFIELD.	THOMAS HUGHES, Esq., M.P.
Sir DANIEL GOOCH, Bart., M.P.	FREDERIC HARRISON, Esq.
JAMES BOOTH, Esq., C.B.	WILLIAM MATHEWS, Esq.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR WILLIAM ERLE IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. JOHN CHAMBERS examined.

Mr. J. Chambers.

28 April 1868.

14,409. (*Chairman.*) Are you a proprietor of the Thorncliffe ironworks?—One of the proprietors.

14,410. How many men are employed at these works now?—About 2,500, that is taking the ironworks and the mines.

14,411. There are coalworks in conjunction with the ironworks?—Yes.

14,412. Is that a limited company or a private proprietary?—A private firm of the name of Newton, Chambers, and Company.

14,413. About how long have you been one of the proprietors?—32 years.

14,414. Have you had much experience of the action of unions among the working men?—Yes, for the last 10 years we have had a good deal to do with them.

14,415. Have you had many strikes during that time?—Yes; I have only particulars of strikes that have taken place since 1858. We had a strike in 1858 and another strike in 1860.

14,416. Were those strikes for rise of wages or to stand against lowering the wages?—That in 1858 was a stand against reduction of wages. There was a depressed state of trade, and we asked for a reduction and the men resisted it.

14,417. Definitely what was the question, was it 10 per cent. or 15 per cent.?—I cannot exactly tell. I should think it would be something like 5 to 7½ per cent.

14,418. And was it at a reduction of wages pervading the district or a proposed reduction for your works only?—A proposed reduction for our works only; at least I had no communication with any other parties.

14,419. Then it was an isolated question between the proprietors of these works and the workmen on these works?—Yes.

14,420. How long did that strike last?—It begun on the 12th of January and terminated on the 30th. It was a short strike.

Mr. J. Chambers.

28 April 1868.

14,421. Did the men succeed to prevent a reduction?—No, we succeeded in getting the reduction. It was a time of depressed trade as the present is.

14,422. Had you discussions with the men on the subject?—Yes.

14,423. What was the nature of the discussion; did you address them entirely as reasonable men explaining the reasons of your conduct, and asking them whether they understood those reasons and could answer them, was it that kind of discussion?—That was the kind of discussion. And after standing the time that I spoke of they accepted our terms.

14,424. You explained your reasons, that explanation was accepted by the workmen, and the reduction was accepted by them?—Yes.

14,425. Was there action of union there; I call it action of union when a secretary and delegates are present to represent on one side the union and the employers meet them on the other?—In that case we had no communication with the executive of the union, but I believe that many of the men were in the union.

14,426. I was just going to ask you whether it was ostensibly a strike guided and sanctioned by a union, or whether it was a strike by working men actuated by a sense of their own private interest?—I believe that the union men consulted the executive of the miners' union on that occasion, but still we had no communication with them at that time.

14,427. And therefore as for saying what the action of the union was, probably you have not sufficient knowledge to do that?—Not at that time. I got more knowledge of the union afterwards.

14,428. What was the next strike?—In 1860.

14,429. How long was that for?—It begun on July 15th and terminated on October 1st.

14,430. And what was the question between the men and the employers on that occasion?—I have no particulars of that strike.

14,431. Perhaps your memory reminds you that there was a question about wages between the employers and the men, and after a strike it was settled without any remarkable incident?—Yes it was so.

14,432. Was it a standing against a reduction or a claim of rise?—It was a stand made by ourselves against advance of wages.

14,433. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) They asked for an advance and you refused it?—Yes.

14,434. (*Chairman.*) And was the termination of the strike successful to the employers?—I believe it was a compromise.

14,435. Have any of them been strikes in which there has been the action of a union pervading the district, if I may so describe it?—The plan of the union in the district at that time was to take, say two collieries at once and give notice and get the advance. They would take two of the weakest, or those that they could most easily persuade to give up the point, and then when they got it at two collieries they would come to two others and go round the district. That was the plan adopted in 1860.

14,436. In 1860 then there was an action of union in that way, because that is what I call the action of a union pervading the district. They took notice of the state of the district, took notice of those they considered the weakest collieries either in firmness of nerve or in moneyed resources, and then commanded a strike at those collieries, which were either ruined or had to give in, and then they proceeded to the next. It was that species of strike as I understand you?—Yes, that was the plan adopted, and it led to a union of masters which was established in 1860 to resist that mode of of operation.

14,437. To what extent did the masters come into a union?—There would be 16 or 18 collieries in the first instance that did so.

14,438. And each of those collieries having between 2,000 and 3,000 men or more?—They would vary very much; some would be smaller ones, perhaps not employing 100 men, and others would have 2,000 or 3,000. There are very few, I think, in South Yorkshire where they have 3,000. Perhaps 1,500 would be the usual number, varying, and so up to 2,000 I should think.

14,439. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Could you tell us, taking all the 16 collieries together, how many men there were employed by the whole of the collieries, have you any means of answering that question?—I have not got those particulars.

14,440. (*Chairman.*) Do I rightly understand that you were selected as the colliery against which they would strike at first?—Not at first. I think the first party selected was Sturges, Paley, and Mason. It began there in April 1860.

14,441. Did they come to terms with the men?—No, it terminated in a lock-out. After that colliery had stood 12 weeks and been supported by the masters' union, they determined upon a lock-out throughout the district, at least all the collieries that there were in the masters' union did so, and they locked out some 8,000 or 10,000 men, I think, at that time. It is so long since that I am scarcely prepared to give an accurate statement.

14,442. They locked out all the men in the district, and they stood out till 1st of October, did they?—My men went out on a quarrel about some new rules which I had introduced. That made it go to the 1st of October, or else the general lock-out terminated on the 9th of August.

14,443. It began with a single colliery or one or two collieries in April?—Yes.

14,444. Then there was a general lock-out and the termination of it was early in August?—Yes. Smith, Carr, and Smith I see was one of the firms where the strike began first.

14,445. On that occasion was the rise obtained by the men?—No, they were only asking advances at particular collieries, and the lock-out was terminated on the 5th of August and several of the collieries after that were still on strike, and in the end there was our colliery, Lundhill, and that of William Day of Barnsley. They struck on account of certain rules that we introduced; we withdrew those rules, and the men went in again, but did not get an advance of wages.

14,446. Will you give me just an example of the rules, was it so many hours a set working underground; was it about the hours at all?—No it was a mere little alteration in the colliery rules which we thought was an advantage to the men in the colliery. We have rules by which the colliery is governed.

14,447. That means that the working men are governed as to hours and wages and so on?—And conducting the pit.

14,448. There was some matter of detail about the way of working in the pit and the men were dissatisfied and they struck against it?—Yes that was it, and those rules were withdrawn, so that they got what they wanted, which was of no consequence to the proprietors.

14,449. A matter which you thought was for their advantage, they thought otherwise, and you allowed that their opinion should prevail?—Yes, we gave up the point.

14,450. Have there been any later strikes that you have had?—One in 1864.

14,451. (*Mr. Booth.*) With regard to such of these strikes as were for a rise of wages did any of them succeed on the part of the men?—In this case they did not succeed but some of the collieries against which they struck were out for a considerable period.

14,452. The strike of which you have been speaking was for a rise of wages I think I understood?—It began with a demand for rise of wages and did not succeed in that instance.

14,453. Is it your experience that strikes for a rise of wages are generally less successful than strikes to resist a fall?—They have been successful as a rule when trade has been in a prosperous state.

14,454. Those are strikes for a rise?—Yes.

14,455. But as to strikes to resist a fall have you known any of them to be successful. When the coal

owner has found it necessary to reduce the wages, in those cases have the strikes been successful?—As a rule they have not, or perhaps have ended in a compromise. Supposing we asked for 10 per cent. we may have got 5 in many instances.

14,456. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Then do you make it a rule in such instances to ask more from them than you really expect to gain?—We do not make it a rule.

14,457. I suppose that you generally ask the men to have their wages reduced to a point that will enable you to make your ordinary profit?—Precisely; that will enable us to conduct our ordinary business and meet the competition of the market.

14,458. That being the case your asking for a fall of wages you say usually happens when there is a bad state of trade?—Yes.

14,459. In that bad state of trade have you ever known the men succeed in resisting a fall which has been suggested by the state of trade?—Very rarely; generally they have not succeeded.

14,460. (*Mr. Booth.*) The strikes for the rise of wages have been generally more successful than those to resist a fall?—Yes, I should say they are.

14,461. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Does not that suggest the idea that the masters resist a rise rather improperly upon occasion?—It would bear that construction, no doubt.

14,462. Bearing that construction, do you agree with the construction?—I think that sometimes the men ask an unreasonable advance.

14,463. You think that sometimes the men ask more than you can afford to give?—Yes.

14,464. On those occasions there is a resistance, a justifiable resistance, on the part of the masters, you would say?—Quite so.

14,465. I am asking you now whether in your experience there have been occasions where men have only asked a reasonable rise and they have been opposed by the masters?—Do you mean by the masters in combination.

14,466. Or in any way?—Well there are masters that are unreasonable in that way, but I think that masters in combination would not make that error.

14,467. (*Chairman.*) Are the wages in your works paid by the quantity raised or some principle of that sort?—Yes.

14,468. Not by the day?—No, they are paid by the quantity.

14,469. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Are all the men paid by the piece?—All the working colliers are paid by the piece, but we are compelled to have day men to attend to other matters.

14,470. (*Chairman.*) Is the same rate fair for all collieries in the whole of a district. Is not the work of a very different nature in one colliery from another, and the quantity of profitable coal much greater from the same quantity of work in one colliery than in another?—There is a great difference in the amount of labour needed to produce a ton of coal in one place as compared with another, even in the same colliery. I have places where a man would earn more money at 1*s.* a ton less than he would in other places. So that any fixed rate for a single colliery per ton is an unfair mode of dealing with the question.

14,471. My question was directed to that point, the striking for the same rate over a whole district. Probably that is never done, but one colliery would settle its wages and there would be a proportionate reduction over the other collieries?—No, generally they go for a uniform advance of 5 per cent. or 10 per cent.

14,472. But that is upon a ratio, a proportionate advance?—Yes, the last strike that occurred we were asked for 10 per cent. and it ended in 5 per cent. being given.

14,473. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What year was that?—That would be in 1866.

14,474. (*Chairman.* A demand at your colliery do you mean?—No throughout the district.

14,475. There was a proposal on the part of the men in 1866 that they should have a rise of 10 per cent?—That was through the district.

14,476. That must have been the action of union then?—Yes.

14,477. The working colliers throughout the district were for the most part union men, were they?—There was a large proportion of union men.

14,478. And throughout the district there was a proposal made by the union that the wages throughout the district should be raised 10 per cent.?—Yes.

14,479. And had the masters combined action—was there a union of masters?—There was a small union of masters combined, but it did not include the whole district; but ultimately 5 per cent. was conceded through the district.

14,480. They asked 10 per cent. and 5 per cent. was the sum conceded. Would that 5 per cent. in your judgment have been obtained by the men, by the voluntary action of the masters, if no union had intervened?—Well, that I cannot say.

14,481. Have you in many cases where there has been an increase of demand and an increase of the price of coal known a rise of wages volunteered?—There is no doubt that the wages have been put up by a scarcity of labour.

14,482. That is what my question came to. There had been an increase of demand for coal, you want more coal supplied, you get it by increase of working; you have a demand for more working men, and you get your supply by increasing the wages; you have known that action often?—That is so in the operation of all works; in our works we find it so.

14,483. Universally, I suppose, that applies—if there is an increase of demand for working men the supply is obtained by an increase of wages;—That is so in my experience. There is no doubt that the unions have succeeded in putting up the price of labour more than it would have gone up probably if there had been open competition and if there had not been any union action.

14,484. In what way have the unions put up labour in the manner you now allude to? According to your statement it must have been by excluding competition. If there had been an open competition the wages would not have risen so high, you say, but by the action of unions the wages was raised higher; how is the action of the union shown otherwise than by keeptng out foreigners, other men, I mean?—Of course they make a demand, and succeed in obtaining it. Take the difference between South Yorkshire and Derbyshire now; in Derbyshire they work ten hours, and with us in South Yorkshire we work only eight.

14,485. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Now, supposing you were to suggest that instead of working eight hours they should work ten, and the men resisted that, how would the men go to work; supposing they struck, what would they do?—They would remain out.

14,486. Supposing then you said "If you remain out we will get other men;" have you ever tried that?—They would not allow me to do that.

14,487. That is exacly what I want to come to?—I could just give you an account of the last strike, I think it would illustrate that, and be a pretty fair specimen of all the strikes we have had. There are some 20 strikes in all the South Yorkshire collieries that we have records of in our books in the masters' union since the year 1858. In November 1865, in order to obtain that reduction of 10 per cent. the colliers commenced working short time, that is, they did half a day's work at all the collieries throughout the district; well the coal owners thought that so foolish a thing, they would let it alone, and it went on till the 23rd of December, about the end of the year.

14,488. I think it would be better if you would answer my questions simply as I put them to you. Take this strike of 1865, what was the demand the men made?—10 per cent.

14,489. It was resisted by the masters?—It was resisted by the masters.

14,490. What did the men do?—They went on short time.

Mr. J. Chambers.

28 April 1868.

14,491. For how many hours did they work?—Half a day.

14,492. That is to say four hours?—Yes.

14,493. Then what did you do?—We allowed them to go on till the end of the year.

14,494. At the end of the year what did they do?—There was 5 per cent. conceded to them.

14,495. Did you in the mean time endeavour to introduce what are called foreigners?—No.

14,496. So that there was no resistance on their part, as far as you know, to your introducing foreigners?—No.

14,497. Why did you concede that 5 per cent.?—Because the coal owners one after another gave way. I objected to that mode of raising wages at the time. I had some men earning such large wages that I said it was an injustice to the rest of the colliers.

14,498. Explain to me how it was a rise of wages. You say that you pay them by the piece?—Yes.

14,499. They chose to work only half a day?—Yes.

14,500. But you still paid them by the piece?—Yes.

14,501. How was that a rise of wages?—They got 5 per cent. after that.

14,502. On the piece work?—And day work too.

14,503. The cause of your granting that was that you did not want so little to be raised from your pits as could be raised by half-time work?—That was the cause.

14,504. Granting 5 per cent., did you make the usual rate of profit?—Well, we put up the price of coal, of course.

14,505. Did you succeed in keeping up the price of coal?—Yes.

14,506. Then were not the men justified in making the demand?—Well, it is for the consumer to say that. I think in the end it would damage trade.

14,507. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Was the coal trade good at the time you gave them that concession of 5 per cent?—Yes.

14,508. And in consequence of the coal trade being good it was inconvenient to you to allow the men to work half time?—It is always inconvenient to work half time. They went in every day, but they only did half a day's work, and of course that was a loss to us. Then we had our draymen, banksmen, screenmen, &c., to pay the full time, and horses and machinery, and so on.

14,509. If ordinary colliers restrict their operations to half a day's work in the day, the common charges for the carrying on the establishment make the cost of getting coal much dearer?—Yes, they threw them up 6*d.* a ton at once.

14,510. The coal trade being good at the time, you raised the price of coals, and gave the men an advance of 5 per cent.?—We gave them an advance at first, and then raised the price of coal afterwards.

14,511. How long did the demand continue so as to enable you to keep the price up at the advance?—Up to the end of last year.

14,512. Since then the price of coals has fallen?—It has fallen very materially.

14,513. And what steps have you taken in regard to the wages to meet the reduced price of coals?—We have asked the men very respectfully to concede the 5 per cent.

14,514. The 5 per cent. that you put on you mean?—Yes.

14,515. And what has been the result of that request?—I believe they have conceded it.

14,516. How much has the price of coal been reduced?—In some instances I have had to reduce coal 20 per cent., and in others 15 per cent.

14,517. Then the reduction in the price of coals is more than equivalent to the reduction in the wages?—Decidedly so.

14,518. So that now you are worse off in respect of your profits than you were previous to your advance 5 per cent. to the men?—Very much worse off.

14,519. Was the 5 per cent. you advanced to the men and the restriction of half-time work suggested by the union, or was it done irrespectively of the union?—No, it was union action.

14,520. What evidence have you that it was so—did the union officers interfere in the matter themselves?—They have club houses in the district, and when they have rules passed at a general meeting they are carried out at the different club houses. Resolutions are made, and then they go and act upon them at the pits.

14,521. Are the club houses under the control of the union officers?—Yes; they are the local clubs in connexion with the general assembly, and which have delegates to go to the general assembly at Wombwell.

14,522. Then the local clubs in fact are branches of the general union?—Yes, they are branches.

14,523. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Did you negotiate the matter with the delegates or with your own men?—I did in the end with the delegates, because I thought that I could manage the delegates better than the men.

14,524. You negotiated with the delegates from the union?—Yes, I have done so recently.

14,525. And do you find that a more useful mode of communicating with your men than communicating with them direct?—Well, I have found it to answer.

14,526. I mean, do you find the delegates more amenable to reason than the mass of the men?—They have better information many of them, and know more about the trade of the country, and study more political economy than the working men do.

14,527. Then you in fact consider that the delegate is a better instructed man than perhaps the mass of the working men?—Yes.

14,528. And therefore you found him more amenable to your reasons?—Quite so.

14,529. Therefore there is really an advantage in corresponding with the delegates in preference to the men?—Well, there is in the present state of things.

14,530. (*Mr. Hughes.*) And do you think that there is likely to be in the future state of things?—I think that legislation ought to step in and do something for the protection of the trade generally, so that we might not get into those awful collisions, because that strike which I am speaking of cost the union not less than 5,000*l.*, and I paid wages to the tune 15,000*l.* less than I did in the previous years, so that the men lost 20,000*l.*, which will take 10 years at 5 per cent. to repay.

14,531. Do you think that an extensive and perfect organization amongst the men, headed by such delegates as you speak of, would be likely on the whole to keep the peace better than the old system of different small unions scattered all round with no regular rule?—Well, I do not think so, because they become more powerful and capable of carrying their own views whether reasonable or not when they are so extensive.

14,532. But they carry them apparently, as far as your experience has gone, with more reason, and with less violence of any kind?—Well, in this particular instance I am speaking of they did so.

14,533. That has been your experience in fact as far as it has gone yet?—Yes.

14,534. (*Chairman.*) In 1866 the men at the head of the union were, as far as you could judge, sensible, well-intentioned men?—No, not in the onset. I am quite opposed to their views with reference to that, because they would not listen to me in the first instance, but since then, having been compelled to submit to the dictate of the union, I was obliged to consult them. I had nothing else left for it.

14,535. (*Mr. Hughes.*) But when you did consult them you found them reasonable men?—I found that I could manage them tolerably well. But in the first instance in this strike I objected to giving 5 per cent., because some men were earning 10*s.* or 12*s.* a day and others were earning only 5*s.* Consequently the man that was earning his 10*s.* would get sixpence at 5 per cent., and the man that was earning 5*s.*, who had a worse job

to work, was only getting his threepence at 5 per cent. I objected to the principle, and the consequence was I had 36 weeks' strike.

14,536. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Let me direct your mind back to an answer which you gave just now. You said something about the legislature intervening. I want to know in what way, in your opinion, the legislature ought to intervene?—To prevent men coercing us in our efforts to get new men.

14,537. What is your idea of the men coercing you; how did they coerce you?—They would not allow me to get other hands.

14,538. How did they prevent you?—Well, when I got hands they mobbed them and drove them away, and broke their windows and intimidated them.

14,539. That means to say that you want a law made against violence?—Yes, and I want to be able to put it in force.

14,540. Is there already a law against violence?—We did not get proper protection or redress; the law as at present administered is inoperative.

14,541. Will you answer me the question; is there not already a law against violence?—I have never been able to get that law put in force.

14,542. Why were you unable to get it put in force?—Because in most cases when we took them before the magistrates they would not commit them.

14,543. What you mean to say is, I suppose, that the magistrates thought that you had not sufficient evidence to prove those men guilty?—It was not so, because there was violence and tumult throughout the whole district; thousands of men and women getting up disturbances and annoying our workmen when they came to and from their work.

14,544. Let me put it thus to you: supposing you took up John Brown (I will take a common name, not signifying anybody) and charged him with violence against John Smith, and you brought that before the magistrates; you say the magistrates did not convict him. I ask you why?—They did convict some of them; but it was very inoperative and did not produce the desired effect, because again and again they came and violated the law.

14,545. Then I bring you back to that. What would you have the law do? The law protects parties against violence; the law is enforced and the men commit violence again. What would you have the law do; you would not have the law hang them, I suppose?—No.

14,546. What would you have the law do?—I would have the law restrain them from intimidation.

14,547. But you see that the law acts by means. What would you have the law do?—I want the law to protect the men in going to and from their work, and to protect them in their dwellings.

14,548. And you say that they were not protected?—They were not protected, at least not efficiently protected.

14,549. There was violence committed against the men?—Yes.

14,550. And in most cases did you succeed in proving that A. B. was guilty of that violence?—We succeeded in some instances.

14,551. And in all those instances in which you succeeded in proving the identity of the men were they punished?—Some of them.

14,552. In what way?—Some of them were sent to prison, and some of them were fined, and others were bound over to keep the peace.

14,553. Then what the thing comes to, I suppose, is this; that the magistrates, in your opinion, did not effectively carry out the law?—They did not.

14,554. Had you an increase of police?—An increase of 20 police on the spot.

14,555. Had you a sufficient increase of police?—Yes, they were sufficient.

14,556. Who bore the expense of that?—We paid the extra expenses.

14,557. That is a point, I suppose, in which I might suggest to you that the law might be improved—that the expense of the defence of the public might be borne by the public?—We think so.

14,558. Is that one of your improvements, for which you desire legislation?—Yes. We think we are hardly dealt with.

14,559. What was the general class of violence employed against the new men whom you brought in?—Breaking windows and threatening that they would kill them if they did not stay away, and mobbing them in the street and throwing stones at them.

14,560. Was it generally known who the men were that did those things?—Sometimes; but you cannot always identify the men.

14,561. Did they commit any of this violence in the dark, at night, for instance?—They did violence on the houses at night. We had many windows broken at night.

14,562. Were the men beaten?—Yes.

14,563. Were the men beaten at night, coming from a public-house, we will say?—Yes, and in going to and from their work; but after the first beating we had the police to protect them.

14,564. But the men at other times, I suppose, were not able to go out of their houses without danger, were they?—No, and they were often waylaid in different ways.

14,565. Now I will bring you to another point. Do you think that that violence was at all suggested by, or countenanced by the unions?—Well, I do not believe that the managers of the union would suggest it, but they always paid the expenses out of the union funds, and it is a principle held by all unionists that all non-union men should be compelled to join the union.

14,566. I take it that a man who intends to break the law does all he can to prevent the law finding him out; but these men who were brought up were always defended by the union, if I rightly understand you?—The bulk of them. When we agreed with the men to go in we also made a bargain, that all the men who had been working and had contracts were to be allowed to go peaceably to their work. But when they met on the first morning, when some of these men came to go to their work, the others set on them and beat them most cruelly, and nearly killed some of them. We took out summonses against three parties for that and in the end compromised it with the union.

14,567. You compromised it with the union you say?—Yes. They were to pay certain fines to these men that they had abused and all the expenses.

14,568. Did a delegate or anybody authorized by the union enter into that compromise with you?—Yes.

14,569. You knew the man who was acting for the union?—Yes.

14,570. May I ask his name, because it must be a public thing?—It was the chairman, Mr. Normansell.

14,571. He entered into a distinct negotiation with you about those guilty men?—Yes. I must say this for him, that he used his influence to get them to be peaceable afterwards.

14,572. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Did he in any way justify the attack that had been made upon the man?—No, he said that he was very much grieved at it.

14,573. (*Mr. Mathews.*) But yet he paid the expenses?—Yes.

14,574. So that if he did not give the proceeding an actual sanction, he gave it an indirect sanction by paying the expenses of the men who had been guilty of these outrages?—Yes.

14,575. (*Chairman.*) I understand that that was a private arrangement between you on the employers' side and Mr. Normansell on the part of the working men?—Yes.

14,576. That you made a private arrangement that so much money should be paid to the parties injured, and the expenses, and that Mr. Normansell found funds for that?—Yes.

14,577. (*Mr. Harrison.*) What did he pay, I do not mean the sum, but what was it in respect of?—I know I required him to pay 5*l.* to one man.

14,578. You mean that some workman in your employment had been seriously injured by some members of the union, that you were on the point of

Mr. J. Chambers.

28 April 1868.

prosecuting the men for it, and the union paid a sum as compensation for the man injured, and the expenses of witnesses, or what was it they paid?—All the expenses which we had gone to up to that time.

14,579. (*Mr. Mathews.*) In the case of conviction before the magistrates, and the offender being fined, is it not the custom of the union to pay the expenses?—Yes.

14,580. And also to find funds for defending them before the magistrates?—If they are members of the union.

14,581. So that in fact the union adopts the proceedings of these men by paying the expenses in case they are fined, and by defending them before the magistrates?—Yes.

14,582. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) The transaction is in this wise:—a violence and breaking of the law is committed by union men, the violence and breach of the law is defended by union money, and if a fine is inflicted the fine is paid by the union?—That is my opinion.

14,583. (*Mr. Harrison.*) But when you speak of their defending a union man I presume you mean to say that they see that he has legal assistance when put on his trial?—Yes.

14,584. You do not mean defence in the usual sense of justifying him in his course?—No; that they pay his expenses and provide the counsel or advocate.

14,585. Is it your opinon that providing a sum enabling a man to have legal assistance when he is put on his trial necessarily implies that you justify the acts of which he is accused?—Well, it goes a long way towards it, and will bear that construction.

14,586. (*Mr. Booth.*) Suppose you pay a fine imposed upon the man, then you would think that you were justifying what he has done?—Yes, and I think if you pay his expenses you are justifying him to some considerable extent.

14,587. When you have attempted to discuss matters with your men as to the rate of wages or hours, and matters of that kind, have you found that they have been unwilling to come to terms without consulting their union?—They will not come to terms with me now at all without consulting the union.

14,588. But supposing that there had been no union do you think that you would have had any difficulty in coming to terms with your men, and discussing matters with them amicably?—I think not, and I give this reason. I have some 200 or 300 ironstone miners not in the union at all, and we have the best understanding with those men, and have no quarrels or strikes or anything else.

14,589. So that in the absence of unions you could deal more satisfactorily with your men than now you can with the unions?—Yes; it would be very much better I think for us to be without unions.

14,590. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) That is, in your opinion, if the unions were absent there would be more peace and better understanding between the men and you, and the wages of the men would be kept up to the point which they are now at?—Well I do not know about the matter of wages. I think the wages have been driven beyond what is reasonable.

14,591. Then you think that with the exclusion of the keeping up of the wages, all that is indicated in the former part of my question was as I put it to you?—Yes; quite so.

14,592. And you think that wages have, by the action of the union, been kept at an unreasonable height?—Yes, I think so.

14,593. Do you mean by that to say, that they have been kept to a height that eventually will prevent your working the mine?—Yes.

14,594. And that eventually the effect of the union will be to put an end to the work altogether?—Well, it will in the iron trade, but with the coal trade, you know we can make a customer pay for it, at least, unless we are opposed in other markets. But it will drive the making of pig iron out of our district.

14,595. In your district, have you any evidence up to the present time, that the effect of the unions has been to drive the iron trade out of it?—Yes, we are putting down our iron stone pits. The colliers' wages being so high, we are obliged to give the ironstone miners something in proportion, and the ironstone is so dear to get, that we cannot afford to use it—we can buy pig iron cheaper than we can make it.

14,596. You are about to put down some pits?—We have put down five ironstone pits already.

14,597. Where are they?—At Thorncliffe Iron Works, near Sheffield.

14,598. To that extent, at least, the effect of the union has been to drive away the business?—Yes.

14,599. Have you any knowledge or evidence of their having done something of the same sort in any other district?—The iron trade is so injured here, that in fact we had offered to us twelve months ago Belgian bar iron 10*s.* cheaper than the Staffordshire iron, and good iron it was.

14,600. Are you aware whether it has been the case to any extent in your district—that Belgian iron has been brought in?—I believe some Belgian iron has been brought into Sheffield. I have heard so.

14,601. That Belgian iron has been brought in cheaper than you could supply it?—Yes, it has been brought in cheaper than could be supplied from Staffordshire.

14,602. Have you any notion of the difference of price?—Ten shillings a ton.

14,603. Is that what is called pig iron?—No, it would be bar iron. The Belgians import pig iron for the making of their iron—for a mixture.

14,604. They import our iron and make it into bars, and bring it back to us more cheaply than we can supply it to the market?—They use a portion of pig iron from this country. What sort of iron they make to bring here and to sell to us at a cheaper rate than they do in Staffordshire, I do not know, but I was offered at our works some Belgian bar iron at 10*s.* a ton under the Staffordshire prices.

14,605. (*Mr. Hughes.*) When was that?—About twelve months ago.

14,606. Have you heard of any within the last five or six months?—There was a paragraph in the papers about some girders wanted for Sheffield, and they were scolding the contractor for not bringing them, and it was found that they were in a foreign port, and that they were coming from Belgium.

14,607. Are you aware whether there has been any recent rise in the price of Belgian iron or not?—I am not.

14,608. Are you aware of the state of the pits in Belgium, whether they are in a peaceable state, and whether the relations between master and men are in a sound condition?—I have noticed lately that there have been uproars in the country.

14,609. Do you know that the military have been called out?—Yes

14,610. With respect to the probable driving out of the iron trade from England, have you seen the returns showing the amount of English iron which has been exported during the past year?—I have not noticed that.

14,611. You have not noticed whether it was larger or smaller than in previous years?—No.

14,612. Last year and the year before were times of great slackness in the trade, were they not?—Yes.

14,613. Do not you think that that slackness may be accounted for to a considerable extent by the very large prices that were made, and the great rises that took place so suddenly in the prosperous years just previous?—No doubt it has arisen from that, but then it has been driven up by the demand for it in this country.

14,614. Is it not true that the price of iron often, at any rate once or twice, rose in a very few months as much as 20 or 30 per cent. during those years?—I am not quite prepared to say that, but it has risen very rapidly.

14,615. Can you give us at all the figures. Of course, I do not know the state of things practically,

but I have seen from statements in the papers and other sources, that there was a very large rise in the prices of iron, from 20 to 30, and even more per cent.?—The prices of iron rose very rapidly at one period. I remember that.

14,616. What period was that?—I should think that it would have been in 1865, probably.

14,617. I think that is the date to which I allude to. Do you remember what rise took place in the wages proportionately at that time?—The wages invariably went up whenever there was a rise in iron.

14,618. In anything like that proportion, do you mean?—I think so.

14,619. And do you think that they would have gone up if there had been no combination amongst the men?—Well, they would have gone up in some proportion to the price of iron, but very likely would not have been driven up so far.

14,620. Is it your experience that the wages have always been advanced by the masters in the same proportion as the price of iron has varied?—Not always.

14,621. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) If iron were to rise 25 per cent. now, would it make the market price more than a fair profit to the maker?—Well, I do not think it would.

14,622. (*Mr. Hughes.*) What do you call a fair profit?—First of all I want 5 per cent. for my capital invested, then I want it recouping in a certain number of years. I have laid down the capital, and put it into a trade, and I want it back at a certain period when that trade is exhausted. And I want a profit besides, or it is not worth while going into trade.

14,623. And you think that a rise of 25 per cent. now would not be more than a fair profit to the master, wages remaining at the present price?—I think it would not.

14,624. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) If the present market price of iron were to rise 25 per cent., would a rise of 25 per cent. make it so high that the manufacturer would get more than a reasonable profit. Is he not in fact now working his establishment at a loss, because, if he is not getting 5 per cent. on his money and getting his capital recouped, he is working at a loss?—I believe that there are only very few iron-masters in the country but what are losing money now and have been for the last twelve months.

14,625. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You know the iron trade pretty well, and have had long experience in it?—Yes.

14,626. And know all the large establishments in England and Wales?—Yes, most of them.

14,627. Do you believe that there is any iron-worker in Great Britain at the present time not losing money?—No.

14,628. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) I have been told that the exportation of iron from this country has been larger during the last year than in any previous year. Do you know that fact?—I do not know it.

14,629. Just now you said, I think, that at the time of the concession of the 5 per cent. being made, you entered into an arrangement with the delegates from the union to prevent your men from being interfered with on their way to work. Did I rightly understand that?—No.

14,630. I thought you said that at the time that that concession of 5 per cent. was made, part of the arrangement was that your men should be protected on their way to work, that is, that they should not be interfered with. That was part of the arrangement, was it not?—Yes, that was part of the arrangement.

14,631. With whom?—With Mr. Normansell and Mr. Casey.

14,632. At the time that you made that arrangement with Mr. Normansell, were you under the impression that that arrangement on his part amounted to an admission that the union could have prevented that interference with your men previously if they had been so disposed?—Well, I do not know that, because I do not believe that they have full control over the men. There are many unruly men that will not be controlled, and that do things contrary to their own rules; but the whole of our workmen, or at least the bulk of our workmen, were present with Mr. Normansell and with Casey at the time I made that arrangement. So that it was with the men and with those two persons acting on their behalf that it was made.

14,633. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) I should like to ask you if you could inform me, taking a piece of bar iron, what are the elements which constitute its price, what you have to calculate in your own mind, and from what the price should arise—so much labour, so much of this, so much of the other. Could you give me the items that enter into its price?—It is a matter of memory, and I have not the figures.

14,634. Do you think that you could upon reflection give me all the elements that enter into the price of a piece of iron?—Yes. I could get them easily, and should be very glad to furnish it.

14,635. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You were asked about Belgian iron. I think you stated that you had been offered Belgian bar iron at 10*s.* a ton less than the English iron?—Yes.

14,636. Are you aware that the Belgian iron-masters buy considerable quantities of pig iron from the Middlesboro' district?—Yes, I believe so.

14,637. And they send that iron manufactured into bar iron into this country at a less price than the English manufacturer can make it at?—Yes, but they mix with it their own iron.

14,638. Are you aware that an English contractor has contracted to put up the girders of the Kensington Museum, and has brought them ready made from Belgium at a less price than he could make them for himself in this country?—I was not aware of that.

14,639. You were asked about the violence of the union men in preventing your importing labour from other districts into your colliery. I suppose that there is a great variety of ways of intimidating these men without having recourse to actual violence?—Yes.

14,640. It is only in case of actual violence that the civil force can take the cognizance of it?—Yes.

14,641. In case of your summoning men before the magistrates, is it not the custom of the magistrates to ascertain whether actual violence is committed?—Yes.

14,642. And they do not take cognizance of cases where there is hooting, and noise, and bullying?—No, they do not. If a non-union man was to go into a pit full of union men they would obstruct him in every possible way, they would steal his tools, they would cut off his matties (the name for his token that goes along with the corve to represent his earnings), and in a hundred ways they would annoy him.

14,643. In fact the means of annoyance, short of actual violence, are quite enough to preclude the possibility of introducing other men from other districts in case of a strike?—Yes, where you have a large number of union men.

14,644. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Now, as a legislator, I would ask your advice—how could the law be so framed as to prevent that sort of intimidation and obstruction?—I must think about that. I have not thought sufficiently about the law to answer that question. I suppose that the House of Commons will be prepared to take the right steps if I tell them what I want.

14,645. But I want to know if it would be possible to prevent the mischief, and you say that if a non-union man were to go into a pit full of union men, they would do certain things to them?—Yes.

14,646. All those things are at this present moment contrary to law. I want to know how I can reach them?—I want to know how I am to find them out.

14,647. That is not the business of the legislature?—No, that is not, of course.

14,648. I would have you fully understand that the law of conspiracy is a very wide law, and if you can put it into force, it is so large a net that you can

Mr. J. Chambers.

8 April 1868.

catch almost any fish in it?—The difficulty is to find them out.

14,649. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Are the masters at all aware what the forms of proceeding are for an action of conspiracy against the men?—I think not.

14,650 Is it usual for them to have recourse to that mode of prosecution?—No.

14,651. And when you have got 500 hundred men making a noise and bullying others, is it not a great difficulty to put you hand upon the particular individual guilty of that?—Yes, there is considerable difficulty.

14,652. So that these various obstructions invalidate the action of the law?—Yes.

14,653. Are not the women often a considerable element in these demonstrations?—Yes, the women and children.

14,654. They are often more formidable than the men, as far as making noises go, are they not?—Yes, they use awfully bad language.

14,655. Although they do not fight themselves, they blow the trumpets for those who do?—Yes, I may say that a hornblower gets all the people up through the village on any such occasion; he goes round at 5 o'clock in the morning and they come at his bidding.

14,656. He does not confess that he is blowing his horn for the purpose of intimidation, I suppose?—No.

14,657. (*Mr. Booth.*) Do you know who pays the hornblower?—I do not know, it is a voluntary action, he gets his union pay in the usual way.

14,658. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) With reference to the question I asked you just now about Mr. Normansell, I want to know whether this arrangement was made between you and him and the rest of the men that your men were no longer to be interfered with, and did Normansell come over and arrange that your workmen were not to be interfered with?—He did.

14,659. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is Mr. Normansell a man who exercises an authority over your section of the union as well as the general union?—Yes.

14,660. And he, in point of fact, is the organ of the union for paying the expenses of the men and giving directions what the men are to do?—Yes.

14,661. You were asked about the price of coal. Do you send coal to London?—Yes.

14,662. In the event of your being obliged to raise the wages to your men, you recoup yourself by raising the price of coal?—Yes.

14,663. But when you have raised the price, do you not find in London and elsewhere that you are met by cheaper coals from other collieries where they have not the action of the unions?—Yes.

14,664. So that you are shut out in that way from a very considerable extent of that market?—Yes, and I can give you just the facts with reference to South Yorkshire coal in London. Ten years ago we sent 400,000 tons through the Great Northern Railway to London, the Great Northern carrying 525,000 tons. London was then consuming by railway 1,250,000 tons. In 1867 from South Yorkshire, there were only 300,000 tons sent to London, and the Great Northern Company carried 1,044,000 tons, and London was consuming 3,250,000 tons by rails.

14,665. So that whenever you raised the price, from whatever cause, of coals from your district in the London market, you were met by the seaborne coals and coals coming into London by means of other railways?—Yes.

14,666. And that is a strict limitation of your control over the price?—Yes.

14,667. And the same thing applies to other markets?—Yes.

14,668. So that although you may raise the price under the pressure of your men that rise is necessarily only temporary?—Yes, the South Yorkshire district now only sending 300,000 tons (whereas they sent 400,000 ten years ago), and the Great Northern carrying 1,000,000 tons to London, we are losing that.

14,669. Now the price of coals has fallen?—Yes, 2*s.* a ton in London.

14,670. Then if you send any considerable quantity of your coal to London it will involve a necessity of a further reduction in the wages paid to the men, would it not?—We ought to have had 10 per cent. certainly.

14,671. And if you do not have 10 per cent. reduction you will be obliged to restrict your trade and employ less men?—That will be the effect unless we can find other markets. Then there is another point in South Yorkshire in which we are restrained, and that is that we dare not make contracts.

14,672. If it became known to the union that you made a contract for a given quantity weekly, for a large quantity of coals, would the union immediately suggest an advance of wages to the men?—I do not know that, but supposing that there is a brisk winter, or a brisk trade they always take that opportunity of putting up our price.

14,673. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Well do you think that unreasonable?—I think so.

14,674. Why?—Because we dare not make contracts.

14,675. When you say "brisk trade" is it not natural that they should wish for some advantage as well as you from that?—They should have a reasonable advantage, no doubt of it, and if labour has risen in the market we are willing to pay for it, but we are not willing to pay them more than the labour is worth.

14,676. But how are they to know what their share is unless they really know what the state of your trade is?—I can only tell you that the other day I had an opportunity of taking a contract for from 20,000 to 30,000 tons and I dared only take half of it, and I dared not have taken that if the trade had not been depressed.

14,677. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Still does not the question put to you by the honourable Commissioner prove that those are just the men that ought not to determine the price?—Just so.

14,678. (*Mr. Hughes.*) But might not they know better if you were open with them, and if they knew what the state of your business was?—I remember having a delegate of my own men and reasoning with him in that way, and the fellow shook his head at me as a stag would if he were going to attack me. "That may be all right," he said, "but we will have the money."

14,679. Do you think that Mr. Normansell would do that?—I do not think it. He would do it in a quieter way.

14,680. You have found the leaders of the union reasonable and intelligent men, I understand you?—More reasonable than some of the men.

14,681. Do not you think that if the state of matters were fairly put before them, and not concealed, as it is in the present state of the relations between masters and men, they would very likely come to reasonable conclusions?—I think not. They have their own business to manage, and they have to keep faith with the unions that they have to govern, and those men are unreasonable men, in many instances, so that they cannot control them; therefore it is not a tribunal which I should prefer to settle these matters.

14,682. But is not the present state of things this, that they have to take their policy by a guess, and that they know nothing about your books and your business, because secrecy is the fundamental principle of your business. I do not say that it is wrong or right, but still they cannot know the exact state of your business at present, can they; have they any means at present of knowing exactly how your trade stands?—They know the public market and they know the state of trade generally.

14,683. And then they act upon that when there is a brisk time and endeavour to get a rise?—Yes.

14,684. (*Sir Daniel Gooch.*) Do they come to you in a slack time, when trade is very bad, to be reduced?—No, we are obliged to go to them then.

14,685. (*Mr. Mathews.*) If they see by the public papers that the coal trade is very brisk, and that you are getting better prices, I suppose they very soon

give you an intimation that they expect higher wages?—That is so.

14,686. On the other hand, if they see that the trade is bad and prices falling, do they ever come and volunteer a reduction of wages?—No. There is this feature, that since the last settlement they have not disturbed the matter of wages. I believe that the men wanted to push wages up and the delegates kept them down.

14,687. But even when there is a necessity for reducing wages, owing to a fall in the price of coal, the union have always resisted?—As a rule. We have asked them for 5 per cent. reduction this time and they have granted it.

14,688. Five per cent. being less than the average of reduction throughout the country?—Yes, 5 per cent. less than the average.

14,689. If you had attempted to reduce them to the same extent as the men in Wales and Lancashire, do you think that the unions would have consented to that?—They would have resisted it.

14,690. Although it is reasonable to lower the wages of colliers in accordance with the market price of coals?—No doubt they would have resisted it.

14,691. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Are most of the men in your colliery members of the union?—The great bulk of them are.

14,692. Still there are a section of them that are not?—Yes.

14,693. Then we are not to understand from your answer just now that when things are going on in the ordinary way non-members find it impossible to work with those in the union?—Those not in the union are distinct, and working by themselves.

14,694. Not working in the same pit?—No. We have very few non-union men in the pits at all.

14,695. Still you have some?—I question whether we have any undertakers.

14,696. What do you mean by "undertakers?"—Men working by the piece.

14,697. Do you find that the fact that you employ union men makes it usually difficult for you to keep up the discipline of the pit, and the safe working of it?—Well, it has this tendency, no doubt, among the young men, they think that they are very important men, being members of the union, and they will not submit to discipline as a rule, and we have great difficulty in managing them.

14,698. Do you find that the union authorities, Mr. Normansell, for instance, would interfere with you if you were to find it necessary to dismiss a man who was notoriously incompetent or endangering the good working of the pit?—Well, I do not suppose that he would.

14,699. Have you not found by experience that when the men working in the pit themselves would have perhaps unreasonably taken offence at the dismissal of an incompetent workman, Mr. Normansell has come in and recognised that it was a necessity, and persuaded them to give up their demand?—I do not know that that has occurred to me. It is not a part of my experience with him. I have not had so much communication as that comes to with him, but I have no doubt that he would be disposed to recommend them to be quiet.

14,700. (*Mr. Mathews.*) If there were to be some non-union men working in the same pit with the union men, and the union men were to be very disagreeable to them, and molest them in the way you have previously described, do you think that Mr. Normansell would have any power to prevent that?—I think they hold this sentiment, that there ought not to be any non-union men.

14,701. I am putting the case that there are non-union men. You say that non-union men, though not molested personally, are annoyed in various ways that make their working in the pit almost impracticable. Do you think that Mr. Normansell's influence would be powerful enough to prevent that?—I do not think he could prevent it. I think that if he recommended them to stop it they would not be disposed to take his advice.

14,702. You stated that Mr. Normansell is an officer of the union with whom you have had communication?—Yes.

14,703. Is there any other officer of the union you have had communication with?—Mr. Casey.

14,704. Anybody else?—No.

14,705. Mr. Normansell and Mr. Casey are the two parties with whom you have had personal communication in your negotiation with the union?—Yes.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. James Wilson examined.

14,706. (*Chairman.*) Are you a proprietor of coal and iron works at Barnsley?—I am a viewer at Darfield main.

14,707. Are they extensive works; how many men are employed?—We employ about 400.

14,708. How long have you been viewer?—Three and a half years at the Darfield main.

14,709. During that time have you had strikes?—Yes.

14,710. And strikes in which unions have taken a part?—Yes, I believe so.

14,711. Would you name the most material strike, what was the question raised in it, and how long it lasted?—In 1831, in the north of England, we had a strike.

14,712. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Can you remember that?—Yes I remember it.

14,713. You must have been a very young man then?—Yes, I was. I had been in the pit then a good while too.

14,714. (*Chairman.*) What was the cause of the strike?—It was to get the hours shortened for the men and boys generally.

14,715. What were the hours before?—From 12 to 16 hours per day for boys.

14,716. And what were they shortened to?—To 12 for boys and eight for men.

14,717. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) So that the boys worked longer than the men?—Yes, and we are on that principle yet.

14,718. (*Chairman.*) How is it made reasonable; I suppose it must be owing to some necessity?—The coal getters are divided into two sets; one goes in at 2 o'clock in the morning and comes out at 10, and another set relieves them at 10 o'clock and comes out at six in the afternoon. Then they are getting their stuff ready up to 6 o'clock in the morning, and then the boys go in at six and continue till six at night in a general way.

14,719. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) So that in fact the boys wait upon two sets of men?—Yes.

14,720. (*Mr. Hughes.*) What was the result of that strike; that the hours were shortened by three or four hours for the boys, and by four hours for the men?—The men were not tied exactly; they stopped ten hours perhaps, according to the time in which they could do their work.

14,721. The result was a shortening of the hours?—Yes.

14,722. And a strike was necessary to get that?—Yes.

14,723. And the masters resisted that shortening of hours, I suppose?—Yes.

14,724. Do you consider that demand on the part of the men to have been reasonable?—Yes.

14,725. And to have been beneficial in its results?—Yes.

14,726. Was that a strike organized by the union as far as you know?—There was a union at that time, and it was rather extensive. I believe that there were somewhere about 30,000 men in the union at that time.

14,727. In your opinion, would that shortening of hours have been given voluntarily by the masters?—

Mr. J. Wilson.

28 April 1868.

I do not think so; the masters had a chance of giving it previously to that strike if they had liked.

14,728. (*Mr. Mathews.*) How long had the custom existed for working this number of hours which you speak of?—That I cannot say. I had been in the pit only about two and a half years then. I was about 10 years of age.

14,729. The custom may have existed long previously to your experience?—Yes, I believe it had.

14,730. (*Chairman.*) That strike ended in the men obtaining what you thought reasonable. Did the employers and the men go on upon terms of goodwill afterwards?—The next year, that is 1832, there was another strike that took place. The colliers made another demand for an advance of wages, and I believe they were off some 14 or 20 weeks in that case.

14,731. And how many were out?—I think somewhere about 30,000 were out.

14,732. What is the district over which these 30,000 men were spread?—Durham and Northumberland.

14,733. (*Mr. Hughes.*) What was the result of that strike?—The men went in for less, I believe, than they turned out at. Their wages were reduced, I believe, at that time.

14,734. So that that strike failed?—Yes.

14,735. (*Chairman.*) Do you know the principle upon which the men acted; was there a rise in the price of coals, or on what principle did they found their demand other than that they should like to have more money?—At that time the coal owners generally used to bind the men for 12 months, and as they bound them for 12 months, of course they were tied at so much wage per fortnight. They guaranteed them that. In some cases it was 30*s.* and in some cases 20*s.*, according to the terms that the men were under. At a certain stage, when they got a certain quantity of coal, what we call the vend, the pits stood perhaps three weeks at Christmas time, to keep the coals up in the London market, and the men had to play these three weeks and subsist on what they got out of the guarantee of 30*s.* a fortnight.

14,736. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) That was a guarantee on the part of the masters?—Yes.

14,737. (*Chairman.*) Did the men strike against that system?—I believe the strike was really for an advance of wages again, and the masters resisted it.

14,738. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Were you involved in that strike?—Yes.

14,739. Is uppose you were too young to form any judgment as to whether it was reasonabble or not?—My memory does not carry me so far as that.

14,740. (*Chairman.*) Were you guided by your father or anybody who could influence you?—Yes, my father.

14,741. Was he in the pit?—Yes.

14,742. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Which way did he go?—Of course he struck the 20 weeks.

14,743. I mean which way did he go in his opinions?—I do not remember that. I suppose, unless his opinion had been for the advance, he would not have stood out so long.

14,744. (*Chairman.*) Now we will come to those strike cases where you were an active agent yourself?—The first occurred at Castle Eden Colliery, in the county of Durham, in 1855.

14,745. Were you a miner then?—No, I had the management then.

14,746. Was it under a private proprietor or under a company?—It was under a company, and I was the underground viewer.

14,747. What was the question that arose then?—There had been many strikes that year. I believe something like twelve strikes for a demand of one thing or another.

14,748. Did the demand originate in the mine of which you were the viewer or rise up in some other mine and then the district take it up?—There was not any district society at all; there was not a union formed at that place.

14,749. This was a question raised by the working men upon their own knowledge and at their own risk in the matter, not a union?—They formed something like a combination just among themselves at that identical place.

14,750. I will only ask as to that; did they succeed or fail?—They failed.

14,751. Have you had a case of a strike where the union was in activity as an efficient cause?—Yes, on November the 13th, 1865. That is in the South Yorkshire district, at Darfield main.

14,752. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You were viewer there too, were you not?—Yes.

14,753. (*Chairman.*) Did the strike originate in the mine of which you were viewer?—Yes.

14,754. What was the question raised?—It was not exactly a strike; it was a demand for five per cent.

14,755. The men originated that, did they?—Yes.

14,756. And originated it under the advice of the union, I gather from what you said?—I presume they did.

14,757. There was a union prevading the district, was there, to a great extent; most of the men were in it?—Yes.

14,758. They asked five per cent. rise you say?—Yes.

14,759. How long did they stay out?—They did not stay out at all; if the five per cent. was not given they said that they would restrict themselves after the 21st, to 3*s.* and 3*s.* 6*d.* a day; that would be doing something like half-work.

14,760. So that the coal proprietors would have all the expenses of the colliery, and there would be only half the quantity of coal raised?—Yes.

14,761. What was the result of that?—We gave them the five per cent.

14,762. Had that increase of five per cent. any relation to a rise in the value of coal in the market?—I believe that coals had risen in the market.

14,763. And then the men demanded a rise in proportion and it was given to them?—We granted it to them after four weeks' restriction.

14,764. Was that, if I may so say, all in reasonable course?—We had only one little dispute at the time. One of the men, who was a union man, would not restrict his labour until the time appointed by the district, and about 200 of the roughs in the mine went in and brought him out, although he was one of their own class of men, because he would not restrict himself before the time appointed.

14,765. Was that a spontanious action of the men or was it dictated to them by a delegate and secretary?—Our delegate, I believe, sanctioned it; that is the delegate belonging to the lodge.

14,766. Every one of these unions acts in the first instance by the lodge belonging to the district, does it not?—Yes.

14,767. And that lodge accounts to the central committee?—Yes.

14,768. They fetched this man down you say?—They went into his hole to the number of about 200 men, more or less, and I tried to prevent them from doing so, but I was obliged to leave or otherwise they would have broken out upon me. They put him in a corve and hurried him along the road, and ill-treated him in various ways. They then took him on the top and took him round the village with a rope round him that he might be well exhibited, and then the delegate went up to him and made him promise that he would do as other people did, and of course they let him go then.

14,769. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is it the practice of the union to compel people to act as the union dictates rather than let them follow their own inclinations?—I do not think it is the practice of the union, but there are some roughs in connexion with it that it scarcely has any control over.

14,770. The delegates have not any control over them?—No.

14,771. (*Chairman.*) Was there anything of ill-

will between the employers and the men created by this strike?—Only this little affray that took place.

14,772. And that concerned the man that was ill-treated?—Of course it concerned him more than us. And he summoned some five or six of them.

14,773. All that would be what I should call a private quarrel. But as to the effect of the unions upon the employers or the working men, that would result when it was a mere money demand. "We stand for five per cent. more" the men said. "We will not give it," you said at first, but some time afterwards you said, "We will give it to you." Then all went on just as before?—Yes.

14,774. No other violence occurred that you remember?—Not in that case.

14,775. (*Mr. Hughes.*) I should like to ask the result of those summonses?—Of course they made the matter up among themselves.

14,776. Do you know which side the union took as to the summouses?—I do not know that, but, of course, I knew that the union discountenanced it at the time.

14,777. (*Mr. Booth.*) But the delegate that met this man in the village, and made him promise that in future he would do as the rest, countenanced what they had been doing?—Yes, of course.

14,778. And he was an officer of the union?—Yes.

14,779. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) By what means do you judge the union generally discountenanced that?—Because the whole of the officers, the decenter part of the officers whom we have about the works, when I talked to them about it always said that it was a thing contrary to their wish.

14,780. They said that to you?—Yes.

14,781. Did they say that to the men?—I believe so.

14,782. (*Chairman.*) Did they speak as if they were sincere?—Yes.

14,783. (*Mr. Mathews.*) How was this quarrel made up with the man who was illtreated?—I believe they paid the man's expenses.

14,784. Who paid the expenses of Pannels?—I do not know who paid the expenses, but of course either the men or the society would have to do it.

14,785. You have no knowledge whether the union found the funds for it?—Only what we suppose.

14,786. Your impression is that the union found the funds for making up the compromise and prevent the men being prosecuted?—Yes.

14,787. (*Chairman*) Has there been a strike since?—We put on the 5 per cent. after that, and there was not any more just at that time.

14,788. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) When was the next?—On August the 17th, 1866, our men stopped out a day.

14,789. Was it a demand for a rise or a refusal for a reduction?—No, it was to request us to advise our colliers all to pay to the union, so that they might go on peaceably. They were headed by this same delegate.

14,790. What did you do?—We told them that we should not interfere, that we had nothing at all to do with it, and we should leave them to do as they liked.

14,791. (*Chairman.*) What made them stay out a day, was it for the men to talk it over?—They came to the pit at the time when the pit should have commenced to pull coal, and instead of going down they all stopped on the pit bank and made that request that we would advise all our men to pay to the union, so that things might go on quietly. There was some unpleasantness between the men that did pay and those that did not pay.

14,792. (*Mr. Mathews.*) So that they wanted you to exercise your authority to compel those who did not pay into the union to pay into it?—Yes.

14,793. And you declined to exercise it?—Yes.

14,794. (*Chairman.*) And you went on well after that?—Yes, until September 1866.

14,795. What was it that happened then?—We had a meeting at Barnsley. They apprised us of it, and the pit only stopped that day for them to have that day amongst themselves as a public demonstration.

14,796. It was settled agreeably to the opinion of both employers and employed?—It was to us. On October the 8th the boys all stopped out for an advance of wages, and the same delegate told them all to go home and meet him at such a time of the day, and he would see about getting their wages put right.

14,797. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Did you grant it?—No, we had made a little concession just on that point at that time.

14,798. And what they asked you did not grant?—We did not grant it at that time.

14,799. What took place?—Of course the pit went on the next day.

14,800. (*Mr. Hughes.*) The boys went in?—Yes.

14,801. Do you suppose that the delegate persuaded them to go in?—This man that we had was regular in doing things of this kind, in fact he took a day or two every week for something of the kind.

14,802. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Supposing you had sent that man away, what would have been the result?—I do not know. I am afraid at that time it would have been considered that we were not doing what was right to him.

14,803. And what would have been the consequence of that?—I am afraid that they would have stopped just at that moment.

14,804. So that though you thought the man an ill-conditioned fellow you did not dare discharge him?—No, we had not any cause; I mean not anything in connexion with his work, for doing so.

14,805. But you said just now that every week pretty nearly he took a holiday of this sort?—Yes.

14,806. That he took a holiday for creating a disturbance in the pit?—Not in the pit, previous to going to the pit.

14,807. And when you saw all this you would have been very glad to get rid of him I suppose?—Yes.

14,808. Add in spite of this you did not dare discharge him?—No.

14,809. Because of the union?—Yes, at that time.

14,810. (*Mr. Mathews.*) If you had done so would the union have called their men out?—I would not say that they would, but I was afraid of that.

14,811. And in consequence of that apprehension you continued to employ him, although an unsatisfactory servant?—Yes.

14,812. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You did not say that his work was unsatisfactory?—He was a very inferior workman at the same time.

14,813. (*Chairman.*) What would be the loss to the employer if all the men came out; would your pit fill with water?—Yes, part of the works would. But the pit daily has an action of that sort, and the timber is decaying and the roads wanting repair, and we perhaps send 20 or 30 men in at night, and they make the roads all ready for the next morning; it may cost us in some cases 10*l.*, 15*l.*, or 20*l.*

14,814. (*Mr. Mathews.*) That is if they played one day?—Yes.

14,815. If they were to play two days a week there would be a still further disadvantage?—Yes.

14,816. And if for three days a week, would the colliery be worth carrying on?—It depends on how they are to keep, there is such a difference in the maintaining of them; some will stand 12 months and take very little harm.

14,817. Take an average colliery in your neighbourhood. If the colliery were restricted to three days a week, would the colliery answer to carry on?—I should scarcely think so.

14,818. So that in order to carry on a colliery in the most economical form, to pay the men good wages, you must keep the colliery steadily at work every day?—Yes.

14,819. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Will you go on to the next strike?—In May 1867, the horse boys stopped out again; they stopped out five days, and we took five of them before the magistrates at that time.

14,820. (*Chairman.*) Were those boys under a contract?—Yes.

14,821. And broke their contract?—Yes.

14,822. What did you do?—We stated to the

Mr. J. Wilson.
28 April 1868.

magistrates that if they would promise to go back and attend to their work, we should have no objection to their allowing them to do so, and they went back after paying expenses.

14,823. (*Mr. Booth.*) What was the ground of their stopping?—For an advance of wages, and also a shortening of the time. Sometimes we had run 10½ hours or 11 hours a day, and they wanted to be paid overtime.

14,824. And they did not succeed in getting those objects?—Yes, we made a concession with some of them; raised their wages a little, and paid them for all time after 4 o'clock.

14,825. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You paid them overtime?—Overtime according to the average of time they stopped.

14,826. Then the boys got what they wanted?—Yes. These boys were not in the society at all.

14,827. These boys got what they wanted, and a reprimand?—Yes.

14,828. (*Chairman.*) The unions appear to have interfered ostensibly very little indeed with your works?—Since that time we have had very little interference.

14,829. Had that man you have spoken of (I do not know his name, I will call him the mischief maker), anything to do with the union do you know, or was he a spontaneous servant of evil?—He was a delegate; of course, therefore, he was a union man.

14,830. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Your pit it seems has unionists and non-unionists working together?—Yes.

14,831. Do they get on pretty well?—Yes, at present.

14,832. Then, as far as your pit goes, you think that the unions do not drive out or coerce all who do not belong to them; your experience is that they get on pretty comfortably together, when they have worked together, and it is only on the introduction of new hands that there is any difficulty I suppose?—They never interfere with them now; they have not done so for more than 12 months.

14,833. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Have you had any reduction in wages lately?—No.

14,834. Do you contemplate any reduction in wages?—No. We have made a request now for 5 per cent. reduction, and the men have agreed to submit to it.

14,835. What reduction has taken place in the price of coals?—From 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* a ton, I believe.

14,836. And 5 per cent. reduction in wages will not compensate you for that reduction in the price of coals?—No.

14,837. Then with the reduction in the price of coals of 2*s.* per ton, and a reduction only of 5 per cent. on your wages, is your colliery carried on to a profit or a loss?—I hope to a profit.

14,838. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You think so?—Yes.

14,839. You are sure of it?—Yes, I think it will go on at a profit.

14,840. (*Mr. Mathews.*) How is it with other collieries situated in your neighbourhood; are you all getting a profit with a reduction of 2*s.* a ton, and only 5 per cent. in the wages?—I do not know about the commercial department, the selling and the buying, but I think they will scarcely get a profit at 2*s.* a ton reduction.

14,841. So that although you are a viewer, and understand the working of a pit very well, as I have no doubt you do, you do not know much about the commercial part of it?—No.

14,842. So that the colliery may lose or gain and you not know it?—Yes.

14,843. (*Chairman.*) Have you taught your eyes sometimes to see and sometimes not to see?—I have not anything to do with the commercial department.

14,844. There is no risk about the profit to yourself?—No.

14,845. You see that the mine is well worked?—I see that the mine is well worked and safe, and that is the principal part in connexion with me.

14,846. (*Mr. Hughes.*) As far as you are concerned you think there is still a living to be made out of coal mining?—Yes.

14,847. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Although you said that you are not commercially acquainted with it?—No.

14,848. And men who are may think the other way?—Yes.

14,849. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you find practically any difficulty in dealing with union men who are working in the pit, as compared with others who are not members of the union?—No.

14,850. I mean do you find that they are less ready to obey the orders which are established for the safety of the mine, and things of that kind?—No. I should take a different course if they refused to allow the discipline of the colliery to be carried out. I should then bring them before the magistrates, that is my system.

14,851. But you do not practically find that it makes a difference, do you?—Not at all, I would not allow it to be so, not for one minute.

14,852. We had before us some time ago a gentleman who gave it as his opinion that a pit in which there were many members of the union at work was hardly safe, and he said that in the South Yorkshire district the frequency of accidents was to be attributed to that. That is not your view at all?—That is not my view at all, and I believe that the frequency of accidents in the South Yorkshire district is not equal to that in other districts.

14,853. But the pits in themselves are of a dangerous kind about Barnsley, are they not?—Yes, they yield large quantities of fire-damp, and take a little more looking after, and if they are not looked after of course they will be dangerous.

14,854. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) I will put the case to you thus: Suppose the Trades Union through their delegate were to interfere with your management of a pit, would that interference go to disturb the discipline of the pit?—Not at all, we would not allow that.

14,855. But supposing they were to interfere would they disturb the discipline of the pit, supposing that you were overpowered by them?—I have never found it to be so.

14,856. You would not allow them to interfere?—No.

14,857. But supposing you were to allow them to interfere, do you think that that interference would be for the benefit of the discipline of the pit?—Not at all; it would be my fault then.

14,858. (*Sir Daniel Gooch.*) Were you not appointed an arbitrator in some dispute lately?—Yes, at a place called Snydale, in the West Yorkshire district.

14,859. What was the result of that arbitration?—The men called me in to arbitrate for them, and the prices were reduced a little.

14,860. It was a question of wages then?—Yes.

14,861. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) They asked for an increase?—They did not ask for an increase, there had been a dispute among the master and men, about some little things in connection with the weighing of the coal, and after he had locked the men out he would not let them go in until the prices were lowered so as to be the same as at the other places round about.

14,862. (*Mr. Hughes.*) And did the men abide by your arbitration?—Yes.

14,863. They have kept to it since?—Yes, as far as I know.

14,864. And you were called in by the union?—By the union.

14,865. From your knowledge of the union in South Yorkshire, do you believe that the better class of workmen belong to it?—I daresay a great many of them do.

14,866. And I suppose that the better class of workmen are the most intelligent men?—Yes.

14,867. Do you know whether they have great confidence in the action and working of the union?—Well, I have heard some express themselves so.

14,868. Do you think that they have cause for that, that on the whole the action of the union since it has been organized in that district has been beneficial

for the men, I do not say for the masters, but for the men, from the men's point of view?—Well, that is rather a difficult question for me to answer.

14,869. (*Mr. Harrison.*) They do from time to time direct their attention to resist anything like an extension of the hours, and as far as they can to reduce the hours of labour in the pit?—Yes.

14,870. But have you found practically that quite apart from that there is any disposition to limit the amount of get which each workman can himself make within those hours?—Only that one time that I mentioned in connection with the 5 per cent.

14,871. I mean as between the individual workmen, do you consider that the influence of the union is to prevent an extremely skilful getter of coal from getting the most for his day's labour?—Not at all; I do not find it so.

14,872. You do not find any tendency whatever to check him?—Not at all with us.

14,873. And, as a matter of fact, the wages that the men actually receive do differ considerably at the end of the week; I do not mean the rates, but the wages?—Yes, there is a great difference in the places for working in, as much as three shillings or a couple shillings in the day.

14,874. Then they differ in both ways; they differ in rates and in the quantity got at those rates?—Yes, there may be a difference of 2*s.* in the working of two individual working men.

14,875. Do you mean in the rate or the bulk of what they get?—In the bulk.

14,876. What would be the difference in the rate?—There is not any limit in the rate.

14,877. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Who determines where a man shall work, because you say that some places are more beneficial than others. Supposing that three men were before you, would you determine where they would work?—Yes.

14,878. So that it depends very much upon you whether a man shall make a larger wage or a less wage?—Not generally; but it depends upon the skill of the man. I have had instances of that kind since I came to Darfield. I have put one man into a hole where he cannot make a living or will not do it; I have put another in, and he has made 10*s.* or 15*s.* a-day, and the other has actually struck for more wages and could not work it.

14,879. (*Mr. Harrison.*) A good deal depends upon the discretion of the manager?—There is little difference in that respect; you can give a place sometimes to anybody you like.

14,880. (*Mr. Matthews.*) A good place to-day may be bad to-morrow?—Yes.

14,881. So that it is haphazard whether a place is bad or not?—Yes, a place might be bad for a week or a fortnight, and a good skilful workman going into it would make a good place of it in course of time.

14,882. There is no complaint against the viewers generally for partiality as to the place they put the different men in?—No, I have not heard any.

14,883. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) But the viewer could show partiality?—He could if he liked.

14,884. (*Chairman.*) Do you take a certain length of coal in a bed of coal and allot it to one man?—No, from eight to 10 or 20 yards.

14,885. Then he makes a fresh contract?—No, his contract is fixed for so much per score, 11*s.* 8d. per score, and if his coal should turn out to work very well it is all the better for him. If it should turn out to work very indifferently, he will perhaps come and ask you for a little advance.

14,886. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) But how long does the contract last for; a man comes to you and makes a certain contract with you; he does not contract for so many years or so many years or so many months, but he says, "I will work this piece of the mine so many yards," does he not?—Yes, so many yards in width, and perhaps it will run up half a mile in length.

14,887. Then it is dependent upon how the mine turns out?—It depends altogether upon the system.

14,888. If it continues as it began, your contract continues?—Yes.

14,889. But if it gets very much better you look to the interests of your master, and you say to the man, "Now you should have a little less wage;" but if it gets so much worse he comes to you and says, "You ought to make me an advance?"—No, it is not exactly that way. It is a stipulated price, and if the hole does really turn out so that it is a question whether we are giving enough, we are not bound to alter, although it is a general thing with us to give a little allowance if the man's place is not a fair day's wage.

14,890. (*Mr. Mathews.*) It is open to both parties to revise the contract after a certain time?—No.

14,891. You can say to him, "I give you notice "that I will not give you so much for working this "coal," and he on the other hand may say, "I will not work for the same as before?"—Yes.

14,892. You were asked whether they were not the most intelligent colliers that belonged to the union. Are there not as many intelligent colliers out of the union as in it?—I could not answer that.

14,893. You know a good many intelligent men not in the union?—I know some on each side.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. William Rowe examined.

Mr. W. Rowe.

14,894. (*Chairman.*) Are you a collier employed in one of the Wigan coal mines?—Yes.

14,895. What mine is that?—Lindsay Cannel pit.

14,896. Are they large works?—Yes.

14,897. How many men are employed under the same company?—I cannot say, but there are a great number.

14,898. 10,000 or 12,000?—Yes, I daresay, or more than that perhaps.

14,899. And how long have you been employed there?—Four years.

14,900. Have you taken part in this strike which is now going on?—No.

14,901. Have you continued to work?—Yes.

14,902. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You have a union at Wigan I think?—Yes.

14,903. Are the men employed in the Wigan collieries pretty generally in the union?—Yes.

14,904. And what are the names of the officers of the union there?—There are many of them that are officers. I do not know them all.

14,905. Do you know the names of any of them?—Yes, there is William Pickard; he is the leader of them.

14,906, Does the union act under his advice generally?—Yes.

14,907. There has been a strike there recently, I think?—Yes.

14,908. The strike was to assist a reduction of wages?—Yes.

14,909. I suppose the reduction of wages was necessary in consequence of the reduced price of coal?—Yes, I believe so.

14,910. The union, I suppose, under the direction of Mr. Pickard resisted the reduction?—I do not know whether it was his view to resist it, but the men resisted it.

14,911. Was the resistance at the instigation of the union?—Yes, at the lodge that I was at, and most of the lodges, as far as I can learn, they were to stand against it.

14,912. Are there many men employed in the Wigan collieries not in the union?—A good many.

14,913. As to the men not in the union, were they

Mr. W. Rowe.

28 April 1868.

willing to accept a reduction or otherwise?—I cannot say that.

14,914. What steps were taken by the men out on strike to resist a reduction of wages?—They agreed to stop, and to stop all that would not stop.

14,915. They agreed to stop themselves, and they agreed to stop all those who were willing to work?—Yes.

14,916. Were there many that were willing to work that they have succeeded in stopping?—Yes.

14,917. Were there many acts of violence?—Yes, a good number.

14,918. What steps were taken to repress acts of violence; were the police called out?—Well, the police promised to come at various times, but they never came up to their appointment; they came after the thing was gone over.

14,919. The proprietors of the Wigan collieries were not able to get sufficient police to protect the men willing to work from the men on strike?—Well, we had not protection. I do not know whose fault it was.

14,920. Was much violence done to the men willing to work?—Yes, a few were beaten, and windows broken, and many threatened.

14,921. Have any been brought before the magistrates and punished?—They have been bound over. I do not know that any were sent to prison. There are three committed to trial that will be tried at quarter sessions to-morrow.

14,922. Do the men in the union interfere at all with the work of the men not in the union in pits?—Yes.

14,923. How do they interfere with them?—They have tried to persuade them at various times to come into the union and they have said that it is not right that they should not be in the union.

14,924. And if they are not in the union what steps have they taken to compel them to go in?—I do not know that they have taken any steps of violence before they turn out, not to my knowledge.

14,925. You work in some of the pits yourself?—Yes.

14,926. Are there any union men in the pits that you work in?—Yes; I have been in the union myself.

14,927. How long?—I was in the union till the present strike.

14,928. What was your reason for leaving the union?—Because I reasoned with them and said that it was better to work at this present reduction till the trade got better and then ask for an advance, and I said I had not the least doubt that they would get it then, but they would not hear of my reasoning, they were determined to stand, and I asked them the question in the lodge room, "Did they think that they "could beat the masters if they stood under present "circumstances?" Some said they thought they could not. "Then why will you strike?" I said. They did not "like to give in soft" they answered, "Well," said I, "you will give in soft if you stand till you are beaten." So I told them that I should work if they stood, and after that I heard that if I did they would take my life.

14,929. Did you leave the union in consequence of those threats?—Yes.

14,930. You told them that you would not belong to the union?—I told them I would pay no more if they were going to use such language as that.

14,931. What was the object of your paying to the union, was it in the shape of a benefit payment or a trade payment?—I was persuaded that the union would keep up the wages.

14,932. And when you found that the union could not keep up wages you thought that there was no use any longer in belonging to it?—I would have kept on if I had thought they were justified in striking.

14,933. There has been a considerable reduction in the price of coal, has there not?—I believe there has.

14,934. And in consequence of that reduction the colliery company at Wigan have found it necessary to reduce the wages?—Yes.

14,935. And you are convinced that that was a reasonable course?—As far as I read the paper I thought we would not get sufficient labour if we did not come down.

14,936. Was there any attempt to induce men from other districts to come into your district during the strike?—Yes, other men have been brought.

14,937. What was the conduct of the union?—They were determined to drive them away; they met in large quantities.

14,938. Did they assault them?—I cannot say what took place between them and the union men; I was confined to my house. I durst not come out.

14,939. You were in fear?—I had been assaulted too in previous times on going to my work. They have broken my windows too.

14,940. You say that Mr. Pickard was one of the leaders and advisers of the union; have you any evidence that Mr. Pickard took any active part in the conduct of these men on strike?—I am not aware that Mr. Pickard reasoned with these men to strike. I heard that he said it was better for them not to strike.

14,941. Does the union sanction the strike?—Yes, the union sanctions it.

14,942. In what way?—They had delegates sent from every lodge to a district meeting held, and the information I had was that they came to a determination that they must resist the reduction.

14,943. The delegates attended a meeting of the lodge and recommended the men to strike?—Yes, I know that William Pickard has done as far as this, that he is willing to back out anything that should occur during the strike.

14,944. Are there any law charges that have been incurred during a strike?—Yes, the union pays the lawyer.

14,945. So that all the cost to which the men are put by these proceedings the union have paid?—Yes.

14,946. So that in fact the proceedings of the men have been sanctioned by the union by means of these payments?—They are backing them out in all they do.

14,947. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Do you know the name of the lawyer they employ?—Mr. Forshaw, from Preston.

14,948. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Has Mr. Roberts of Manchester been employed at Wigan?—Not on this strike that I am aware of.

14,949. Has he on former occasions?—Yes.

14,950. Who paid Mr. Roberts?—He has been paid from the union.

14,951. The union have paid all the legal expenses in defending men prosecuted for outrageous conduct?—Yes.

14,952. In your experience, since you have been a member of the union, do you think that if the men had gone to their masters and said that understanding there had been an advance in the price of coal they thought there ought to have been an advance in wages, the masters would have been indisposed to listen to them?—They never have been with me, I have been sent to them several times.

14,953. Do you think that in the case of a fall in the value of coals, any acts of unions could keep wages up against the fall?—It has been thought by many that they could compel the masters to do with less profits and give higher wages.

14,954. What in your experience has been the result; do you think that the men have got in the long run better wages by means of the unions than they would have done by communication with their masters?—The union has kept wages up to a greater extent.

14,955. Longer than they would otherwise have been kept up if there had been no union?—Yes, I think they have.

14,956. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) How have they done it?—By combining together.

14,957. But supposing that a man stood out against them and said, "I intend to take lower wages," what would be the consequence of that?—He would be in danger then.

14,958. You say that they threatened to take your life?—Yes.

14,959. Will you tell me what they said, and who said it?—Well, they have chiefly been strangers from other parts, and I did not know them; they have come to my door, and some came into the house, and told me if I did not give up my work I should not live long, and others have come and shouted in at my window that if I turned out any more they would lie in wait and kill me, and if they did not do it at one time they would wait for their opportunity at another.

14,960. Was that done by daylight?—Both by daylight and in the dark.

14,961. Did you see the people who did it?—Yes.

14,962. Could you swear to them if you saw them again?—Yes.

14,963. Have you ever seen them again?—Yes, before the magistrates.

14,964. Were they taken before the magistrates for threatening you?—They were taken before the magistrates for breaking my windows and committing acts of violence in the streets.

14,965. What did the magistrates do?—They bound them over.

14,966. Merely bound them over to keep the peace?—Yes.

14,967. After it was proved that they had broken your windows?—Yes, I believe there were some who paid the expenses of the court. I am not sure of that.

14,968. Was there anything said about offering a price for you dead or alive, or anything of that sort?—They put a label up at the end of the lane I live in, and said that they would give 100*l.* to the man that would kill or slay William or James Rowe.

14,969. In what shape was that, was it printed?—No, in handwriting.

14,970. Did you know at all whose handwriting it was?—No, I did not.

14,971. (*Mr. Harrison.*) It is a fact, is it not, that a large meeting of miners was held before things got to this pitch some fortnight ago?—Yes.

14,972. Mr. Pickard spoke at that, did he not?—I believe he did.

14,973. He recommended the men to agree to a reduction of 10 per cent. ?—I believe he did.

14,974. Then you have no reason to suppose that his opinion personally was ever in favour of striking rather than submitting to a reduction?—No, I heard that he was against the strke.

14,975. The opinion, it seems, of some other delegates of the local lodge with which you were connected was in favour of continuing the strike?—Yes.

14,976. It was in point of fact the men on the spot at the pit themselves who insisted on the strike, and the influence of the central authority was in favour of submitting to the reduction?—Yes.

14,977. But the central authority was not strong enough to resist the pressure brought to bear by the men themselves?—Perhaps not; I cannot say.

14,978. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Have you been witness of much of the violence committed during this strike, of the meetings of the people, and their threatening proceedings?—Yes, it is to my house they have chiefly come.

14,979. In large numbers?—In 400 or 500 perhaps, and sometimes 200.

14,980. During the night have they come?—The earliest period they have come was about four o'clock in the morning.

14,981. It was dark then, or just beginning to get light, I suppose?—Yes.

14,982. Had they no lights with them?—No.

14,983. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Have you any reason to suppose that these acts of violence which have been attempted against you and others have been in any way instigated by say Mr. Pickard or the authority he represents at Wigan?—No, I cannot say that, and I do not think they are.

14,984. But as you have hitherto been a member of the union, and consequently have had opportunities for seeing how it works, have you ever known that such a thing was at all likely, or that such a thing had happened before as that an obnoxious man had been designated and marked out for an act of violence by the secretary of the head society, or anything of that kind?—I cannot say that I ever knew any of the heads of the society to do that. I have known some of the delegates. There are delegates in this affair that have been amongst them.

14,985. Those are the representatives?—Of the various lodges.

14,986. Local men on the spot?—Yes, and they have been to my house.

14,987. But do you know that the society has officially in any way sanctioned these acts of violence?—I do not know that they have sanctioned them in any other way but paying the expenses of them.

14,988. Do you know that they have paid the expenses?—Yes.

14,989. What expenses?—They have paid the lawyers to back them out, and what fines have been incurred.

14,990. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) They have, in fact, found the defence?—Yes.

14,991. And you assume, I suppose, as I think any rational man would do, that taking upon themselves that defence, they justify the men in what they do?—It looks like it.

14,992. (*Mr. Harrison.*) How do you know this?—I have parties working with me (they were working yesterday) that have been in the lodge room at the time the lawyer was there and the delegates with him.

14,993. What delegates?—Samuel Rigby was one. He has been a delegate several times and has been a secretary too.

14,994. Of the lodge do you mean?—Yes, of the lodgethat he belongs to; in fact he belongs to two now, but this is the lodge belonging to Lindsay pits.

14,995. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is it not a notorious fact that in all cases of prosecutions of men in the union, the union send professional assistance and pay all the fines they incur, not only in your lodge but in all the other lodges in the neighbourhood?—I believe it is.

14,996. Nobody contradicts that, or doubts it for a moment?—I do not suppose they do.

14,997. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Who was it that declared this strike, the men or the delegates?—The men generally.

14,998. The men drove the delegates, not the delegates the men?—I cannot say about driving either party.

14,999. The most active parties in the strike were the men working, were they not?—I believe so.

15,000. You think that the delegates rather followed the lead of the men than started the thing themselves?—I cannot speak much about the delegates, but I have heard Mr. Pickard himself say that he did not believe in a strike.

15,001. Mr. Pickard being the leading one of the delegates in your neighbourhood?—Yes.

15,002. (*Mr. Mathews.*) All the men out on strike are in the union I suppose?—No, some of them are non-union men.

15,003. But the strike, you say, is instigated by the union men?—Yes.

15,004. Whether it had the sanction of the head department of the union you cannot say?—No.

15,005. You only know the men in your neighbourhood were all encouraged in the strike?—Yes.

15,006. (*Mr. Booth.*) They had no other cause of animosity against you except that you refused to join the strike?—Not any other that I am aware of.

15,007. (*Mr. Mathews.*) They had men from Staffordshire brought into the district during the strike, I believe?—I believe they had.

15,008. Were they sent back?—Yes.

15,009. Why were they sent back?—I heard that they had not sufficient protection to give them at work, but that is merely hearsay.

15,010. Have you any apprehension that now when you go back you will be ill used by the union men?—

Mr. W. Rowe.

28 April 1868.

Yes; I shall have to be confined to my house for a considerable time yet.

15,011. And you will appeal to the employers, I suppose, to give you all the protection they can?—Yes.

15,012. And to the police?—I have been down to the police station and warned them, and they say they will watch as well as they can and keep a guard on the house; but the house where they have done the damage I have removed from; I durst not stay any longer in it.

15,013. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Have you a family?—Yes, a wife and five children.

15,014. And to this house you say these people came and broke the windows?—Yes; and there would have been two children killed if we had not just drawn them out of the bed and pushed them under the bed. The bed was covered with stones immediately afterwards.

15,015. Are all these men chiefly Englishmen from Lancashire and Yorkshire?—Yes, from the neighbourhood I belong to.

15,016. Are there any Welsh or Irishmen working in the pit with you?—I do not know as to Welsh, there are Irish a good number.

15,017. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Are there Irish working colliers?—Yes.

15,018. And were the Irish who were working colliers part of those out on strike and using violence?—Yes.

15,019. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) But I suppose they were no worse than the Englishmen, were they?—No, I think they were about the same.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. Alexander McDonald examined.

Mr. A. McDonald.

15,020. (*Chairman.*) You have heard some part of the evidence given by Mr. Rowe which you wish to correct?—Yes, I have.

15,021. Will you be so good as to say what it is you particularly direct your contradiction to?—I want to explain that when the notice of 15 per cent. was given, Mr. Pickard consulted me on the matter. I gave Mr. Pickard the advice that it would be decidedly disastrous and foolish to attempt a resistance at the moment. I will explain my reasons for that to-morrow. Mr. Pickard, under the circumstances, asked me to accompany him to a delegate meeting consisting of over 250 persons representing the various lodges of Wigan; when there I found that every delegate had come with a written order from his men, "Strike!" a note to resist everything; I consulted with Mr. Pickard, and we asked the men to return, entreating them, beseeching them to return and consult the men and lay certain views before them, that the course was madness to strike. They returned again, and at a subsequent meeting they came again still prepared to strike. It was not the leaders of the union that they consulted. Mr. Pickard, the local agent, was averse to it. As the head of the society I was averse to it, the reasons I will explain to-morrow; and I wish just to explain to Mr. Rowe, who is under the impression that it was the union who did it, that it was either one of these benefits or one of those evils that arise from universal suffrage. Mr. Pickard can corroborate my statement if that is necessary.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. A. Hewlett.

Mr. Alfred Hewlett examined.

15,022. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You are one of the managing directors of the Wigan Coal and Iron Company?—I am.

15,023. Your undertaking there is of a very large and extensive character, I think?—It is.

15,024. What number of men do you employ altogether?—About 9,000.

15,025. How many of them are colliers and how many are in the ironworks?—The great bulk are colliers and men engaged in coal mining; perhaps about 400 of them are engaged in the iron works, which I should say are only smelting works, not bar ironworks.

15,026. So that the great bulk of these 8,000 or 9,000 men are employed in the collieries?—They are.

15,027. What number of tons of coal do you generally raise weekly?—About 38,000 to 40,000 tons a week.

15,028. Two million tons a year?—About 1,750,000 tons a year; 1,600,000, I think, was the output last year.

15,029. I suppose that the unions are pretty extensively in operation amongst your men?—I believe so.

15,030. How long have they been so?—The union has been actively at work since 1862. I believe about October 1862.

15,031. About the last six years?—About the last six years.

15,032. Previous to the establishment of the union, or the union being so influential as it has been for the last six years, how did you get on with your men?—We have not had any serious strike since 1853 till this time. There have been small turn outs but no serious strike from October 1853 till the present time.

15,033. Previous to the establishment of the unions was there any difficulty in your having the freeest intercourse with your men for the discussion of any question of wages?—Very much less than since.

15,034. You were always willing to listen to the representations of the men, and always accessible to the men, if there was any difference of opinion about wages or other matters?—Quite so.

15,035. Since the establishment of the unions what has been the effect of them upon the economy of your collieries?—The effect has been a great want of economy directly tending in every way to enhance the cost of production of coals by causing the men, I suppose acting under the counsel of their leaders, to perform their various operations not only in a sullen spirit, but to a much smaller extent than formerly.

15,036. I suppose you have a lodge or lodges at Wigan irrespective of the general Lancashire union?—I really do not know. I may say that I have never interfered with the action of the union. I have never said that I would not employ a man because he was a union man, and I may say that I know nothing of their lodges.

15,037. I suppose that in the local lodge there are delegates irrespective of Mr. Pickard, whose name we have had brought before us as the leader?—Quite so. I believe (but I speak under correction from the miners' agent) that each pit has a delegate or delegates, that they again report to lodges above them, and that the miners' agents as they are called are commanders in chief.

15,038. So that if any regulations were to be issued by the head lodge, of which Mr. Pickard may be considered the organ, all the subsidiary lodges would be bound to follow out that policy?—I take it so.

15,039. And occasionally these local lodges follow out a policy of their own, and disregard the head lodge?—I think so.

15,040. You recently have had a great deal of violence connected with a strike, I believe?—There has been an amount of violence such as I have never seen before. This is the third great strike I have seen, and I have never seen so bad a spirit or so many acts of violence before, or anything approaching it.

15,041. Were these acts of violence chiefly instigated by local leaders of the union?—I take it so certainly. I am not now speaking of the miners' agent. I cannot say as to him, but I take it that they are instigated by the union.

15,042. Although you have no strict legal evidence that they are instigated by the union, I mean such evidence as would be received by a court of justice, yet you have no moral doubt whatever that they have been

instigated by local leaders of the union?—I have not the slightest doubt of that, and I believe that in many cases which have been taken before the magistrates the perpetrators of the outrages were unionists. I am so informed by persons who ought to know, because they are also members of the union. In connexion with that I would say that in defence to our own men I have have had to take before the magistrates no less than 64 cases during the last nine weeks.

15,043. Have there been many fines inflicted by the magistrates on those men?—A great many have been fined, some bound over to keep the peace 12 months, and two people committed for the Liverpool assizes to-morrow, and some to the Wigan sessions.

15,044. What are those cases that were committed to the assizes?—Throwing a powder bottle with a lighted fuse attached at the window of a cottage to cause an explosion.

15,045. Was the man who lived in that cottage a union man or a non-union man?—I am not certain as to that. He was working, and that was the cause of the offence, no doubt.

15,046. They had recourse to these acts of violence to deter him from continuing to work?—Yes.

15,047. Was professional assistance given to the men before the magistrates?—Yes, it was.

15,048. Do you know who paid the expenses of the professional man?—I can only say that from hearsay. I was told that the union did, but I should not like to make it a charge against them.

15,049. Your impression is that the union did pay?—That is my impression.

15,050. You attempted to introduce men from other districts during the strike, I think, into the colliery?—We did; that is, after the strike had existed for seven weeks. We did not attempt it until seven weeks had elapsed.

15,051. What was the effect of this attempt on your part?—The immediate effect seemed to be a public meeting called by the miners' agents, at which it was said that Mr. Pickard, and Mr. Halliday, and some others, I think, would address the meeting. I may say that very violent speeches were uttered at that meeting. I shall be glad to put in a report of it. Mr. Pickard himself made a most violent attack against my principal underground officer, which had the effect on the following day of leading to an attack on him in the streets of Wigan, and if he had not shown that he was armed I believe he would have been killed.

15,052. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Will you give us a specimen of Mr. Pickard's speech, which you have talked about?—The name of my underground officer is Mr. Samuel Lancaster. I will begin reading from the speech at the part referring to him. "Mr. Pickard "referred to the recent disturbances, and asked "whether it was the law of England that attempts "should be made to enrage the people. He spoke of "the presence of the soldiers, and this brought on the "name of Mr. Samuel Lancaster, whom he designated "as 'that whitewashed wall of the country,' a man "who came amongst them showing very largely "indeed, and saying he was the working man's "friend. He was a friend, but it was over the left "(derisive cheers). Mr. Samuel Lancaster could do "great things when he had his hand in somebody "else's purse, tickling the yellows, and he had "fetched some black sheep into the town. When he "worked the Birkett Bank Colliery why did he not "go to the market like another honourable trades-"man? No, he had to go somewhere else, and he "Mr. Pickard was told he got whitewashed. This "was more than a 15 per cent. question with such "as he, for many a poor man had got the sack for "12 months and a day for speaking for his rights and "privileges. (Mr. Pickard called for a show of hands "from those who had thus suffered, and a dozen were "held up; one man exclaiming, 'Here is one that "got it for life.' Voices: 'We'll keep him without "work.' Mr. Samuel Lancaster would not live for "ever, but he might do so for any harm he (Mr. "Pickard) would do him; but if Mr. Samuel Lan-"caster could give him an ingredient that day which "would quiet him he would do so. It was wrong "for Mr. Lancaster to practise robbery and con-"fiscation upon the poor men in his employ. Many "a poor man was punished for stealing a few pence, "but Mr. Samuel Lancaster thought nothing of "taking a hundred tubs a day." That is as far as the personal part goes. The rest is an attack upon the coal owners of Wigan (I do not think that it is worth while going into it). Saying that a lot of their money had been robbed from the men and put into railways. I make little complaint of that, but I do make a great complaint of the personal attack upon Mr. Lancaster.

15,053. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You judge from these speeches of Mr. Pickard that at all events Mr. Pickard as the organ of the union gave this movement his sanction?—If he did not give the movement for a strike his sanction, his speeches are singularly at variance with what he said in private.

15,054. His speeches had a tendency to induce the men to continue the strike?—Most undoubtedly.

15,055. Therefore, as Mr. Pickard was the organ of the union, we may infer that the union was instrumental in organizing or continuing the strike?—Yes.

15,056. The general tendency of Mr. Pickard's observations at this meeting went to encourage the strike rather than to discourage it?—Clearly so.

15,057. The price of coal has been reduced considerably in the Wigan district I believe?—Very considerably, and has been reducing ever since about August in last year.

15,058. How much per ton?—Varying according to the markets. In London the price has gone down as much as 3*s.* to 4*s.* per ton. In the local markets it varies from 2*s.* to 3*s.* a ton.

15,059. Taking the average at 2*s.* the ton, how much would that be annually on your total get?—Three million shillings, about 150,000*l.*

15,060. If your prices were curtailed to that extent then a reduction in wages was absolutely necessary?—Yes. Perhaps I had better now give you the history of the wages in our district. In December 1864 the prices of coal were rather higher than they are now. The wages at that time were 30 per cent. lower than they are now. An advance of 10 per cent. in wages was given in December 1864, and another advance of 10. per cent. was given in August 1865, both of which were entirely unasked for by the men. There was a reviving trade and the coal owners gave both those advances of 10 per cent. without any demand on the part of the men. In December 1866, I believe it was, there was a third advance of 10 per cent. There has been no alteration in wages from that time to the present. In August last, as I have said, the coal trade of the country began to be very dull. We had indeed hoped that it would improve in the winter. Our hopes were not verified, but we put off making any alteration in wages until about February of this year. A notice was given in February, but by good rights we ought to have made a reduction in August last. The reduction would have been 10 per cent. then, and probably another 10 per cent. reduction would have been made now. But instead of that we held on as long as we could, and gave notice in February of a reduction of 15 per cent., which led to the present strike. We should have been justified in serving notice of reduction to the extent of 30 per cent.

15,061. What is the average price of coal at the pit's mouth?—It depends very much on quality. The best coal is now, apart from contract, 9*s.* a ton.

15,062. You take all your coal and draw an average, I suppose?—We never take that average, for this reason, that a very large proportion of the out put is slack, which is not worth more than 3*s.* a ton, whereas the best coal is worth about 9*s.* a ton, and we separate the two entirely. Probably the average pit price of coal, as apart from slack, would be about 6*s.* 6*d.* a ton.

15,063. Taking the price of coal at 6*s.* 6*d.* a ton,

Mr. A. Hewlett.

28 April 1868.

what proportion of that would consist in wages?—About 60 per cent.

15,064. And the rest would consist in royalty, common charges, materials, working engines, and everything of that sort?—Quite so.

15,065. So that if you are to reduce coals something like 30 or 40 per cent., as you appear to have done, that 15 per cent. reduction in colliers wages is a very moderate approximation to what really should be taken off the wages?—It leaves us in a very much worse position than we were in before the lowering of prices; it would have been infinitely better for us to have kept up the prices and the wages.

15,066. It is always an advantage to the coal masters to raise the price of coals and raise wages with it?—Yes.

15,067. And always a disadvantage to have the price of coal lowered because you cannot reduce wages in proportion?—Just so.

15,068. Having those facts before you, you decided to reduce wages to 15 per cent., and the union decided to resist that reduction, and hence the battle which you have had with your men during the last few weeks?—Yes, nine weeks to-morrow.

15,069. Have the men gone to work now at the reduction?—No, they are still out.

15,070. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What is the meaning of that paragraph in the "Times" stating that a large portion of men have gone to work?—I have seen the paragraph in the "Times," but I have had a telegram from the works this morning which does not notice that, and therefore to the best of my information that is incorrect.

15,071. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Whether it is incorrect or not it is absolutely impossible that you can carry on your collieries except at the reduction which you now propose?—Absolutely impossible.

15,072. It would be far preferable for you to stop your pits altogether?—We shall stop them until the men accept the reduction, however long it is.

15,073. So that if the men remain out and resist the reduction at the instigation of the unions, the unions will be doing a serious injustice to the men themselves?—I consider so.

15,074. Not only the gravest injustice to the masters, but serious injustice to the men themselves?—Quite so.

15,075. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Could you give me anything like a description of the sort of violence employed on this occasion, because you said that there was greater violence than on any other occasion?—When the strike commenced I resolved to keep open the pits for those men who were willing to work. I thought it was a hardship upon the workmen generally to close the pits and say, "Well, nobody shall come to work." So I left the pits open for those who wished to come to work. The strike had not existed two days before I found that the men were prevented from coming to work. Numbers of persons congregated at the corners of the streets. Any person who wants to work at such a time is in Lancashire designated by the name of a "knobstick." The "turnouts" hooted and derided, and from derision they proceeded to throwing stones, and intimidated men in every possible way from coming to work. To meet that, I organised the whole of my staff, to the number of about 200, who went out every morning for the purpose of enabling those who were willing to come to their work. That was successful at any rate in getting 500 or 600 men to work altogether. After that had gone on two or three weeks the mob were not content with hooting, but proceeded to throw stones, and it was to the danger of their lives that these men went out in the morning. Mr. Pickard in one of his speeches said that there was no violence. "If there was where were the broken heads?" Well, I have seen a great many broken heads. Many of my men were met by these men, and without giving them any chance they have taken a pick-shaft and broken their heads. We have had no less than 64 cases of assault before the magistrates since the strike began. But farther on in the strike still, that is last Saturday week, the day but one after those speeches from which I have read extracts were uttered, a mob of about 1,500 came to prevent persons working at one of our pits called the Lindsay Pit, and I should say that we have never attempted to take any strange men down that pit; the pit was kept open only for the men of the district. This mob of 1,500 persons drove my staff entirely away from the pit, and they had possession of the pit and premises for about two hours, until emboldened by their success they advanced towards another pit, and then being met by the county police they were dispersed, but not until the superintendent of police had received a blow that has disabled him permanently, I think.

15,076. These acts of violence were known to all the world round about the pit, and therefore must have been known to Mr. Pickard?—Certainly; the local papers have been full of scarcely anything else since the strike began.

15,077. What I want to establish is this, that Mr. Pickard must have been cognizant of all that was going on at the time that he made these inflammatory speeches?—Most undoubtedly.

15,078. Did he know, for example, that men were struck down in the way you describe by some instrument that you mentioned, and that men had received very dangerous wounds? When he asked "Where are the broken heads?" must he have known of those facts?—It was impossible for it to have been otherwise.

15,079. (*Mr. Mathews.*) It has been reported in the papers that the magistrates with all the civil force at their disposal were unable to control the acts of these men?—The magistrates judged on last Friday week that the police force in Wigan, although there was a troop of soldiers stationed in the town, were not sufficient to go up and clear the way to our Lindsay pits. I differ from their opinion. However, that was their deliberate opinion, and the result was that they did not go up, and the mob took possession of our pit on the Friday morning; our own staff could not go near the pit.

15,080. Did they do any harm?—Very little damage to the works.

15,081. I think that a previous witness tated that applications were made often by the leaders of the unions to induce the masters to compel the men to go into the union; have you known that?—That has been so on more than one occasion in my experience, both at the company's works and at my own works. I have had notices sent to me that so-and-so did not subscribe to the union; that if they were not compelled to subscribe to the unions on such a day the whole pit would strike against them, to which I have invariably replied that every man may please himself, but so long as one man chooses to work, though not in the union, the pit shall be kept open for him.

15,082. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Are those notices signed?—No.

15,083. You could not fix upon any man who has sent such a notice to you?—No.

15,084. Because I was going to suggest to you that if you ever should find one, that man is liable to indictment for conspiracy?—I take it that is so, but they are too knowing to sign it.

15,085. (*Mr. Mathews.*) When you have got men to come into your pit have the union men ever driven those men out of your pit?—Yes, they have tried that.

15,086. Have you any reason to believe that that was done by the authority of the union?—Yes.

15,087. Have you any legal evidence of it?—Not legal evidence of it, but I have not the slightest doubt of it in my own mind. I consider this to be real tyranny, because, as I said before, I have never attempted to keep the men out of the union. I have a great dislike to the union, and I do not disguise it, but I have never in the slightest degree interfered with the freedom of the men.

15,088. (*Mr. Booth.*) At all events you do not choose to be a party to constraining the men to come into it?—Certainly not. As I said just now, if there were one man in a pit not a union man, and he said that the

others were intending to force him to enter the union, I would keep the pit open for him.

15,089. (*Mr. Mathews.*) What is the state of your district now?—A state of mob law, at any rate it was so up to Saturday. Late last week, after an application had been made to the Home Secretary, a very large force of military was sent into the district, and it has been only by the presence of an overpowering force of military that anything like order has been restored.

15,090. So that the men still persist in their determination to remain out. They commit as many acts of violence as they can, and you have no idea at all of giving way?—I do not apprehend any actual immediate termination of the strike; but I can only say that I do not want those to go to work who do not wish to do so. Any person who has expressed his willingness has been allowed to come to the pit. Nobody has been asked.

15,091. Besides these material acts of violence which you speak of, I suppose there are a great many other modes of exhibiting hostility?—Yes, the men are threatened in their houses and through their families; they are threatened that if they go to work their children and wives will be injured.

15,092. So that all these threats which are not accessible to any legal process still act very prejudicially on the minds of the men, and deter them from going to work?—Yes. On Thursday week last, the day on which this meeting was held, I had 320 men working in the Lindsay pits, persons who belonged to the district. The day after that the whole of those were deterred from coming by the mob assembling and preventing them.

15,093. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) The whole of this state of things must be perfectly in the cognizance of the persons who guide the union?—Certainly.

15,094. Then any speeches of theirs justifiying the state of things are really justifying that state of violence?—I take it so, certainly.

15,095. Therefore, any soft talk here in this room or anywhere else is a matter of nonsense as compared with the statements which they make before the men whom they guide?—I take it to be quite so, because such speeches made to men of rough passions such as colliers are must have a great effect, whereas a speech made in a room to the delegates saying, "Do not strike," is not known outside, and the acts of violence are justified by these speeches from which I have read an extract as I take it. I certainly hold that speech responsible for all the acts of violence which followed it.

15,096. The mischief created by that speech cannot be wiped off by any soft talk in that chair?—By nothing whatever; the mischief is done.

15,097. (*Chairman.*) Who called the meeting?—The meeting was called, I believe, by a notice signed "By order of the miners' committee." The placard ran to this effect, That a public meeting of the colliers will be held in a certain place in Wigan at such a day and hour to consider how the 15 per cent. question can be brought to an amicable termination. The meeting will be addressed by Mr. Pickard and so-and-so, the miners' agents.

15,098. Mr. Pickard is the delegate for the lodge, is he not, at Wigan?—Mr. Pickard styles himself the miners' agent, that is, I take it, the chairman of the delegates.

15,099. Mr. Normansell is the chief of the whole of the district, and Mr. Pickard acts in the local lodge?—Yes, I think so.

(*Mr. Pickard.*) I am the agent for the Wigan district, comprising 130,000 or 140,000 persons.

15,100. (*Mr. Mathews to the witness.*) You say that there were some acts of violence towards one of your managing agents, Mr. Lancaster?—There were.

15,101. Was he hurt much?—No, not hurt, he was mobbed.

15,102. Was there any damage done to any part of the machinery at any of your pits?—There was a serious onslaught made on one of our pits, called the Gidlow pit, last Friday morning, at 2 o'clock, by a mob of 500 or 600 persons. They did get access to the machinery, and did their best to break it by overwinding; but fortunately they did not understand the engine and could not do it. They tried to get the steam out of the boilers afterwards. However, I had a body of special constables on the spot, or close to it, and they sent up some rockets as signals to the police, who came down in a short time, and they attacked the mob and dispersed them, and some of them on both sides received rather hard blows.

15,103. Have they interfered with your pumping engine at all?—We had a case the following night of a number of men trying to drive away persons in charge of the pumping engine and getting on the boilers with a view to injure the machinery. The men in charge gave a signal, however, which was answered in time.

15,104. So that if there has been no damage to the machinery it is no fault of the men on strike they have done their best?—Quite so. And we had another case early in the strike, in which one of our pumping engine-houses was set on fire. Had the fire not been discovered very early it would not only have burnt down the engine-house, but there would have been nothing left of that establishment but the two shafts in all probability, and the pits would have been filled with water and very likely lost for ever. I should say that while that fire was going on a number of colliers stood by and used expressions which I should not like to repeat, to the effect that they wished the place burnt down beyond the hope of redemption.

15,105. So that if no damage has been done to the machinery it is no fault of the men out on strike, it is owing to the protection, inefficient as that has been, which the civil force has afforded to you?—Yes. One of our underlooker's houses, however, last week was attacked, one of the windows was broken, and stones were thrown in by hundreds, and a dog left there for protection was killed. Fortunately the man and his family were gone, otherwise I have little doubt that he would have been killed.

15,106. You did not give notice of this reduction of 15 per cent. to your colliers until there was an absolute necessity for it from the reduction in the price of not coals, I suppose?—Certainly.

15,107. And there is nothing in the subsequent history of this strike to convince you that you can with safety to your own interests deviate from the policy which you have laid down?—Certainly not.

15,108. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) I want to ask you whether you think that you have received efficient protection from the magistrates of your district?—No, I do not; for I cannot say that the simple binding over to keep the peace, or any infliction of a fine of 10*s.* or 20*s.* and costs, or anything of that sort, is nearly a sufficient punishment for such acts as I have named.

15,109. During the time that this was going on there was some relaxation of protection, was there not? Did not the magistrates declare that the soldiers were not necessary, or something of that sort, which led to a serious outbreak on the Friday?—You refer perhaps now to the withdrawal of the foreigners, that is to say, men introduced from another district. I do not like to say much about the magistrates.

15,110. I do not want you to hide at all what you wish to say about the magistrates, because I want to know why they have been deficient in their duty, if they have been?—It was thus: last Monday week three of the magistrates met at one of our works, at which the Staffordshire men were quartered. There was a large mob assembled around the works. The magistrates said that the force at their disposal was utterly inadequate to maintain the peace, and they in fact put such pressure on me as to make me promise that I would send back these men, which I promised very unwillingly. Indeed, I said at the time that it would prolong the strike, that it would be considered a victory by the men, and have the effect, not of quieting them, but of inducing them to go to further acts of violence. I was overruled by the magistrates and all, but ordered to send the men back.

Mr. A. Hewlett.

28 April 1868.

15,111. Let me understand. The magistrates there for the protection of your property advised and almost compelled you to send back men whom you had a perfect right to employ if you pleased?—They did so.

15,112. And they did that upon the assertion that they were unable to protect you, because they had not a sufficient force at their command?—That was so.

15,113. What force had they at their command?—At the time they had about 90 county constabulary I believe on the spot, there was a troop of soldiers on the spot also, and I urged upon them that the force was adequate, and amply adequate, to protect the men. However, they held the opinion that if these men were sent back—and they said they had information to the effect that if these men were sent back—the strike would be over the following day.

15,114. Can you give me the names of those magistrates?—Mr. Eckersley, one of the members for Wigan, Mr. Henry Woodcock, his partner in a bank in the town, and Mr. Jonathan Lamb.

15,115. None of the three county magistrates are in business, I suppose?—The two first named are bankers, the last named is not in business.

15,116. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Not employers of labour? No.

15,117. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) And these gentlemen, conservators of the peace, suggested to you that the mode of preserving the peace was by sending back the men who had been sent there?—Yes.

15,118. And that was the mode that these sapient magistrates adopted to put down a violent mob?—Yes.

15,119. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Who was the chief constable in your district that had the command of the force?—The chief constable of the county is Colonel Bruce. He was present but did not endorse the recommendation of the magistrates at all. He simply said, "I have not sufficient force at my disposal."

15,120. Did he suggest to the magistrates that he had not force enough at his disposal?—He said so to them.

15,121. Did he suggest to them that they should augment his force by an addition of military?—No.

15,122. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) He had nothing to do with the military, I suppose?—No. He said, "So long as "these acts of violence were going on at your works "only, I could not manage, but now I have applica- "tions from six or eight other collieries which are "now opening their pits for work" (we had been the only works open up to that time,) "and they have as "much right to protection as you have," (which I quite agreed in,) "and if I divide my force it is quite "insufficient."

15,123. (*Mr. Mathews.*) What is the force of the county constabulary in the county of Lancaster?—About 800—in this particular district I think about 200.

15,124. Colonel Bruce as the chief constable of the county had at his disposal the whole of the police force of the county if he chose to exercise it, I suppose?—Yes.

15,125. And it was within his province to send for any additional force from any other part of the county if he had not enough in that part?—I take it that it was within his discretion and that of the magistrates.

15,126. He did not have recourse to withdrawing the police force from other districts?—A number of the police force had been withdrawn and concentrated upon this particular spot, but he said that he must remove a number of them in order to give protection to other collieries than our own.

15,127. But he had no more than 80 or 90 men?—No.

15,128. And the police force of the county consists of about 800?—Yes.

15,129. So that he had only a tenth part of the force at his disposal?—Yes.

15,130. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You had military near?—Military within 200 yards of where we were sitting.

15,131. How many—one company?—I think 90 men.

15,132. The magistrates said that they had not sufficient power to prevent this mob?—They did; and I may say that the men who had been brought from Staffordshire were exceedingly unwilling to return, and it was only with the grave responsibility upon me that these men would be attacked if the protection were withdrawn that I agreed to send them back. I believed, and still believe, that some of them would have been killed without protection.

15,133. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You stated that some of the men had been brought up before the magistrates?—Yes.

15,134. Were they punished by fines, and being bound over to keep the peace, and having to pay certain expenses?—Yes.

15,135. Who paid the expenses?—I cannot say. I have been told the union did, but I should not like to bring it as a charge against them.

15,136. Was there any solicitor employed on their behalf?—There was a solicitor employed on their behalf.

15,137. Was he employed by the union?—I cannot say. It is my impression that that was the case.

15,138. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) But these men were charged with violence?—Yes.

15,139. Were any of them put in prison?—Two of the men were sent to be tried at the assizes. The only persons imprisoned were some men who could not find sureties.

15,140. That was the mode in which these gentlemen endeavoured to maintain the peace?—Yes.

15,141. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Can you tell when you brought these gentlemen before the magistrate, under a summons or warrant, whether there was a direct application for them to be tried as cases for sureties of the peace or as cases of riot and disorder?—Riot and disorderly conduct.

15,142. And did the magistrates upon their responsibility change the character of the crime and let them off on finding sureties for the peace?—We could not succeed in getting further punishment than that.

15,143. (*Chairman.*) Was there any instance in which the police were injured while acting in a body? You say that in one instance a man was injured?—In one instance a policeman was severely wounded by a stone. This man has certainly been unfortunate; he is a superintendent. He has been injured twice, last time very severely, and the first time a very nasty blow indeed, and other men have been hit by stones; but I am not aware that any other man has been so far injured as to incapacitate him for work.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. J. Evans.

Mr. JOSIAH EVANS examined.

15,144. (*Chairman.*) You are of the firm of Evans and Company, I believe?—Of Richard Evans and Company, of Haydock and Edge Green Colliery.

15,145. How long have you been proprietor of that colliery?—Rather more than 20 years. It has been carried on by my father since 1826, and is now carried on by my brother and myself.

15,146. During that time have you had any remarkable strike till the strike that is now going on?—I think I have known about four strikes altogether; but what I am here to speak of is the last strike.

15,147. In those strikes that you have known before has there been violence of the same degree as in the last strike?—Not so bad. There has been occasionally violence, but I think that this is the most severe strike I have known altogether.

15,148. I think Mr. Hewlett has told us that 15 per cent. reduction was proposed, and that the men refused that, and the strike so set in?—Just so.

15,149. The price of coal, according to Mr. Hewlett, had fallen so as in a commercial sense to have made it necessary that the wages should be reduced?—Yes.

15,150. Have you calculated whether the colliers' wages would be higher than the usual rate after the 15 per cent. was off—that is, taking the price of coal to be as it is now as compared with the price of coal at the time when that rate of wages was settled?—After a reduction of 15 per cent., they are still 23 per cent. above the rate of wages in 1845.

15,151. For a few weeks did some of your men come back to work?—We have had from 500 to 600 people at work the whole of the time.

15,152. Has there been a renewal of the strike?—We have had a great deal of disturbance; but we have had a large body of police there, about 8 police, for a month since. There were about 500 men from Wigan and St. Helen's who came into the neighbourhood and attacked the police. It was a most serious affray. They were driven away, and the next day they threatened to drive the police out of the neighbourhood. I was called up at midnight by the superintendent, stating that they were coming on all sides upon us, and after I got up I went out and heard a noise and shouting, just like at a racecourse. I went to Warrington by special train, accompanied by the superintendent, and got a body of soldiers. This was about 2 o'clock in the morning. We had not been half an hour back at the colliery when we heard a noise on the road about a quarter of a mile off, and we came on a body of 700 men, I should think, men armed with picks and pick-shafts and pieces of iron rope, and making a great noise. We stopped opposite to them, and the police told them not to throw stones. I walked forward and asked them what they wanted. They said, "We will not let those men work while we are on strike." I told them then that they had no right to interfere with any other workmen; that they might do what they liked themselves, but that they had no right to interfere with any other parties. They kept on the conversation, saying that they would beat them, and so on. I told them that the police were amply strong enough to take care of them, and that if the police were not sufficient there was a force of military behind us to support them. They immediately told us that they should fight the police and the military too, and before I could turn my back they called out, "Give it them," and a shower of paving stones were thrown amongst the police, immediately afterwards the police charged them, and sent them to the right and left across the fields. There were a great number of men injured, five or six of the police were invalided, and one superintendent had a most serious wound in his face.

15,153. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Did you succeed in apprehending any of the men?—No, it was quite dark; it was about 3 in the morning, and we could scarcely see three or four yards before us.

15,154. (*Chairman.*) Was that near the pit's mouth?—Near our colliery offices and near the barracks which we had prepared for the police. We had about 80 police at that time.

15,155. About how many police were they that resisted these men and scattered them?—There were about 70 out; they left 10 in the barracks to protect the building.

15,156. As far as your observation goes, 800 or 900 men were scattered by 70 police when they acted together?—Yes, seeing that the military were behind them.

15,157. How many military?—About 40 military.

15,158. Is it the case that the men had resumed their work, and then the Government withdrew the troops, and then the resistance became more violent?—After this affray a number of our men went to work, and from the number of 650 we increased up to 1,500 men on Tuesday the 21st. At that time there was a report that the Government had withdrawn the troops from Wigan, and it was rumoured amongst the men, that the magistrates had refused to escort the men by the police to their work.

15,159. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) When did the first affray take place?—About three weeks before.

15,160. Cannot you give us the day?—It was the Friday before Good Friday.

15,161. And upon that occasion there were military on the spot?—There were military, who followed the police. After that there was a meeting called in the neighbourhood; two of the Pickards were there, George and William Pickard, and several others of the delegates.

15,162. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Are those the Pickards referred to in Mr. Hewlett's evidence?—Yes.

15,163. (*Chairman.*) One of them is in some office?—Both are delegates, one is resident in our neighbourhood.

15,164. A meeting was called, you say?—A meeting was called of the men in the evening, and after that there was a midnight meeting in the neighbourhood, a very large midnight meeting. The next morning when the police went out through the district they found a great number of men in pit dresses, some carrying picks, and some safety lamps; they were all in disguise, were mixed amongst our men, and by persuasion or threat induced about 400 to leave their work.

15,165. Did you attend any of the evening meetings or midnight meetings?—No. That has been reported to me by men who have been at the meetings.

15,166. The result was that on the following morning a large number of men dressed and armed as you have described were there to obstruct the men going to their work?—They were; every pit was picketed, and every lane, by 10 or a dozen men, and this continued for three or four days.

15,167. (*Mr. Mathews.*) They were picketed to prevent other men from coming to work at the pit?—To approach the works at all.

15,168. Were there any acts of violence?—Not at that time.

15,169. (*Chairman.*) Was there any increase of power, were troops sent again afterwards, or was the arm of the law strengthened in any way?—On Thursday last there was a report of a large body of men coming towards the colliery, and we called the military out again and went in the morning at 4 o'clock with the police into the district. There was a large body seen walking four abreast about half a mile out. These men returned when they saw the police with the military, but still there were the same number of pickets as before.

15,170. (*Mr. Mathews to Mr. Hewlett.*) I forgot to ask you whether the yeomanry have been called out?—No.

15,171. (*Chairman to the witness.*) Will you describe any violent proceedings that have taken place?—There had been several previous attacks on the police; some of them were severely stoned and injured. Many cottage windows were broken, and some of our men had their windows broken twice over; we had repaired them, and they had them broken again.

15,172. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Do you think that these acts proceed from members of the union?—We think so; we cannot prove it, but we think that it was by union influence.

15,173. That part of your men who were willing to go to work are not in the union, I suppose?—No.

15,174. What proportion of your men are not in the union?—I should think that one half are out of the union.

15,174. And that half who are out of the union are willing to go to work at the proposed reduction?—Yes.

15,175. I suppose that the reduction which you proposed was incidental to a reduction in the price of coals?—Yes.

15,176. What is the reduction in the price of coals?—The price of coals has been reduced 20 per cent.

Mr. J. Evans.

28 April 1868.

15,177. So that what sold previously for 10*s.* is now sold for 8*s.* ?—Yes.

15,178–9. And the reduction of 15 per cent. in the wages would not be an equivalent for that ?—No.

15,180. You have never attempted to reduce colliers wages, except on a reduction in the price of coal ?—No.

15,181. And a reduction in the price of coal is always more than an equivalent for any reduction in the rate of wages that you can get ?—Yes.

15,182. On the contrary, when there is any rise in coal, you are always ready to advance the wages of your men ?—Yes.

15,183. There were no unions previously to the same extent as now, were there ?—They were in existence when we commenced, but not to the same extent as now.

15,184. There is not any obstacle I suppose in the way of your men coming to you to discuss any question of wages ?—Certainly not. We have refused to recognize the authority of the union, but we have always offered to see our own workmen.

15,185. You are ready to discuss any question with them ?—Certainly.

15,186. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Did you see them upon this occasion when you first proposed the reduction of 15 per cent. ?—Six or eight of our men waited upon me, and I asked them whether it was not the case that when the last two advances of 10 per cent. were given it was clearly understood on their part that when a reduction of price took place their wages should be reduced also, and they admitted that it was so.

15,187. (*Mr. Mathews.*) What is the average price of the marketable coal ?—6*s.* 6*d.*

15,188. What proportion of that is constituted of colliers' wages and various other wages in the colliery ?—I should think that the colliers' labour would be about 1*s.* 6*d.* of that ; then there is all the other labour as well.

15,189. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) When you saw these half a dozen of your own men and reasoned with them on this subject, what was the view which they took at that time ?—They gave me no answer, only that they did not like a reduction of 15 per cent.

15,190. (*Chairman.*) Had there been attacks made on the coal proprietors for some time past in speeches or in the local papers ?—There have been many inflammatory speeches and very serious charges made against me.

15,191. But can you trace them to union delegates, that is our business ?—Yes. George Pickard is the one who resides in our neighbourhood, and by the local papers I see that he charges me with robbing the men ; that I employ men to go round to rob the men of their wages.

15,192. (*Mr. Mathews.*) What is Mr. George Pickard ; has he any other occupation than that of a delegate ?—He is only a delegate.

15,193. Paid by the union ?—Paid by the union.

15,194. Had you any cases before the magistrates ?—No.

15,195. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What was his meaning in saying that you robbed the men ?—He meant that I sent men round to different pits to take their tubs or tallies from them, and that if they did not take sufficient I sent the men off and put other men on.

15,196. What is the meaning of "taking tubs from the men"?—If they are not sufficiently filled they are forfeited.

15,197. And he charged you with employing men to take these tubs from the working men, and that if they did not take enough to suit you, you would turn that man off and put another man on ?—Yes.

15,198. Therefore, it was charging you in fact with taking away from the working man that which he had produced ?—Yes.

15,199. And by that means doing what he called "robbing the men"?—Yes.

15,200. And was there any truth in that assertion ?—Certainly not.

15,201. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is it the custom in your colliery to forfeit the tubs which are not sufficiently full ?—If one man persists in sending his tubs short of weight, there is an occasional tub taken from him ; but there are hundreds of men in our employ who never have a tub taken from one year's end to the other.

15,202. And the men whom you engage as colliers understand perfectly well that it is one of the regulations of your colliery that if the tubs are insufficiently filled they are forfeited ?—Yes.

15,203. And they go to work with that understanding ?—Yes, it is one of the rules.

15,204. So that if they do not fill their tubs it is an attempt on the part of the men to defraud their employers ?—It is.

15,205. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What sort of evidence do you suppose Mr. Pickard spoke upon when he charged you with robbing the men ?—I do not know. He had no grounds for the charge.

15,206. Who could have given him any evidence of it ?—I do not know that anyone could.

15,207. Would you not assume from that that he spoke at random ?—Yes.

15,208. That he made a grave charge upon you merely at random ?—I should take it so.

15,209. He would call his neighbour a thief upon no evidence whatever ?—Yes.

15,210. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Would he not get information from some of these men whose tubs you had forfeited ?—He might do so.

15,211. And that is the probable solution of his charge ?—Very likely.

15,212. (*Chairman.*) Had there been any charges made about your colliery being dangerous from neglect of duty on the part of the coal owners ?—He has mentioned in one of the St. Helen's papers that two of our pits are full of fire-damp, he called them "slaughter pits," and a few days afterwards the Government inspector went through every working in these pits. I asked him if he had found any fire-damp, and he said No, he had not. From that I infer that Pickard reported to the Government that our pits were unsafe.

15,213. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You suppose that George Pickard reported that to the Government, and then they sent down their inspector ?—Yes.

15,214. The Government have got the answer from the inspector that those pits have no fire-damp in them ?—No doubt they have.

15,215. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Are you referring to the Mr. Pickard present here ?—No, a brother of his.

15,216. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Have you not had a resident Government inspector in your neighbourhood ?—Yes. He takes a large district, the Wigan district.

15,217. Then it was his duty to visit your pits without being sent for, either by the men or anybody else ?—Certainly. He is constantly in the neighbourhood.

15,218. And when he made his inspection of it, did he find any ground for the charge made by Mr. Pickard that yours were "slaughter pits ?"—No, he could not find any fire-damp.

15,219. (*Chairman.*) Has this state of things produced any difficulty in managing the pit and obtaining managers to control the men ?—All this excitement has caused quarrelling among the men, and when the overlookers are measuring up they are frequently insulted. In fact it is difficult to find underground managers now in consequence of the insulting manner in which the men treat them.

15,220. Are you aware of any harm that you have done to bring upon you these calamities ?—I think I may truly say, without boasting, that there are no masters in Lancashire or in England who have done more for the benefit of the men than my brother and myself.

15,221. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Have you had any applications made to you to induce your men to go into the union ?—No.

15,222. Were there no threats held out to you, that

if you did not induce your men to go into the union they would strike your pit?—No.

15,223. (*Chairman.*) A man that does a great deal of good need not look for his reward around him, but I do not know that he need look for his property to be destroyed or his good name injured. How is it that they have set upon you and given you a shower of bounty in that shape?—I cannot understand it.

15,224. Is it not that you have employed more non-union men than some of your neighbours? If you do nothing but radiate good, as you describe, more than most other people, how is it that you have such an extra allowance of evil?—We can explain it in this way, that we have a number of non-union men and have determined to keep these men at work and not allow them to be intimidated. There is a neighbouring colliery to ours, where about four days ago they picketed the works seized the underlooker, fireman, and engineer, and beat them severely, burnt all the tools at the place, and they have injured the boilers very much.

15,225. You know no other reason to account for these acts of hostility, except that probably you have employed more non-union men than some of the other masters?—None except that. The only time I have ever seen one of the union delegates was about six years ago, when I saw Mr. William Pickard, who is here at the present time. At that time the union wished to restrict the get of the men in our pits, and they issued an order that every pit was to stop at 2 o'clock. We were determined that we would not just work our pits half a day, and we told the men that they were not to come up till 4. At one of our pits they seized the man having charge of the signals going up and down the shaft, knocked him over, took possession of the signals, and came up the pit. Four of the men I convicted of this, and turned them off. Then the men came in a body and told us that if we would not take these men on again they would not go down the pit, and for that simple thing we had a strike of, I think, about six weeks. After the six weeks, Pickard came to me and asked me if I would yield some small point so as to settle this question. I told him what had taken place. He said, "Will you yield half an hour, or anything just to show signs of giving in?" I said, "Mr. Pickard, if you were in my place would you do so?" He said, "No." He then went out of our office and went to the men and tried to induce them to go to work. I believe that they abused him very much, and told him that he had been bribed by me to take this step. The strike continued about a week after and then the men went in. These men I have spoken of were turned off, but I think that they were all taken on again afterwards.

15,226. (*Mr. Mathews.*) What state is the strike in at your collieries now?—I should think that we have perhaps two-thirds of our men in at the present time.

15,227. Are those union men or non-union men?—Mixed. After the Government sent down the troops we had an increase of men the very next day.

15,228. At the reduction of 15 per cent.?—At the reduction of 15 per cent.

15,229. So that you have no idea that it will be necessary for you to deviate from the proposal which you have suggested?—No, we are so satisfied that we have done what is fair and reasonable in the matter, that if the strike were to last six months we should not yield one iota after what has transpired. There are a number of threatening letters here which have been sent to me.

15,230. Will you read one of them?—"Sir, I suppose you will not sell coal for money, but if you do not I will set your house on fire and blow your brains out, and we will watch for you, so you must look out. We will get a revolver and put you down to the grave with a bit of cold lead, and to hell with you; so you had better sell us your coal or we will have your life. You have not long to live, so you had better make your will. We will do it. I remain yours, A Bit of Cold Lead."

15,231. (*Mr. Booth.*) What does that reference to your refusal to let them have coal mean?—I cannot understand that at all. I am quite at a loss to know what they mean. Of course we were getting a very small quantity of coal, and we sent it all to our customers. But I may say that many hundreds of tons have been stolen during the strike, which we have taken no notice of.

15,232. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) I suppose that the rest of the letters are pretty much in that tone?—Much in that tone.

15,233. (*Chairman.*) Were you with the magistrates when the Staffordshire men were sent back?—No, we are about seven miles from Wigan in a different district, the Saint Helen's district.

15,234. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) You say that the first affray took place between the police and the men on the Friday before Good Friday, and on that day you went to Warrington and got the assistance of some of the military. What steps did you take to procure that assistance?—I took the superintendent of police with me, and called on two magistrates, with our solicitor, in order to be perfectly safe; the superintendent of police made an affidavit that he had not sufficient force, and the two magistrates ordered the military to be sent up.

15,235. Did you obtain the military in any other way?—Since that they have been stationed in the neighbourhood. Mr. Legh, of Lyme, has given the use of the stand on the racecourse, and they have made their barracks there.

15,236. Then the magistrates in your district have made no difficulty in providing a sufficient force to protect the persons working in your pits?—Certainly not, and at the quarter sessions on Friday last I was present, when the chairman took steps on receipt of a letter from the Home Secretary to send troops to Saint Helen's as well as Wigan as they were apprehending a riot there.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to to-morrow at 11 o'clock.

1, Park Prospect, Westminster, Wednesday, 29th April 1868.

PRESENT:

The Right Hon. SIR WILLIAM ERLE.	JAMES BOOTH, Esq., C.B.
The Right Hon. the EARL of LICHFIELD.	WILLIAM MATHEWS, Esq.
Lord ELCHO, M.P.	

THE RIGHT HON. SIR WILLIAM ERLE IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. A. McDonald.

29 April 1868.

Mr. ALEXANDER MCDONALD further examined.

15,237. (*Lord Elcho.*) You are, are you not, president of the Miners' Association?—I am president of the Miners' National Association.

15,238. How long have you been president of that association?—Since 1863.

15,239. How were you chosen to be president of it?—I was chosen by a meeting of delegates from various parts of the United Kingdom, some 50 or 60 in number. I do not at the moment remember the number, but they were from various parts of the United Kingdom.

15,240. When you say "delegates" do you mean delegates from other miners' unions?—From separate miners' unions existing at that time.

15,241. What were you previously to being chosen to this position?—I was acting as the agent of the miners of Scotland.

15,242. Were you a member of the union?—I was a member of a union in Scotland.

15,243. Of a general Scotch union or of a particular union?—The unions in Scotland are not of a general character; their interests are one, but they are purely local in their character.

15,244. Before you were chosen president you say that you were a member of a union, that you were what you call a miners' agent?—Yes.

15,245. What do you mean by that term?—Advising them in particular matters, such as rates of wages, in matters affecting their social welfare, in regard to statutory enactments that have been proposed from time to time, and also in matters affecting legal questions that came up between the employers and the employed.

15,246. Previous to being a miners' agent what were you, had you worked yourself with your own hands in the pit?—Yes.

15,247. Have you worked from an early period of your life?—I was in the mines before I was eight years of age, or about eight years of age.

15,248. And you have worked continuously from that time as a working miner how many years?—16 years.

15,249. You were 16 years from eight years old in the pits as a working miner?—Yes.

15,250. You have therefore had considerable experience of mining operations and the state of the pits, and the feeling of the miners on all these questions?—Yes.

15,251. Can you state comparatively the state of the mining population now as compared with what it was when you were a lad, has it improved?—With the permission of the Commission, I should like to state what it was when I entered the mine, and then I shall better be able to put the contrast by stating what I think it is now.

15,252. What year was it in which you entered the mines?—About the year 1835 I think; I could not fix the year. When I entered the mines at eight years of age or so, at that time workings were not so large, for we had not sunk in Scotland to the thicker seams which are now being worked.

15,253. What mine did you enter?—A mine called the Dyke Head Ironstone Mine.

15,254. Not a coal mine?—Not a coal mine at first.

15,255. Where is that mine?—In Lanarkshire.

15,256. Does that mine still exist?—It does not exist now, it has long since been closed. The condition of the miner's boy then was to be raised about 1 o'clock or 2 o'clock in the morning if the distance was very far to travel, and I at that time had to travel a considerable distance, more than three miles; I was raised at that time at 2 o'clock, and never later than 3 o'clock.

15,257. Do you mean that someone went round the place to call the boys?—No. The men lived more then in their own cottages in that part of the country. We got up in the morning, I being called by my father at 1, or very often at 2 o'clock. We remained then in the mine till 5 and 6 at night. It was an ironstone mine, very low, working about 18 inches, and in some instances not quite so high.

15,258. That is you remained 16 or 17 hours in the pit?—Yes, as a rule.

15,259. Was the work constant for a boy of that age for that time?—The work was perfectly constant.

15,260. No break?—No break. Then I removed to coal mines after that. There we had low seams also, very low seams. There we had no rails to draw upon, that is, tramways laid like rails now for our tubs, or corves, or whirllies as we call them to run upon. We had leather belts for our shoulders. One was before and another behind, and the wheels were cutting the pavements or floor (we called it pavement), and we had to keep dragging the coal with these ropes over our shoulders, and sometimes round the middle, and a chain through between the legs. Then there was always another behind pushing with his head.

15,261. That work was done by children?—That work was done by boys, such as I was, from 10 or 11 down to eight, and I have known them as low as seven years old. In the mines at that time the state of ventilation was frightful.

15,262. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Are you now speaking of ironstone mines or coal mines?—Of coal and ironstone mines together. The gases pervading the mines at that time in Scotland were, for the most part, carbonic acid gas, not carburetted hydrogen; and I remember well often having three or four lamps put together for the purpose of keeping so much light as to enable us to see by. A very great deal of our drawing, as we call it, was performed in the dark in consequence of the want of ventilation in the mines.

15,263. (*Lord Elcho.*) Did that want of ventilation at that time lead to frequent accidents?—It did not lead to frequent accidents; but it led to premature death.

15,264. Not to explosion?—No; carbonic acid gas in no case leads to explosion. There was no explosive gas in those mines I was in, or scarcely any. I may state incidentally here that in the first ironstone mine that I was in there were some 20 or more boys besides myself, and I am not aware at this moment that one is alive excepting myself.

15,265. (*Chairman.*) Are you aware that they are dead?—I am aware that they are dead. I have made every inquiry, and have ascertained as far as I can that they are dead.

15,266. (*Lord Elcho.*) Have they died as miners?—They have died as miners. Not one of them rose from the grade of a miner that I am aware of. In the second mine that I was in I think that there were

from 20 to 30 boys and a number of girls. I think that with exception of my brother who is now in America, I am the only one who is alive of all of those that were there. Their deaths were caused, I am satisfied, from the noxious gas, carbonic acid gas, that we then worked in, and the degrading kind of labour which we were subject to, and the long hours, 16 to 17 hours every day.

15,267. What were the hours that the men worked there?—The men worked as long as the boys, and so did the females.

15,268. (*Chairman.*) You say that you worked in the dark. Do you mean that there was not air enough to support flame?—Not air enough to support flame. They managed not unfrequently to have the flame at the face of the working, for the individual roadways were in such a condition that the result was that state of things which I have referred to.

15,269. (*Lord Elcho.*) You have spoken now of what came under your own experience in the mines at which you actually worked. Have you reason to believe that that is a pretty truthful account of the adjoining mines, and of the mines generally in Scotland at that time?—I have perfect reason to believe that that was pretty generally the condition of the mines at that time in Scotland in that locality.

15,270. (*Chairman.*) Iron and coal?—Iron and coal.

15,271. (*Lord Elcho.*) Was it better or worse in other localities in Scotland?—In answering that I may say that I was rather inquisitive as a boy, and when I had a moment to spare I generally liked to go somewhere else to see what was going on, and I had a knowledge of the entire district. From that and from communication with others before, at the time, and since, I have reason to believe that that was the general condition of the mines in Scotland.

15,272. Have you any knowledge as to the comparative state at that time of the mines in England or Wales?—No, unless by reports.

15,273. By "reports" do you mean verbal reports or parliamentary reports?—Some of the parliamentary reports certainly give a very bad description of them.

15,274. (*Mr. Mathews.*) With regard to these ironstone mines which you speak of in Scotland, were they common clay band ironstones?—The common black hand ironstones.

15,275. (*Lord Elcho.*) You say that those who were young at that time have been short-lived in consequence of the state of the pits; do you believe that amongst grown up miners too there was a premature mortality?—I am perfectly certain of that, and I feel convinced that had the condition of the miner been continued as it was then the mining population could not have sustained itself. It was sustained entirely by the fact of importation from other causes into the mine.

15,276. You say that you have worked as a boy at eight years old 16 or 17 hours without a break; was there no pause for the dinner hour?—Yes, the ordinary pauses, half an hour or so to take your bread.

15,277. What were the wages received at that time?—I worked with my father, and I had no wages at all. But the wages of the miners at that time were a little above what they are now.

15,278. You say that you worked for your father, do you mean that your father was paid for bringing you, or that boys were not at all separately paid except as aids to their parents?—Where boys were kept for throwing water or anything of that kind they got about 9*d.* a day or from that to a shilling. Little boys from seven to eleven would get about 9*d.* a day.

15,279. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Were you paid by your father?—We do not know paying in Scotland by the father to the child; we live in families.

15,280. Still your father was paid for your labour?—Yes, my father was paid for my labour.

15,281. (*Chairman.*) Did he take a certain length of seam and get so much for working it as they do in Cornwall?—He took the coal and worked at piece work at so much per hutch or per corve. The miners in Scotland are entirely piece workers as a rule. They are now and were then.

15,282. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Are they paid by the corve?—In some instances they work by the corve In a great many instances of late years (that is one of the matters that I shall refer to again), the practice has been worked of paying by the ton.

15,283. (*Mr. Booth.*) Do I rightly understand you to say that their earnings were then something higher than they are at present?—Yes.

15,284. (*Lord Elcho.*) What were the wages of a grown miner then?—3*s.* 6*d.*, 4*s.* 0*d.* and 5*s.* 0*d.* At the present moment the wages of the miners in Scotland are lower than they were in 1837 by 2*s.* per day. They were 5*s.* in 1837, and they are only 3*s.* and 3*s.* 6*d.* now.

15,285. (*Mr. Mathews.*) For the same hours of work?—The hours of work are much less now than they were then.

15,286. (*Lord Elcho.*) You say that when you yourself were eight years old the wages of a boy of that age were 9*d.* When you left work after 16 years (that would make you 24 years old) what were you receiving?—As much as I could make.

15,287. What did you make then?—Well, latterly after I grew up I became a foreman and had charge of men, but I gave that up. Before entering upon that, I followed a class of work which we call stonework, that is working all wet hard work, not only working coal or ironstone. I took that class of work because I had an object in view, and in that way I could make more money than I could have done in working coal or iron.

15,288. Was that the hardest and most disagreeable description of mining work, and consequently the best paid?—Yes.

15,289. What sort of work was that?—Driving what we call wet levels.

15,290. (*Chairman.*) You said that wages were 2*s.* a day less now than at the time you were speaking of, but supposing that a man worked for the same number of hours and produced as much what would be the sum which he would receive now as compared with the sum that he would have received then?—Well, the manner of working now is very different from the manner of working then.

15,291. Will you put it upon the quantity of coal?—The quantity of coal is not diminished, in a number of instances in fact it is increased.

15,292. When the owner pays upon the quantity of coal does he pay about the same now as then?—Just about the same now.

15,293. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Will you explain to us the difference in the system of working now and then?—You will observe as I have stated that we did not pursue working then in that active way in which it is done now. Now rails are carried in; now there are appliances which are of such a nature as to allow a man to work continuously, and he works now much harder, with greater severity, than he did at that period. It was a long fatiguing labour arising from the nature of the circumstances, and men continued at that long fatiguing work, and boys too often continued at that long fatiguing work. A boy will do now six times the work he could do then.

15,294. (*Lord Elcho.*) Take your own description of work—you said it was the hardest and most disagreeable work in the pit, namely, running these levels in a wet part of the pit, and consequently the best paid work. What was the highest sum you could make in a day then?—I have made 10*s.* a day then.

15,295. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Working by the day?—By the yard and ton.

15,296. (*Lord Elcho.*) How many hours had you to work for that?—I was never inclined to work more than eight hours a day, and any good workman can tire himself in eight hours; he is a worthless miner that cannot fatigue himself in eight hours.

15,297. Is the same description of work done now in the mine as that which you are describing?—Yes.

Mr. A.M cDonald.

29 April 1868.

15,298. What would a man working as hard as you worked then make now?—The class of work that I did was entirely special contract, it was out of the ordinary working. To give you an instance of the kind of contract I had once, I drove a wet level once of 40 fathoms down, going under water. It was wet in the bottom and there was wet pouring from the roof. This was an ironstone mine, and water was coming out of the cutters or joints of the iron, and in the morning when I entered the first thing that I always did was to roll myself all over right in the water and wet every part of the body, for the express purpose that the water falling from the roof should not create the very unpleasant sensation which water does to one who has gone recently from his bed into the mine that is wet.

15,299. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You took it in one dose instead of a variety of doses?—Yes; I preferred the plunge instead of the shower-bath.

15,300. (*Lord Elcho*). You took this work by contract?—Yes.

15,301. Is there no such thing as taking it by contract now?—Yes, there is.

15,302. Now-a-days, if a man worked for eight hours as hard as you did at the same description of work, you having made 10*s.* a day, what would that man make now, or what would you yourself make now?—I should not work at that class of work if I were working now under 10*s.* a day. Every man judges of course of his capabilities as he likes, but when a workman I was one of those workmen that would not be satisfied with any small wage, because I always felt that my labour was worth more than any other man's not in wet work.

15,303. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Are there plenty of men working contract now that would get 10*s.* a day at that work?—I know men getting 6*s.* and 7*s.*, but not any getting 10*s.*

15,304. If I were to tell you that I know men getting 10*s.* a day at that work you would not discredit it?—Certainly not.

15,305. (*Lord Elcho.*) I suppose that now if men gain less it is because they do not work so hard as you did?—Yes, or they may not estimate their services at the same rate as I did.

15,306. (*Earl of Lichfield*). You say that you worked by the yard at that time; that is, you cut a yard of ironstone and were paid so much for it?—Yes.

15,307. What is paid now for that yard of ironstone?—That field of iron that I refer to is entirely exhausted, and that being so there is such a variety of fields that there is nothing in common so as to make the comparison.

15,308. Take the case of a coal mine at that time; I suppose it was worked by the yard at that time, was it not?—Yes.

15,309. What was paid in a coal mine for working coal by the yard at that time?—From 12*s.* to 13*s.* and 14*s.* (according to the rate of wages) per fathom.

15,310. And what is paid now?—At the present moment it is under those rates.

15,311. (*Mr. Mathews.*) All that would be influenced by the greater or less degree of hardness of the seam?—Yes, the varieties of seam; there is no rule. Unfortunately for our part of the country that seam of the black band of Lanarkshire is to a nearness all exhausted.

15,312. (*Lord Elcho.*) Did you work in the pit in the way you have described all the year round, summer and winter?—Up till three years before I left the mines; I did not work then in the winter season.

15,313. What did you do in the winter season?—I went to college three sessions in the winter season?—

15,314 You attended the Glasgow University, I believe?—I attended the Glasgow University.

15,315. With the savings which you had effected by your work in the summer?—With the savings which I had effected previously, and with those savings which I had effected in the summer as well.

15,316. In the summer, was it the habit of men to work every day in the week, or was there a great deal of play then in the mines?—Well, the system would vary. In the ironstone district we generally had regular work, and that was where I worked at the time when I attended the University.

15,317. Do you think that men worked harder then than now?—No; I think there was less work done then, though the hours were longer, than what is done now; but the appliances have considerably changed the circumstances.

15,318. You say that with the savings you effected through your summer work, and other savings for three years, you attended the Glasgow classes. Are those classes very expensive?—Yes, they are very expensive.

15,319. May I ask what your attendance at those classes would cost you?—Class fees, and books, and maintenance cost me always about 55*l.* to 60*l.*

15,320. That is books, attendance at the college, college fees, and living, during the winter?—Yes, and lodging.

15,321. (*Mr. Mathews.*) For a year?—For six months.

15,322. (*Lord Elcho.*) What was the course you attended?—I attended the humanity classes, as we call them, that is, Latin, the Greek classes, and the logic classes, and mathematics.

15,323. When you went to the university, what had your previous education been; had you been educated before at a parish school?—When a child I attended at the parish school.

15,324. Before you were eight years old?—Before I was eight years old; you can see, therefore, that I could not have had much education.

15,325. At what age did you first go to the parish school?—I could read the Bible before I was five years old.

15,326. And were at a parish school till you went into the pit?—I was at a parish school till I went into the pit.

15,327. Was there any provision for your education whilst in the pit?—No.

15,328. No schools were then attached to the pit?—No; and the habit of my brother and myself was to travel from three to four miles after we came out of the pit at 7 or 8 o'clock in the evening to a little village school for the children of farmers' labourers engaged in agricultural pursuits during the day.

15,329. You said that there were 20 children employed in one pit in our coal mine where you worked, and 30 or 40 in another. What was the state of education in those cases?—There was none.

15,330. They had been to their parish school, but there was no provision for them at the pit?—Nine out of ten had never been to the parish school at all.

15,331. (*Mr. Mathews.*) There was no encouragement given then to education, unless there was an inclination on the part of the boys leading them to desire it?—There was rather a discouragement given to it.

15,332. (*Lord Elcho.*) Are there schools attached now to the pits?—Yes.

15,333. That is to say, the masters have shown now an interest in providing the means of education for them which they did not show when you first went in the pit?—I am not quite prepared to say that that is the origin of the improvement.

15,334. Do you mean that it is not the masters who have established those schools now?—The masters did establish the schools, but in 1835 there were certain inquiries made by the Government on various matters, which I shall refer to; and in 1842 there was a very long commission which reported as to the entire kingdom on the state of mines, and that brought the hideous condition of the mining population before the public so strongly that then mine owners' schools began to be adopted very generally. There were some previous to that, but generally they began to be adopted after public opinion came out so strongly on

the social and particularly the educational condition of that class.

15,335. Without going into the causes now, the state of education was low then at the pits, and it is better now?—Very much better now.

15,336. At the time of your attendance on these classes at Glasgow was there any class for anything like technical education? Did you direct yourself in your education at all to the speciality of your work?—No, nothing of that sort.

15,337. What Latin and Greek authors were you reading at the university when you went there?—I may state that during a considerable number of years previous to my going to the university I attended evening classes. I removed from home to a town in our neighbourhood called Airdrie for the purpose of attending evening classes, going to them privately at night to get a knowledge of Latin and Greek.

15,338. Still working in the pit in the neighbourhood of Airdrie?—Still working. For seven or eight years I did so.

15,339. What did you read at the university?—The first book we read was extracts from Ovid and Tibullus by the late Professor Ramsay, perhaps one of the most able teachers that ever lived. That was for our junior year, and in the senior year we read from Cicero's Orations, and Tacitus, and from a number of extracts again, but chiefly from Cicero.

15,340. Did you read Greek at all?—Yes, we read a number of Greek authors under Professor Lushington.

15,341. You say that there is a great improvement socially and educationally in the state of the miners? I want to go farther, if you will allow me to do so, and state some of the social conditions of the mines there at that time. The terms of pays were one month, two months, and three months long; that is to say, between the settlements, and in some instances much longer. In all the older collieries of Scotland belonging to the landowners the pays were shorter, but in the trading district, the mining district which was rising, the pays were designedly made that long, and with no other object in view, undoubtedly, than this which I will explain. Attached to every work the owner, even if he had only 20 men, had a truck-shop, and generally attached to that truck-shop he had a public-house. The truck-shop was designed for the men spending all their money, and it was generally contrived that the men should be paid about 6 or 8 in the evening, or perhaps 10 or 12 in the evening in the public-house, and the poor man had literally got rid of all the little savings which he had not eaten up in the truck-shop during the month, or two months, or fortnight (but in very few instances was it only a fortnight), by 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning. I have often seen them returning home. He had nearly eaten every thing up at the truck-shop, and then he drunk the rest.

15,342. You have drawn a distinction just now between the mines of landowners and of others?—Yes.

15,343. Do you mean by that the mines which were worked by the owners of the mines, and the mines which were let by these owners to others?—Yes.

15,344. Was there a different system as regarded truck and wages, and payment at the public-house followed by those who worked their own mines?—The system was pursued in the counties of Mid and East Lothian, in the county of Fife, in the county of Clackmannan, and in Linlithgow. The truck shops sprang up in Lanarkshire and Ayrshire when the small men began to lease mines, and they began to raise their capital from the leasing of the mines from the owners.

15,345. Truck is now illegal by Act of Parliament, is it not?—Yes, but unfortunately it is practised.

15,346. That Act you think is evaded?—Yes, I shall refer to that subject again.

15,347. As to wages, instead of being paid by the month how are they paid now?—Generally by the fortnight, but wherever the truck shops are as a rule they are paid by the month.

15,348. Is there any other social point connected with the state of the miners at that time which you wish to bring before the Commission?—The social condition of the women (they worked in the mines) was very fearful indeed. When I was a boy I did not know a woman that worked in the mine that did not smoke tobacco, and a large number of them took strong drink. That smoking of tobacco I am glad to say has entirely disappeared among the females of the mining population.

15,349. As to drink, do you think that there is a greater sobriety now among the mining population than there was at that time?—Yes, very much greater. In fact I have known cases where men never left the house with money remaining over. What we used to call the old collier stock never left the house so long as they had any money remaining, because they could just draw money again the first day they worked, and therefore they continued to drink on until all was consumed, if all was not consumed on the Saturday night.

15,350. Is there much providence now in the mining class of Scotland—do men rise now as you yourself have risen from the grade of a working miner?—Yes. If they do not rise here they rise elsewhere; they leave the country.

15,351. Is there a tendency to save money with a view to emigrating on the part of the mining population?—Yes, in Scotland very largely.

15,352. To what do you attribute this beneficial change in the condition of the mining class in Scotland; do you attribute it to the ordinary progress of civilization and the improvement that has taken place in so many things in the last 30 years, or to any more direct cause?—The progress of civilization has had a great deal to do with it, but the combinations of the men from time to time have had much more to do with it. That state of things which I have described has brought about strikes innumerable. They have come before the public, and generally the public press of Scotland has come down upon proprietors when anything wrong of that kind has been done, and the very powerful influence, first of these combinations among the workmen, and secondly of the public press which is now so strong in our country, and happily over the world, has led to those changes. I would just add that many of the masters who began 30 or 35 years ago to make their fortunes, after they had acquired very large fortunes as the public gives them credit for, relaxed their rigour and ceased to do things that they had been in the habit of doing. Thus, the Messrs. Baird, a very large firm, at one time had truck shops to all their works. The enlightenment of the age, the strong expression of public opinion, and the bringing of their name frequently before the House of Commons in connexion with that system, has had the tendency (I know it to be true that it has had the tendency) to get them to give up that truck system entirely, and they have abandoned it and established co-operative stores. And the same principle has governed a large number of those who then accumulated fortunes in the country through the means of mining, that as they grew and seemed to become more wealthy they became less grasping in their character, and attended more to the social comforts of the men, educationally and otherwise.

15,353. You say that you attribute this improved state of things partly to the progress of civilization, and partly to the influence of the press, but mainly or in great measure to combinations and strikes. When you talk of combinations do you mean haphazard combinations of men dissatisfied and meeting together and striking, or do you refer to an organized system such as we are now inquiring into, the system of trades union combination?—Perhaps it might be proper for me now just to go into the subject historically.

15,354. Will you answer that question first?—In many of the instances a strike upon individual employers for particular grievances led to the alterations, and that I presume is what you designate haphazard combinations. In a large number of instances since

Mr. A. McDonald.

29 April 1868.

1825, in fact since 1800, the general combinations of the workmen have had more effect.

15,355. By a general combination you mean an organized combination?—An organized combination.

15,356. And a system of union?—And a system of union.

15,357. You have mentioned 1800. Is that the date of the first union of which you have any cognizance?—No, unions are prior to that. The condition of the miners in Scotland (as proofs of this I have brought copies of the statutes in force in Scotland, which if it is desired I can hand in for insertion) up to the year 1779 was this, that the Scottish miner was a serf. He was bought and sold with the land. If he refused to obey his master's orders he was taken to the public market place and whipped, or a common custom was to take him and attach him to a gin (engines were not common then) and drag him round for a couple of hours or perhaps a whole day with his face to the horse.

15,358. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You are speaking of Scotland now?—Of Scotland exclusively.

15,359. (*Chairman.*) And historically. You did not see this in 1779?—No.

15,360. (*Lord Elcho.*) Can you put in the Acts you refer to?—Yes.

15,361. (*Chairman.*) When you picture to us a man dragged round, where do you quote from?—I found it in a very old book, and I find it again repeated in the report by the Commissioners in 1842. I have met with men who at a later period, as late as 1790, were flogged for disobeying their master's orders and under the statute which I allude to.

15,362. (*Lord Elcho.*) Could you give us a reference to these statutes?—The statute is the 56th of the first parliament of Charles II. That state of things led to a secret combination among the men (I am speaking now historically), and a very strong agitation led to a change of that in the year 1799, in the 39th of George III., chapter 56. The coal owners and mine owners of Scotland at that time did not like the idea of giving the men their liberty.

15,363. Was a union formed at that time?—There were unions, and very powerful unions, secret unions.

15,364. (*Mr. Mathews.*) These Acts of which you are speaking were Acts applicable to Scotland alone?—Yes.

15,365. (*Lord Elcho.*) When you speak of unions do you mean that they had subscriptions, and secretaries, and so on, just as a trades union now?—No, the unions at that time were secret societies.

15,366. How long did they continue as secret societies?—I will advert to that again soon.

15,367. (*Chairman.*) The statute of the 56th of Charles II. is a statute for labourers I see?—Colliers.

15,368. It says that they are in the habit of lying about during a part of the week, and the mine gets back, and they must work six days in the week, and so on. It was a special Act of Parliament to make the labourers labour?—Yes, but they were then serfs.

15,369. These were free labourers then because Parliament intervened to give the masters some power over them?—I see that I have omitted to mention the first statute, which is one of the reign of James II. of Scotland. I think that you will find that they are authorized to apprehend and put into the mine "all sturdy beggars."

15,370. They must have been perfectly free then, because the statute is mainly directed against rival masters seducing them away by higher wages; the man exercised his own free will?—But he is held guilty of theft of himself for going away.

15,371. The master who has been deserted may come and demand him, and then the statute says that the master who has hired him shall deliver him in 24 hours under a certain penalty,—"a hundred pounds " to be paid to the persons from whom they passed, " and that for every person and every time that they " or any of them shall happen to be challenged and " not delivered as is said. And the said colliers, coal- " bearers, and salters, to be esteemed, reputed, and " holden as thieves, and punished in their bodies, " namely, so many of them as shall receive of ore " wages and fees. And the said estates of this present " Parliament give power and commission to all masters " and owners of coal heughs and pans, to apprehend " all vagabonds and sturdy beggars to be put to " labour." That is, when a man had broken his contract, and went from his contract to another master, that man was liable to be punished in his body?—But he is held as a thief for doing it. In 1775 a statute was passed which explains thoroughly the position that they were in.

15,372. That law abolished slavery, you say?—That law abolished slavery, but the mine owners did not deem it right and evaded the law. A strong feeling took place among the men, and they had recourse to secret combinations, and tradition informs us that violent murders were committed. The matter was then taken up by a Mr. Dundas, of Arniston, and the impression made upon him by the men was such that a statute was brought in in 1797, which effectually abolished slavery in Scotland (that statute I can also produce), from that period, as I have already incidentally stated. The employers then began in the smaller collieries to devise those means whereby they should get most of the men's money; truck shops, public houses, and long pays, and very strong agitation ensued and combinations were formed.

15,373. (*Lord Elcho.*) When you say combinations, do you still refer to secret combinations?—Secret combinations. In 1825, in consequence of the violent acts of combinations among the miners in Scotland, as well as in other trades, a committee of the House of Commons sat and examined into the thing, and that brought out clearly the combination among the miners.

15,374. Mr. Hume's committee you mean?—Mr. Hume's committee, so called.

15,375. It was on combination laws?—It was on combination laws, and it brought out the combination among the miners, and that blue book shows what were the grievances they were complaining of,—this truck, and the unjust system of weighing, and so forth. Combinations amongst the men continued, and they impressed their views upon the various members of the House whom they could reach, among others, upon the then Lord Ashley, now the Earl of Shaftesbury. A Commission was appointed to inquire into the matter, and a report was made on the truck system, and the result was that his Lordship brought in a Bill which never would have been brought in or carried but for the unions, because the coalowners met us face to face, and others who were engaged in truck met us face to face in Parliament and contended by every means in their power against it. I now refer to the statute of William IV., chapter 37, in the year 1831.

15,376. You have described the state of things at the close of the last century, that there were strikes, murders, and so forth on the part of the men through secret societies and secret combinations. You now say that Mr. Hume and his committee effected a change in the combination laws. You refer also to Lord Shaftesbury's Act which effected a change in the truck system, and you say that that was effected likewise through the instrumentality of these combinations. But when these combinations effect these changes, they necessarily ceased to be secret combinations, and I want to get from you the date when they ceased to be secret combinations and exercised in a tangible form influence on the Legislature as you say they did?—I think that from the year 1826 or so we have little or nothing of secret combinations, they almost disappeared then.

15,377. When had you the first recognized trades union in Scotland as trades unions now exist?—Open trades unions were recognized and were in active existence, and there are records to show that they were in active existence in 1828 and 1829.

15,378. Take the miners, what is the first record you have of any miners union in Scotland, I mean not

a secret but an open trades union as it now exists?—In 1817 there was a public union.

15,379. Where was that union established?—In Lanarkshire and Ayrshire.

15,380. Was that a miners' union?—Yes.

15,381. Was that established very much on the footing of the present union?—No.

15,382. What was the difference?—It was chiefly at that period for trade alone. There were certain grievances that they had, but they contended with the employers by strike and so on.

15,383. There was no benefit fund attached to that union?—No.

15,384. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Was not that against the existing law at that time?—Yes, hence the secrecy.

15,385. I thought you said that the open unions began in 1817?—Yes, the open unions began in 1817, but the manner in which they conducted the union was not against the law; they met and held converse in public meetings, they did not meet with closed doors.

15,386. But it was a combination, and a combination at that period was against the existing law?—Their acts were tolerated at that period.

15,387. Generally?—That was tolerated in the West of Scotland and as far as my knowledge goes (speaking historically again) it was all over Lanarkshire and Ayrshire.

15,388. (*Mr. Booth.*) Had they at that time presidents, secretaries, and officers such as they have now?—They changed those at every meeting to evade the existence of an actual board of office bearers. They would have got within the meshes of the law if they had not changed them at every meeting.

15,389. They had no permanent officers?—Not at that period.

15,390. (*Mr. Mathews.*) But would they not have been equally within the meshes of the law by combination of any sort before the combination law was revised?—I presume that lawyers had advised them that that was the right thing to do.

15,391. You do not know whether it was right or otherwise?—I do not know whether it was right or otherwise; I have not taken enough notice of the question as yet, but I will.

15,392. (*Chairman.*) I believe it came out in the Parliamentary inquiry in 1834, that there was a secret Committee choosing certain members bound to execute the decrees of the Committee, that was in the weaving and spinning combinations?—I am referring to a period previous to that. In 1835 the combinations of workmen again caused a Committee which made a very lengthened report, which I have read; I also knew one of the gentlemen who appeared before it. Mr. Gemmill, of Glasgow, and a number of others appeared before that Committee and showed clearly the nature of the combination that existed then. The miners were not spoken of then and their combinations were not brought out so clearly as they were in 1825. Then from 1830 the miners, union assumed another shape, complaining of the want of ventilation which I have been referring to now. In 1834 a Committee of the House sat on the representations of the workmen regarding the safety of the miner. It was a combination among the workmen that led to that Committee. It resulted in nothing however. There were certain recommendations and these recommendations led to nothing until later. The workmen continued to represent their views on these matters from 1834 and 1835 and on through 1842, and then another statute was got in 1842 regarding the putting children out of the mines, and putting females out of the mines. I contend again that that was a thing arising solely from the representations of the workmen, because at every point it was met by the determined opposition of the coal owners and mine owners.

15,393. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Do you mean to say that the Act of Parliament that prohibited the employment of women in mines was met by the determined opposition of the coal owners?—Many of them, and unitedly.

15,394. Are you not aware that the bulk of the coalowners in England cordially co-operated in that Act?—I am aware that some of them did, but not the bulk.

15,395. Are you speaking of England or Scotland?—Of both; I am speaking from reports in my possession.

15,396. Can you point any coal owner who objected to the Act being passed?—I deem that invidious; but if that is desired I shall put in a list of them taken from the Commissioners' report.

15,397. Your list will refer to those who employed women?—Not only those who employed women, but those who made opposition to the statute being passed

15,398. The Commissioners' report, I suppose, was published but previous to the Act being passed?—I am aware of that. I have had access, and can have access to the records of the House for the petitions that were made by coalowners. I shall also insert that evidence if desirable, to show how far the opposition went.

15,399. You are speaking now of Lord Ashley's Commission?—I am speaking of Lord Ashley's Commission. From 1842 representations were made again by the combinations both in England and Scotland extensively, by those in Northumberland and in Barnsley, (then the South Yorkshire district was only a rising district), regarding the safety of the workmen, that they were not cared for. Petitions were presented to the House again and again from the unions, the result of which was a Committee of the House of Lords, Lord Wharncliffe being the Chairman. The result of that report, which is here, (and all the other reports which I refer to are in my possession) was that that Committee reported in favour of an Inspection Act, and in 1850 that Act was passed. That Act met with the determined opposition of the coal and iron-masters.

15,400. Do you say that deliberately?—Deliberatey.

15,401. (*Chairman.*) The colour of the object, you see, often depends upon the colour of the glass which you look through. I dare say some masters were opposed to it, and there were among the coalowners perhaps some who desired it to do good to their fellow creatures?—My remarks were not meant to convey for one moment the idea that there were not and are not among the coalowners of England and Scotland men as generous in heart and sympathy as are to be found in the world.

15,402. Some are good and some are bad?—Certainly.

15,403. (*Lord Elcho*). But you wish the Commission to understand that your view of these questions is, that as to some of these measures they were opposed by masters as a body?—*In cumulo.*

15,404. I do not go into the question whether that is or is not the case, but that is your view from experience, of the origin of these measures?—That is so; the working miners of this country were dissatisfied with the Act of 1850. They conceived that it did not give them sufficient safety. In 1851 the union in England and Scotland petitioned again and urged on the Government the necessity of further protection.

15,405. (*Mr. Mathews.*) How long was the Act passed for? was it passed for a limited period?—It was passed for five years. In 1852 another Committee sat, and in 1853 another Committee sat. Workmen were examined from all parts of the country, and strong representations were made, and in 1855 another Bill was brought into the House; and now I can speak with perfect clearness. The Coalowners or the Mineowners Association, at the head of which was Mr. Nicholas Wood, at that period gave to all the views of the workmen their most stern opposition. We asked at that time for education. A Bill was passed in 1855, and we were dissatisfied that there was no educational clause in the measure, and that there was not that amount of safety provided which we deemed sufficient. In 1856, 1857, and 1858, we again peti-

Mr. A. McDonald.

29 April 1868.

Mr. A. McDonald.

29 April 1868.

tioned, by thousands, the House of Commons. We waited through the Earl of Shaftesbury, and also Lord Kinnaird, and a large number of members of the Lower House upon the late Lord Palmerston, and in 1860 his Lordship's Government brought in a Bill. Again I speak confidently. In 1860, when we were contending for education, it met with the most determined opposition, and probably no man knows better than Mr. Mathews how far that was carried. In 1860 we were still dissatisfied, and we petitioned again, and the result has been that we got a Committee of the House to inquire into the matter. That Committee has reported, and their report was tendered last year, and has gone a good way as far as we believe towards being right. That is the position that the combination has taken up. I have been thus specific, as witnesses have sat in this chair from time to time who have stated, either incidentally or freely, that the miners have taken no interest in anything but in wages. Now, I contend that we have taken interest in other questions, for any change of any moment that has been effected has been effected on the representations of the men. It has not only been the representations of the men, but the help of their friends, and Government in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords; and uniformly in regard to education, in regard to safety, and in regard to other matters, we have met (I speak now confidently) for 15 years with the determined opposition of the coalowners to every improvement which we have had. I mean the opposition of the Mineowners Association of Great Britain.

15,406. (*Lord Elcho.*) Then you wish the Commission to understand with regard to the statement which you have just made of the different measures passed by Parliament with reference to the education, safety, and social improvement of the miners, that those measures are due chiefly to combinations, organized unions, such as those which this Commission has to inquire into?—That is the impression I wish to convey, and I assert that the Mineowners Association has never presented a petition for a single improvement that I am aware of.

15,407. What proof do you adduce of the direct action of these unions, through, I suppose, their representatives, upon members of Parliament, which action has resulted in the measures to which you have referred?—Members have appeared from those unions from 1832 from time to time up till now.

15,408. Where have they appeared?—At the House of Commons, and with those gentlemen in the House, and in the House of Lords, because we have ever been kindly dealt with by a very large number in that House also.

15,409. Do you mean that they have appeared officially in evidence before Committees, or in what form?—They have appeared officially in evidence before Committees. They have appeared there, and gone about the House for months and months together, urging the necessity of those changes. In 1852 and 1853 there were a number of them examined, and there were others whose expenses here were paid by the men in Scotland, and Northumberland, and Lancashire, and Yorkshire, in the separate unions, for the purpose of urging on the Government and the members the necessity of those changes to which I refer.

15,410. Have you any records which you could put in from the books of the different unions to show that persons were despatched from these unions to communicate with members of Parliament on any or on all of those measures, and can you corroborate that by payments made to those persons of their expenses here from the funds of those unions?—I think that I have a better record than union records, namely, Mr. Tremenheere's report, presented in July 1854 to Lord Palmerston, then the Secretary of State for the Home Department. That report contains this passage: "The delegates" (they were here on the question of education at the time) "sought an interview with me again yesterday" (this is in a letter of the 27th May) "after an interval of about three weeks, and "stated to me the following conclusions, which are "so satisfactory that I think myself justified in com- "municating them to you, and through you, if you "should think proper, to the Committee. There were "present Mr. David Swallow and Mr. Allen Tetlow, "delegates from Lancashire and Cheshire; Mr. "Martin Jude and Mr. Edmund Gray, delegates from "Durham and Northumberland; and Mr. Thomas "Philip, delegate from Scotland. They stated to me as "follows: 'After communication with the men in "'our respective districts, we find they are unanimous "'on this point, namely, that they are all willing "'that a certain sum, say not exceeding 2*d.* per "'week, should be stopped out of their wages for "'school purposes, provided that the men are fairly "'represented on the committee which manages the "'particular school to which their contributions are "'applied.'" That report again is referred to a number of times in other reports. These delegates stated not merely the willingness of the men, but the absolute desire of the men for education. And their reason and my reason was this: The abounding ignorance when I was young, and the abounding ignorance when I grew up led me to see that the men were neither useful to themselves, to their employers, nor to society. Those delegates joined with me in that opinion, or rather I joined with them, because they were older than I was. Then again, when there was no education put in in the bill of 1855, we determined to make most strenuous exertions to have it in, and the result was that education, as far as it went, was put in in 1860. But we deemed it insufficient. We felt annoyance at this. Every accident that occurred to a miner's life, and every disturbance was attributed to ignorance. Those that have been acting with me for 15 years have a strong desire to have that ignorance removed, and we are prosecuting the same object now.

15,411. That is the proof which you give of recognized action on the part of officers of the union, delegates or others, upon Parliament in order to effect these changes?—Yes.

15,412. What is the form of proceeding upon any of these questions which the unions wish to agitate in Parliament; the subject is discussed by the union, I suppose?—Yes.

15,413. If it is thought that such changes should be effected a deputation appointed, that deputation goes to Parliament, petitions are drawn up, those petitions are circulated among the class whom the matter interests, those petitions are presented or given perhaps to members from the different localities, and then the union, through the delegates, endeavours to get some member of Parliament, or some peer to take up the question; is that the course?—Yes.

15,414. Then comes the inquiry, and these men perhaps give evidence; is that the course which is taken?—Yes, that is the course.

15,415. (*Chairman.*) In the report you have quoted from Mr. Tremenheere records measures passed by the efforts made by the miners?—Yes.

15,416. I see it contains this passage: "Although "Wales was not represented in the Committees above "referred to, I believe as I stated in my report to the "Secretary of State for 1852, that the proposed "measure" (for compulsory education that is) "would "be carried into effect with the concurrence of nearly "all persons of leading influence as employers of "mining labour in Wales as well as in the above- "named districts of England and Scotland, as well as "in Yorkshire and the Midland counties. I believe "that some reluctance towards it has been expressed "in the small district of Somersetshire." Therefore, "all persons of leading influence as employers of "mining labour" in those places were in favour of that education?—It so happens that in that part Mr. Tremenheere was mistaken. I only last night asked Mr. Clive, who was at that time the Under-Secretary of State, about the matter, and he allowed me to refer the Commission to him. And I need not ask any man better than Mr. Mathews. In 1860 he took a most

active part against the educational clause at the head of the Mineowners' Association.

15,417. (*Mr. Mathews.*) I cannot allow that to go uncontradicted, because I took an active part the other way. I opposed the educational clause in the Mines Inspection Act unless the measure were made general all over England, and then, as I stated to Mr. Adderley, the Mineowners Association would give him every possible assistance. I told Mr. Adderley that the opposition to the education clause would come from his friends the landlords and not the mining interest, and that if he would bring in a Bill for general education the mining interest would give it every possible assistance; he did bring in a Bill, and the House of Commons threw it out on the second reading. That is the history of my opposition?—That proves what I stated; you opposed it on the ground that the miners should not be alone. The petitions are in the records of the House of Commons, and that is not a matter of dispute between Mr. Mathews and me.

15,418. (*Lord Elcho.*) The first time I think I saw you was in consequence of my being told that there was a miner that wanted to see me in the lobby of the House; I came out and saw you, and you introduced yourself to me as chairman of the Miners Union, and asked me to present a petition from the miners of your district with regard to certain changes in the mines to be effected by legislation. Those changes were with reference to weighing, to employing women at the pit's mouth, to education, and to the time of employing boys in the pit, is not that so?—Yes.

15,419. And you told me that Scotland had been divided into districts, and that petitions from the different districts had been presented by the different members, and I was asked as member for East Lothian to present a petition for my district?—That is so.

15,420. The result of that movement was that a member of Parliament, Mr. Ayrton, moved the appointment of a Select Committee which inquired into these very subjects, and that that committee met and reported I think last year, recommending certain changes which had been advocated in these petitions by the miners?—That is so.

15,421. That is what took place in one instance and that the most recent. Is that a correct statement of what occurred?—That is so.

15,422. May we from that recent instance conclude, according to your view and what you wish the Commission to understand, that that or something similar has been the course adopted by the unions in these other legislative changes, and that it is in that way that these unions take an active part in bringing about legislative changes by influencing members of Parliament and getting them to take these questions up?—That is so. My statement is made for the purpose of showing that it was quite incorrect to say that miners' unions had no other object than that of raising wages.

15,423. As far as those legislative changes are concerned, you maintain that in those respects they have been of great advantage, and have been a social, moral, and physical benefit to the persons they represent?—Yes.

15,424. You state that at the same time the masters have resisted these attempts at improvement?—I say so.

15,425. What proof can you give of that?—I can give the proof of the continual attendance in 1859 of Mr. Nicholas Wood and Mr. Day; I can give the proof of the continual attendance in 1860 of a large deputation, including Mr. Pease and Mr. Mathews (who appeared at the head of the association or was a member of the association, I cannot exactly say which, but he appeared at some of those periods), the representative of Earl Dudley, the representative of the Earl of Ellesmere, and the representative of the Mineowners' Union of Scotland; all those men appearing to advocate the view that certain things that were in the Bill should be removed. The Bill of 1860 was a very excellent Bill as we looked at it, drawn out by Sir George Cornewall Lewis. They appeared then in the strength I have referred to, and succeeded in mutilating the Bill to a large extent; and again they appeared in the House of Lords. Mr. Nicholas Wood stood side by side with me in the House of Lords, and I heard him and I heard others talking to members, enforcing their views as against my own views, and the other delegates accompanying me in the same way.

5,426. But the masters may have opposed some of these measures on the principle that Mr. Mathews did, that they thought them class legislation and unfair in particular, without offering any opposition to the principles of the measures themselves, which might be considered as principles which would benefit not merely the mining class and those with whom they were connected?—Very possibly. I do not mean to attribute to them that it was a desire to maintain ignorance. It may have been the class legislation they were opposed to.

15,427. (*Chairman*). The funds were to be taken by compulsion from the workmen, I understand?—That the workmen wanted.

15,428. The workmen at the head of the unions, the intelligent men, would be willing for that?—50,000 workmen, adult miners, within eight days, on one occasion, petitioned to that effect. In any other class in the community I am satisfied that you would not find in the same number men so unanimous.

15,429. (*Lord Elcho.*) I may take the most recent actual change in the law with reference to these matters of workman and master, because I do not think there has been any legislation as yet, has there, upon the report of that Mines Committee?—There has been none on the committee of 1866–67.

15,430. But to take the case of the law of master and servant, that change in the law of master and servant was in the main brought about, was it not, by the same means to which you have referred as having been brought to bear for the other legislative changes?—Our union, the Miners' National Association, were the first (a committee had been formed in Glasgow, but the Miners' National Association were the first as an associated body) to suggest a political course. From a resolution come to by us, it was resolved that a meeting of delegates from all trades who deemed the late Act oppressive should assemble in London, which they did, and an executive committee was appointed, the object of that committee being to get the late Act repealed.

15,431. I thought that the general committee was appointed at Sheffield?—No, it was appointed in London. Having met frequently with Mr. John Morgan Cobbett, then member for Oldham, personally, I solicited him to take the charge of a Bill on behalf of the miners and all the trades who were acting in connexion with us at the time. Mr. Cobbett consented to take charge of a Bill, and then it was deemed prudent by your Lordship and others that a Select Committee should be appointed, and Mr. Cobbett and yourself very kindly on our representations took the matter up, and that was another matter that we succeeded through your Lordship in having made law, that is, the abolishing of the penal portion of the law of contract. That is another instance clearly that the unions are not devoted exclusively to wages strikes and lock-outs.

15,432. Have you ever found on the part of men of either house of the Legislature the slightest objection or difficulty in the way of taking up questions severally affecting the working classes?—I think that there is not a body of 600 men in which more kind-hearted men are to be found, than are to be found in the House of Commons. I never had a difficulty, if I had a representation to make, in finding a man ready and willing in the House of Commons. I have not devoted my attention so much to the House of Lords; but in the House of Lords there are a few whom I can go to at any moment for a public favour, or anything of that kind, and in the House of Commons, at all times, I

Mr. A. McDonald.

29 April 1868.

can find any number of men to take up any grievances we have.

15,433. Then your experience, extending over many years in these respects, is this, that you have not only found no difficulty in obtaining members of either house, at any rate the House of Commons, to take up these questions for the benefit of the working class, but you have found an earnest desire and readiness to do so?—I have.

15,434. And the point you wish this Commission clearly to understand, as regards unions, is that your union generally, the miners' union, has not confined its operation to trade purposes, and to benefit purposes, to questions of strikes and wages; but that they have endeavoured by their actions to bring about an improved state of the law for the benefit of the mining working class, and that they have succeeded in so doing; and I suppose you wish the Commission from your evidence to draw this conclusion, that in these respects, at any rate, legislation has been facilitated and brought about, which otherwise might have been delayed, or possibly might never have occurred. Is that so?—Yes, I am satisfied of this, that even if without combinations of the workmen they might have been passed, yet it was on the representations of the workmen that the laws to destroy truck were passed, that it was on the representations of the workmen that the first Inspection Act was passed, that it was on the representations of the workmen that all the inspection Acts were passed, and that it is owing to the representations of the workmen that education is now a portion of the statutes of this country as far as children working in mines are concerned.

15,435. (*Mr. Mathews.*) I suppose then, from the expression of these opinions on your part, you think that the working classes are well represented in the present House of Commons?—That is not a part of the inquiry, with all deference to you. The people are represented fairly in the meantime, but it appears that the country does not think they are so well represented as they ought to have been.

15,436. But you state that in all cases of representations made on behalf of the men through the instrumentality of unions to members of the House of Commons, more especially to members like Lord Elcho, you have always found every possible desire to assist the working classes in their objects. I want to ask you whether you would not infer from that that the working classes are well represented in the House of Commons?—Some of the measures that have been asked have been very long delayed, and possibly, if there were a larger number of men in the House representing more varied interests than now, measures of that kind which we have been asking for would not have been so long delayed in the getting. But I must decline really at once to be questioned on those matters, I have peculiar views on them of my own.

15,437. (*Lord Elcho.*) Are there many measures for the improvement of the mining population which you still seek?—There are.

15,438. (*Chairman.*) The tendency of your remarks is that there has been a great deal of oppression, and that the efforts to get relief from that oppression have been opposed by the men of property; that is the line of your evidence is it not?—A certain class of the men of property. But the fact that these statutes have been passed proves that the bulk of the men of property are filled with feelings of humanity. The fact that the majority of the house have passed from time to time those statutes which I have referred to, which have in my mind brought very great benefit upon the working population, proves to me that the bulk of the capitalists are right at heart, and have at least the welfare of the working classes, and of the mining class to which I am referring now in view.

15,439. (*Lord Elcho.*) Take the case of the law to which you refer (that having come within my own notice), the law of master and servant; was there and real opposition raised to that change on the part of the master class?—Your Lordship is better able to know that than I am, I think there was opposition.

15,440. But not a really serious opposition was there?—There was opposition, and your Lordship knows best where it came from.

15,441. Was there any opposition to the principal of the change?—I think that there was this opposition, that there were gentlemen produced from the Mine-owners Association and from other associations of capitalists, who, as your lordship is aware as chairman of that Committee, decidedly opposed the change.

15,442. I am speaking of members of the House?—There were members of the House, a number of them, that opposed the change individually, but it proved that the great body of the House were in favour of it, for it passed without a division.

15,443. There was only one division practically in which there was a minority of seven who voted, not against the general principle but against a special part of the Bill?—That is so.

15,444. So that in that change there was a very great concurrence of opinion in favour of the change, in a house composed of all classes, masters, landowners, manufacturers, and others, that is so is it not?—That is so. In measures of humanity I have found very considerable delay, and perhaps it has been the benefit of our institutions, indeed I rather think it has been the benefit of our institutions that delays are made which prevent the passing of laws hastily where opposite interests are concerned. But in the end I have always found that the great bulk of the House of Commons and the fact of these changes proves that the great bulk of the House of Commons and of the House of Lords as well are in favour of everything that tends, as far as they see it, and as far as I see it as well, to the social improvement of the community and the particular class to which I belong.

15,445. You are aware that upon that very question Mr. Mathews himself, the chairman of that miners' association, was, in principle, favourable to the change?—I am aware of that; but I am aware also that members of the Committee belonging to the association were decidedly opposed to the change.

15,446. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is it not the fact that every member of the association, or every member of the Committee, cordially agreed that the objectionable principle of which the workmen complained should be removed from the Act, and that what difference of opinion there was arose simply from the adjustment of matters of detail?—I am scarcely in a position to answer the question for this reason, that I do not know the members of the Committee.

15,447. You alluded to them?—I do not know them all. I know a number of them. Mr. Liddell is a gentleman that took a most active opposition, and Mr. Jackson, the member for Derbyshire. Those two gentlemen took the most active part they could to have the law stand as it was.

15,448. Are you aware that both Mr. Liddell and Mr. Jackson concurred with me in opinion that the objectionable part of the law should be removed, and that they cordially co-operated with me in that view?—No; I am not aware of the fact; but that Mr. Liddell, as far as I know, continued to stand out by himself. He was rather like Robinson Crusoe in the matter, and I appeal to his Lordship if it is not so.

15,449. Are you aware that Mr. Liddell's standing out by himself, as you call it, simply arose from some matter of detail, and not of very great moment, and that he cordially co-operated in the principle of the Bill, because when you make wide and sweeping changes of this kind I must remind you that I am familiar with these matters?—I am not aware of what Mr. Liddell may have said to you, or to the association; but I am aware, personally, that Mr. Liddell expressed his opinion to me personally against any alteration, because I have talked again and again to Mr. Liddell on the matter.

15,450. (*Lord Elcho.*) My impression is that a decision took place upon this point, whether there should be a power left in the law of issuing a warrant of apprehension in the first instance? That is so, is it not?—Yes; that is so; but there was considerable

negotiation previous to that which I think your Lordship is quite aware of.

15,451. The principle of the Bill being that in no case should a breach of contract be treated as a criminal offence, and that therefore a summons should issue in the first instance in all cases?—That is so.

15,452. In fact, the principle of the bill, you may say, rested upon that point in a great measure, whether a warrant or a summons should issue in the first instance?—Yes, that is so.

15,453. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Was not the great principle of the bill this, that magistrates should not have the power of committing to prison by a criminal process a man charged with the civil offence of a breach of contract?—That is so.

15,454. Are you aware that the Mineowners Association and all the coal and ironmasters cordially co-operated in that principle, and were actively engaged in trying to carry it out?—I am not aware of that.

15,455. I think you should have been aware of it. When you make a sweeping charge against capitalists generally, as well as the Mining Association, that they are inimical to improvements for the benefit of the workmen, I think it right to call to your mind the fact that you know, or ought to know, that the members of the Mining Association, as well as the capitalites generally, cordially co-operated in removing the objectionable form of the law which gave the magistrates the power to commit to prison, and that all the difference of opinion between Mr. Liddell and Lord Elcho was simply as to minor matters of details, not of much importance?—I will not discuss the matter, but I will put the whole Bill in if it is desired (because I have kept a record of it) to show that it was not a matter of detail. This I wish to say, that I cannot allow you to draw the conclusion which you have drawn from the premises you have stated. I have not stated that the capitalists are so inimical to improvements. I stated that the House of Commons being composed of capitalists to a large extent, and men representing property, have passed such laws as the Factory Act, that they have extended the Factory Act to other trades, and have given the Mines Inspection Act and a number of Acts to which I have adverted. That proves to my mind beyond a doubt, and I wish to be understood as saying so, that the great bulk of the capitalists of this country are not inimical to improvements, but favourable to them.

15,456. Do you mean to exclude from that category those capitalists that happen to be engaged in employing the population either in the cotton or other trades?—No, I mean only to express my opinion regarding the combinations that I have seen actively at work. There are plenty of capitalists that have no part nor lot in those combinations, and consequently to involve them in the category would be very far wrong.

15,457. (*Chairman.*) Are you aware of the history of the course of legislation from 1832 to 1868, as affecting society in general and the working classes especially, given in Mr. Ludlow's book on the "Progress of the Working Classes?"—I have not read the book.

15,458. He has collected a series of statutes, the Post Office Savings Banks Act for instance, and a variety of other examples of beneficent legislation since 1832. There is a collection of the statutes of benefit to society, the working classes having their statutes beneficial to them, and the rest of society their statutes beneficial to them; and a great deal of that has been from the spontaneous efforts of men of enlightened beneficence in Parliament. You are aware that it has not all originated from the action of those who represent trades unions; they have co-operated with the rest of society. Would you let me look at it from that point of view?—Yes, I am quite aware of those social changes that you represent.

15,459. Each class of society according to the view of some has the means of being heard, and whenever there is a grievance there are men of enlightened beneficence ready to attend to it and remove it, and each class gets heard upon the matter which it understands best, and the working men get relief from their grievances in the same way?—I am quite aware of that, and further, individually I speak my mind on this question when I say that I believe no body of men in the world but our House of Commons, such as it was and is, have in the same period passed so many beneficent laws.

15,460. And each class is benefited according as it has suffered under a grievance which has been either palliated or removed?—I have known and taken part with the bleachers who came up here and represented their particular grievance, the children being kept on stoves and degrading hours. I have taken part with them and I have taken part in other matters suggested in connexion with that, and I only repeat, that I think no body of men in the world could have passed so many beneficent laws as what the House of Commons has done within the last 30 years.

15,461. I suppose we may say that we have advanced the interests of the working men? There are at the head of the unions men of great experience and strong sense and great determination, and they have done great service in bringing about useful measures. I suppose that that is a description which, as far as it goes, you and I should agree in. All that we differ in is whether the working men have been the sole authors of these beneficent measures?—You misapprehend me I do not say that they have been the sole authors. But for those kind friends in the House we could have done nothing. The bleachers came there, the friends of factory children came there, and they found a ready and willing ear; the miners came there, and they found a ready and willing ear. They may have been delayed; and in regard to those legislative measures where more than one is concerned it is probably better that they should not be hurried. But in those 30 years, I again repeat, I think that no body of men in the world have passed so many beneficent laws. I trust that I have entirely removed any impression from the mind of the Commission that I am come here to speak against the great body of legislators.

15,462. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You spoke of the bleachers. Was there much opposition from the master bleachers to this alteration of the law?—There was from some, but I am happy to say I knew a number of bleachers in the house who gave it their most cordial co-operation, Mr. Crum-Ewing and the late Mr. Crook. I know that of the class of bleachers a number of them were most anxious that those improved laws should pass.

15,463. I only want to know whether the bleachers co-operated with you, and those whom you accompanied on your representation, in endeavouring to ameliorate the law?—They have done so.

15,464. May we infer that it is your opinion that every other class in the House of Commons would be equally desirous with the master bleachers to ameliorate any law injuriously affecting those in their employ?—Well, I have not found that readiness in the Mineowners Association.

15,465. Then you make an exception on the part of the Miners' Association to the general desire on the part of the manufacturers in the House of Commons to do anything that benefits their workpeople?—I do; that is my distinct experience.

15,466. I suppose we may infer from that that the coal and iron masters are a distinct class, standing out, in respect of their want of consideration for their workpeople, from all the other classes of capitalists?—That question leads me to impute motives, and I wish to be distinctly kept clear of imputing motives. They may not view those social measures as we do, and they may be perfectly conscientious and believe they are right in opposing them, but do not take me to impute a motive where I do not wish to impute one.

15,467. But if they differ from you in opinion you will give them credit for doing what, according to their light, is the best thing for the men?—Clearly.

15,468. And the only difference is that you think one mode of going to work the best and they another?—It may be so.

Mr. A. McDonald.

29 April 1868.

15,469. Does not that take them out of the category of being a class that stand alone as compared with all other classes of capitalists in their want of consideration for the working classes?—It takes them out of the category of intention, but it places them in the category of act. Thus I find, as I have said, in the case of the bleachers, Mr. Crum-Ewing taking an active part in favour of the bleachers' petition; I find Mr. Crook in favour of the bleachers' petition, and I find Mr. Dalgleish (who was also interested in the matter) in favor of the bleachers' petition; but I have not found a single member as far as I know of the Mine-owners' Association who ever came to our side to advocate one of these changes. So that while I say, "Do not ask me to impute a motive," I say that I have found a readiness in other classes to assist by doing everything they could, but that in the mine-owners' case there is a difference.

15,470. Does not that amount only to a difference in the *modus operandi*; you may think your mode better than theirs, and they may think their mode better than yours?—I cannot think that, for this particular reason, had they made a single movement in any direction for public statutes, then I could conceive that it was a difference in the *modus operandi*, but when they took no movement or made no effort for the change in the direction in which we were asking it, and which the enlightened House of Commons found we were right in, but threw every obstacle in the way, then I am bound to conclude that their acts are at variance with those of the other classes I have referred to.

15,471. You will not say, I apprehend, that they took no trouble in the matter. I think you admitted in the former part of your evidence that they took a great deal of trouble in the matter, though the trouble was taken in opposition to your views?—Yes.

15,472. May not that arise simply from their thinking that your views were wrong and their views right?—We never had a view from the Mineowners Association at all until either the Government or the House began to act, and then their views came into existence. It was the action of the combinations upon the members of the House and the consequent action of the Government that brought out any views that they had.

15,473. I suppose they could not act at all until they saw by a Bill, or something else, what the views propounded were?—Of course they could not, but they might have done as Mr. Crum-Ewing, who negociated, and entered into the Bleacher's Bill question, and took part in it. If it had been desired by the mineowners that the hours of children should be reduced from 16 or 17 hours, as they are in some of the coal mines, we should have found that they were bringing in some Bill, but that is not the case.

15,474. (*Mr. Booth.*) Is it not ordinarily the case that amendments in the law are brought about by persons feeling the inconvenieee of the existing law?—That is so.

15,475. And is not that the case here?—That is so.

15,476. They would naturally not originate with the masters in that case?—It has been reported to the House again and again that those are evils, and instead of their co-operating as the bleachers did, we found that when the Government brought in a Bill, a portion of the Mine-owner's Association opposed it.

15,477. They did not agree in thinking the measure had been introduced in its best form?—They did not agree in thinking that it had beeen introduced in its best form but they did not bring in another Bill to put it in a worse form or in a better form, they did not put it in any form at all; all they contented themselves with the last 15 years was fighting the form that was brought in, no matter what that was.

15,478. (*Lord Elcho.*) You were going on, I think, to state other measures that you have in view which these combinations have to effect; what are they?—For one thing, more protection from danger in the mines. At the present time, and it has been so for the last 15 years and more, we have had more than 1,000 men destroyed in the mines annually. We ask more protection. We believe that if more stringent laws were passed, and there were more responsibility on the part of the owners, it would have the effect of checking that.

15,479. That would be an instance of the working of these combinations in these matters. A Committee has sat upon that very subject and has reported. That Committee, as has been stated by you, was to a certain extent brought about by the action of the union men upon members?—Exclusively so.

15,480. Since that Committee reported has there been any action on the part of the Legislature or Government, or the representatives of these unions, with a view to amending the law in accordance with the report of the Committee?—Since the Committee reported we have been representing the matter again and again, and colleagues of mine who are now here have been frequently representing it this session.

15,481. (*Chairman.*) According to my experience, the workman who ought to use safety fuses in blasting, and the safety lamp, often acts contrary to the law and the regulations, preferring to run the risk, and that is how accidents have often occurred?—I am perfectly aware of the recklessness of working miners, and I am perfectly aware of the vast amount of ignorance that exists among them. My anxiety, and that of the association of which I am at the head, and our earnest endeavour has been for 15 years to have education spread that these men may have more knowledge, that every child should be educated to read and write, and to know the laws of the bodies by which he is surrounded before ever he enters the mine. These are our views, and then at the present moment, when men are so reckless, we contend that were even the statutory laws that now exist carried out by the coal-owners and mine-owners of this country, there could not be one explosion for every hundred that occur. The statutory law is perfectly clear. It says, that the mine shall be diluted and rendered harmless of gases under ordinary circumstances, not only in the working places but in the travelling places. If that condition was adopted and the law carried out, an explosion in a coal mine would be utterly impossible, as impossible as it is here in this room.

15,482. What is it that you desire?—We want more efficient inspection; the law is a dead letter. Until the law is altered (or rather carried out, you cannot alter that law, it is perfect), that will be a chronic cause of strikes. The moment that a dispute enters, all the recollection of the destruction of life goes into the dispute and continues it, and it is a chronic cause of strikes, and the earnest desire of myself and the friends who have co-operated with me in Yorkshire, in Lancashire, in Northumberland, and all over the country, has been for 15 years to get, among other causes, that chronic cause of strikes removed. And we believe, I at least believe, that of those strikes which are so frequent there would not happen one for every 20, if that were removed.

15,483. If you get the people to co-operate with the law, then no law is a dead letter; but if they will not, it must be so, must it not?—To what people do you refer, may I ask?

15,484. If you say that there ought to be ventilation in the mine, does it not rest with the miners themselves to give information of any want of it?—I want the present law carried out.

15,485. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is it not optional with the miners to go into the pit?—Certainly, but it is also optional with them to starve if they do not go into the mines.

15,486. (*Chairman.*) You think that some interference is needed, so that that statute should be made effective?—If that statute had been effective we could not have have had the Lundhill accident. If the gas had been diluted and rendered harmless we could not have had the Oaks accident. If the gas had been diluted and rendered harmless we could not have had the Talk o'the Hill, the Risca, or the Cymouner

accident. In those collieries altogether more than 5,000 lives have been sacrificed, and if the statutory law that has been in existence since 1850 had been carried out, it was utterly impossible for them to occur, no recklessness of the workmen could have effected it.

15,487. (*Lord Elcho.*) I gather from you and others that the way in which you think that the statute law for the protection of life passed in 1850 could be made operative, it being now inoperative, is by increased inspection, that is to say, by appointing a greater number of pit inspectors and sub-inspectors?—Yes.

15,488. I have further heard that you do not wish or anticipate that these sub-inspectors should in any way interfere with the working of the mine at all; am I right in thinking that?—Yes.

15,489. But that they should at all times have full power and right of entry, and that if they saw anything at all suspicious in the ventilation, they should report that to the inspector who takes action himself, or reports to the Secretary of State; that is what you propose is it not?—That is our view, and I will only say this further in the matter of inspection with regard to ventilation that it does appear hard to us, a class, that every now and then for the interest of individual coal-owners or through their neglect several hundreds should be hurried into eternity, and their wives and families left destitute.

15,490. Is there any other point that you look to in Legislature to be obtained from the action of your union upon the Legislature?—Within my own knowledge for 25 years (and I find it in the records in the various blue books that I have already adverted to) we have complained bitterly, and to tell the number of strikes that have occurred through this cause which I am about to advert to, I believe would be utterly impossible. I allude to the want of a uniform system of weighing in Lancashire; and I would just state that I firmly believe that but for the heart-burning it has caused, and but for the continual source of annoyance and grievance it has been in that county to my personal knowledge for the last 10 years, very possibly this unfortunate strike would not have occurred that is now going on. But the state of the matter is this, that it is a chronic source of evil is in that county that the men's coals are condemned. It has been so in Scotland also.

15,491. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Are you speaking of Yorkshire now?—I am speaking of Lancashire at the present moment. The men's coals are condemned, when they come up at night they find a large quantity of their coal away for some whim of the employer. What we have been asking for (and we got a portion of what we asked in the statute of 1860, which was bitterly opposed), is a clause in the statute that there should be weights, and that it should be done, by weighing or measuring; that is the law but that is evaded, and at the present moment there is as the result a rankling feeling in nearly every mining district in the United Kingdom. And I tell the gentlemen around this table that nothing will prevent outbreaks, and nothing can prevent outbreaks while this chronic evil is existing, and what we want is that the Legislature shall make it a law, common to us as to other people, that when we are selling our commodity it shall be weighed atrly by the standardhi weights of the country, and tna the inspector of weights shall visit us as he does afy other portion of the community.

15,492. (*Lord Elcho.*) That is the recommendation of the Committee of the House of Commons is it not?—That is the recommendation of the Committee now.

15,493. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is it not provided for already?—I drew out the clause in 1860, but it was mutilated. It permits the men to put on a justice-man, but the employer has the power of turning him off. And, therefore, the expedient adopted is this, to turn off the man the next day, and they keep turning the man off. And then they can weigh or measure under that statute, and of course those that do not want to measure have no standard, there are no standards ordered, and no inspection of weights. What we contend is that we sell our commodity, and in selling our commodity we are entitled to have the result of our labour fairly weighed in the same way as when the employer sells to his customer.

15,494. (*Chairman.*) I understand that that is so by the statute?—It is not so; clause 29 says, that "where the persons employed in any coal mine, "colliery, or ironstone mine are paid by the weight, "measure, or gauge of the coal, ironstone, or other "material gotten by them, such coal, ironstone, or "other material shall be truly weighed, measured, or "gauged accordingly." Well we have applied again and again, I have applied in every county of Scotland for inspectors of weights, but we have no power, there is no standard by which they are truly weighed. It has been interpreted again and again in the courts that "truly weighed" means according to the contract, and they may exact 45 cwt. for a ton, or 100 cwt. for a ton, or anything else they like. That is the reading of the courts, and unfortunately that is very largely the practice of some of the employers. They are not all alike.

15,495 (*Earl of Lichfield.*) What was the clause that you drew yourself?—I have not it here, but I will put it in.

15,496. Was it in the original bill?—It was a clause brought in by Mr. Ayrton, it is in the records of the house.

15,497. Would the clause that you proposed at that time be satisfactory to you now?—Yes, the same clause would be satisfactory now.

15,498. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is it not competent to the workmen at these places where you say that they are not fairly dealt with to refuse to work with these masters?—Yes, and that is a strike.

15,499. So that if they decline to exercise the discretion that they are invested with you must not blame the masters for that?—No, but it is not competent for a grocer to have illegal weights, or for a tailor or clothier to have illegal measures. The grocer cannot ask a contract with illegal weights, nor the tailor with illegal measures.

15,500. (*Lord Elcho.*) That argument of the man leaving the employment because the clause is imperfect would apply equally if there were no clause at all would it not?—Yes.

15,501. You contend that for some cause or other the law is a dead letter in that respect?—Yes.

15,502. What is the next point in which you desire improvement?—Another cause of complaint among the miners is the truck system. In Scotland it is most obnoxious, in Wales it is also very obnoxious, and in Staffordshire it is obnoxious.

15,503. (*Chairman.*) Does our law as to truck extend to Scotland?—Yes, the law extends to Scotland, but the practices are obnoxious, and there are a number of things practised in addition to selling goods which are very obnoxious to the men, and in which the law evaded by the masters. I will refer to one which is a chronic matter of complaint. A colliery owner appoints a medical adviser; he makes the men pay for that medical adviser; and they have either to go to that man or to employ another. The men do not object to a law to require them to pay for a medical adviser, but they do object to the mode of appointment of that man who is perhaps the most sacred that enters a family in his character and his position.

15,504. Is he appointed by the votes of all the subscribers?—He is not. He is appointed very often for political purposes and other purposes, and the result is that there is distrust felt. I never found among the miners in Scotland or in England—and my friends here I believe will say the same—that there was any disposition to object to that the law requiring them to have a medical adviser, for they look upon it as a benefit; but they do think that they should have the power of appointing him.

15,505. The real grievance that you complain of there, is, that the employer, or somebody for him, appoints the medical adviser, and you think that all

Mr. A. McDonald.

29 April 1868.

the persons who contribute ought to vote?—Certainly. I contend—and not only I, but the men that I represent, contend—that if in a contract the mine owner has a right to make it a condition with the men that he shall appoint their medical adviser, the men on the other hand have just an equal right to say, We will not work till we appoint your medical adviser.

15,506. (*Lord Elcho.*) There is nothing to prevent their doing that now, is there?—There is nothing to prevent their doing it; but I think that if they were to take such a step there is not a man in the country but would call out with the loudest voice that it was impertinence, insolence, and actual outrage upon the liberty of the subject.

15,507. Do you mean that you want the Legislature to say in a matter of contract on such question as that who should be the medical adviser, that the master can only appoint a man one who is recommended by the men?—We say so. We think that no man should have the power of advising the medical adviser to our families.

15,508. The object of the master I suppose in appointing the doctor at all is to cure the men. He is desirous to get the best man he can; and probably he is able to get more information as to who is the fittest man than is open to the men themselves?—It is possibly so; but perhaps you would be surprised were I to tell you that it is a fact within my knowledge that there is traffic made in the medical men.

15,509. Do you mean by that that the medical man pays so much to the employer?—That the employer draws so much from the men, and pays the medical man so much less.

15,510. Can you put in any proof of that?—I have it from the authority of medical gentlemen themselves.

15,511. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Do your observations apply generally, or do you mean to confine them to particular collieries that have come under your observation?—My observations apply generally to Scotland and to England, where medical men are appointed by the employers, and they charge the men. As a matter of course, where a medical man (as happens in some cases in Northumberland and Durham) is appointed, but no charge is made, then the workman is at perfect liberty to call him in or not. But when a charge is made the case is different. Take for instance the Irish population, which forms a very large portion of the mining population of Scotland; they have very strong predilections for their own medical adviser.

15,512. (*Lord Elcho.*) Taking the 30 years since you have had experience of the mines of Scotland, what do you suppose was the proportion of Irish at the beginning of that time to what it is now?—It is 100 per cent. more I should think now.

15,513. Should you be surprised to hear that in a small town in the east of Scotland, of 4,000 inhabitants, where 30 years ago there was one Irish family, there are now 700 Irish people?—Not at all. I was saying that they have very strong views in favour of their own medical adviser, and the result is that among them that matter is a continual source of annoyance and grievance, and until it is removed I have no hesitation in saying that though it is one of those things that may be quite a trifle, yet it is a trifle so large that it will irritate their minds and keep them in a continual state of annoyance.

15,514. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) What legislation do you propose?—That the men should appoint their own medical adviser.

15,515. (*Lord Elcho.*) We have had the points of weighing and doctors. Is there anything else that you think needs legislative action?—Yes, there is poundage.

15,516. What is that?—That is a particular fault connected with Scotland (I am not aware that it extends to England); that is to say, they give men advances every day, and for which they charge a shilling a pound; and by giving a man an advance once a week, that is 250 per cent. that they charge for their money.

15,517. They charge a shilling per pound for paying wages to their men sooner than they otherwise would be paid. Is that what you mean?—They pay every fortnight. Supposing that I go this Saturday and lift 10*s.* from the employers, I pay for that 10*s.*, 6*d.*, or if it is a pound, 1*s.*

15,518. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Are you aware whether there is any Scotch law against a man going before the next magistrate and obtaining the whole of the money due to him without any reduction at all?—I am aware of the very opposite. I have been interested in cases where it was tried, and because it was a contract he could not recover.

15,519. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) I do not understand under what circumstance the advance is made. Is it by borrowing the money from the master?—No, not borrowing the money, but getting the money that the man has earned.

15,520. Supposing the usual time for payment is once a fortnight, he goes once a week, you mean?—Once a week.

15,521. And then he must accept the payment upon the master's terms?—Just so, and that is a bitter cause of complaint among the miners. My own impression is that these advances tend to improvidence and gross immorality, and that these advances should if possible be stopped by legislative enactment, on the ground of the practice tending to immorality and the destruction of the proper social habits of the people.

15,522. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Do you think that it is possible for any legislation to step in between the master and man and legislate on all these points. Are they not rather matters for determination between the masters and workmen themselves. If the masters are not satisfied they can discharge the workmen and employ others, and the workmen if they are not satisfied can leave the masters. Is it not a matter of social regulation rather than of legislative enactment, and how would you propose to meet it?—I was not speaking of the matter as at all affecting me. The miners have proposed that the payments should be made weekly, and have prayed in tens of thousands that they should, and in paying weekly we believe that no such system of advances will be possible. As far as I know, and as far as I am acquainted with them, all industrious intelligent miners look upon these advanced payments as a great evil, and if they were paid regularly it would get rid of this evil.

15,523. Do you represent to the Commission that it is a common practice in Scotland that if a man contracts to be paid at the end of a week he is charged with poundage?—I represented that in a large number of cases where there has been truck this is practised.

15,524. That does not apply to England?—No, it does not apply to England.

15,525. The Scotch practice and the English practice vary in that respect therefor?—Yes.

15,526. Is that a practice of large collieries and ironworks in Scotland?—With one exception the large ones have all truck shops, and one firm have 11 truck shops.

15,527. Are you aware that there have been four Acts of Parliament passed for the suppression of truck, and that the Legislature has gone as far as it can do to suppress it directly or indirectly?—I am aware that there have been four Acts of Parliament passed in reference to truck, but not that the Legislature has gone as far as it can go.

15,528. Was not there a committee since the passing of the last truck Act, and is it not the case that they declined to bring in a bill because they could not go further than the Legislature had already gone?—Yes. And I am aware, further, that the committee of last session recommended that a more stringent law should be passed.

15,529. Can you point out what it should be?—Yes. I submitted to Mr. Ayrton a copy of a bill which I can put in here, and which Mr. Ayrton took time to consider, but when the Committee was granted it was deferred till the report should be made, and now that Committee have reported favourably to the men's claim, and I am happy to say that that report

in respect to that point was cordially concurred in by a large portion of the mine-owners who were on that Committee.

15,530. What is the principle that they would distinctly recommend for the further suppression of truck?—They have not recommended a principle, but that further steps should be taken in reference to Scotland to make a more stringent Act.

15,531. But the law of England on this matter applies equally to Scotland, does it not?—Yes.

15,532. (*Chairman.*) What would you propose?—That in the case of any man having a truck shop directly or indirectly it should be held as a felony.

15,533. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Are not those the words of the Act of Parliament now, bating the felony, that they shall not directly or indirectly have a truck shop?—No, it says that they shall not directly or indirectly compel men to go there.

15,534. Is it not a fact that all the men are paid in money in Scotland?—There are instances where they are not paid in money, but where they are paid by loans.

15,535. If they are not paid in money, can they not go before the next magistrate and claim their wages?—Certainly they can.

15,536. What other steps can you devise in law, in order to prevent people paying in truck, when you say that the men can go before the next magistrate?—I have stated that I should make the law that it should be a felony for an employer either directly or indirectly to hold a truck shop, and I look upon the truck shop not only as being a serious evil to the workmen, but also to the mine-owners, who wish to deal justly with their workmen and honestly with the public.

15,537. (*Mr. Booth.*) Is there any other amendment of the law relating to the truck system that you recommend?—That is one, and all the other matters detail from that.

15,538. That is, then, the principle of the amendments?—That is the principle. I contend, and those that sympathize with me contend, that it is a direct injury to the owner as well as to the workman. Take for instance the case that I have given you, where there are 11 truck shops. That employer can produce his labour cheaper and out sell the men that have no truck shop.

15,539. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Do you mean that those 11 truck shops all belong to the employer?—I do.

15,540. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Does the employer pay in truck then?—No, he pays in money, but the arrangement is such that all the money has to be spent there.

15,541. (*Lord Elcho.*) How is that done?—The pay is in money; you are paid monthly, and you get advances every day. It engenders a habit of improvidence, and the result is that a large number of the men go to the pay office in this way and receive the money. If they go away with the money there is a book which passes between the pay clerk and the storekeeper, and if the storekeeper's book does not tally with the money advanced to a certain party to-night, then if you go back to-morrow you do not get any money. And then in a large number of instances there are day warnings; if the storekeeper communicates with the overman, and the man is cautioned that he has taken away money, if he takes it away again he knows the consequence; and the result is, it being a daily or hourly warning, or no notice but that of the moment, the man is fettered.

15,542. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) That is what you call carrying on the practice of truck indirectly?—Indirectly.

15,543. Does not the present law meet the case of carrying on that practice indirectly?—No. I think that you will find them admitting, indeed stating before the Committee, many thousand pounds directly made out of the truck shops where they have 11 of them. And they have 11 public houses—there may be one or two less now, but that was so a short time ago; and singularly the spiritual interests are well attended to, because there is a missionary appointed to every public house in this work.

15,544. Surely the present law meets the case of carrying on the practice that you describe, does it not?—No, we have tried it; we have come to the House of Lords in the matter.

15,545. (*Lord Elcho.*) Have you anything else to suggest for legislative enactment?—No. Those are the principal points on that question.

15,546. You have stated the social objects, and the legislation which in your opinion have been brought about by the union, and you have told us that you have nothing else to propose beyond legislation as to inspection, truck, weighing, doctors, and poundage?—Those are the principal points.

15,547. Do you wish to bring any others before us?—No, I do not wish to bring any others before the Commission.

15,548. Unions have other objects; they have benefit purposes, have they not, and trade purposes?—Yes, in England they have all benefit purposes; in Scotland they have not benefit purposes, but exclusively trade purposes.

15,549. We have not got to that yet; you have never yet explained to us the constitution of your union; how many mining unions are there in Scotland?—There is a large number of mining unions in Scotland; each district governs its own affairs.

15,550. Is each district entirely separate from the other districts in the government of its affairs?—In its internal affairs each district has no connexion with the others.

15,551. That is locally?—That is so also in England.

15,552. What is the connexion which you represent here with these other local associations?—The Miners' National Association, that I represent here, is composed of distinct branches, each possessing a purely local government. Its objects are set forth in this paper in my hand. There has been a slight amendment of the rules, of which I have neglected to bring a copy with me, but wich I will put in.

15,553. When did this association originate?—In 1863.

15,554. There was no general union till then?—No general union; all those measures which arose from the action of the unions arose from communication without a general union. The various local associations when there was any matter affecting the law or anything of that kind, petitioned and sent deputies here.

15,555. You being then what you call a miner's agent?—Yes.

15,556. Were you appointed as their agent by all these separate unions in England and Scotland, or as the agent of any particular union?—I was appointed by the National Association.

15,557. But you were an agent before there was a National Association?—Yes, then I was agent for Scotland alone.

15,558. Appointed by the different unions in Scotland?—Yes.

15,559. And paid by them?—Yes, and paid by them.

15,560. Were there any other general officers and paid agents besides yourself?—None.

15,561. How were you appointed at that time?—By the vote of all the members over the entire district.

15,562. The votes were added up and resulted in your appointment?—Yes; I entered upon this and devoted myself entirely to this, at first I was requested to take the post. I have omitted to state that after I left college I became a teacher for some years, and during that time I was requested by the miners to take a part with them, and from that I became their acting agent in all these matters to which I have referred.

15,563. When you were the agent, how were you paid, by a rate levied upon the union?—Yes, by a rate levied upon the union.

15,564. In 1863 you became president of the Miners' Association, you say?—Yes.

15,565. How was that association brought about?

Mr. A. McDonald.

29 April 1868.

—It was as I have explained, by those delegates meeting.

15,566. Was it your own proposal that there should be a central association?—No, it was not my own proposal.

15,567. Who proposed it?—Communication took place between a number of districts; and it was the result of an intercommunication between a large number of districts in Wales, in Lancashire, in Yorkshire, and all over Staffordshire, and elsewhere.

15,568. And where was the meeting held?—At Leeds.

15,569. And there representatives appeared from the different districts?—Yes.

15,570. Do you know how many unions sent representatives there?—There is a book before you containing the history of the thing.

15,571. Does that general union embrace all the unions in Great Britain?—No, there are unions which do not amalgamate with that union; we believe so, but I am not quite sure.

15,572. Were you at that first meeting appointed president?—I was.

15,573. Were there other officers appointed then?—There were.

15,574. A secretary?—A secretary and a treasurer.

15,575. Those are salaried officers?—The secretary and the treasurer are.

15,576. Have you any objection to state what your salary is at present?—I have no salary expressly.

15,577. Have you any payment?—When I am at work such as this I have 11*s.* a day; that is what I ask. It is only when in London when I have that; when in the provinces I receive 8*s.* 3*d.* a day for my work.

15,578. And travelling expenses?—And travelling expenses.

15,579. Then what do you consider "work like this?" do you mean that you are only paid when before committees, or when you come to London, at that rate of 11*s.*?—Only then.

15,580. If you go down from where you reside to any local district for any purpose what are you paid then?—I am paid then at the rate of 8*s.* 3*d.* a day if I charge it, but sometimes I go, and do not charge it.

15,581. Then I presume that you have other means of living besides this 11*s.* when you are on business such as this?—Yes, I should rather think so, when I leave a couple of horses at home and a man to attend them, and sundry things of that kind. It is not 11*s.* a day that would cover that.

15,582. What other business have you?—I am not engaged in any business actually. I am now and then engaged in a business in which I have accumulated a little money, and I have chosen to devote myself to this matter from having felt the wrongs that the class which I have sprung from are, as I believe, enduring. I may state this, so far as Scotland is concerned, just in a word, during the last seven years I have kept a particular record of all the monies that I have received for travelling expenses and everything else from the miners of Scotland, and I find that during that time I have received from them 994*l.*, and I find that in travelling, postage, and so on, I had expended 1,232*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* leaving me less than I received for all my labour 238*l.* 9*s.* 0*d.* I have attended during that time 1,600 meetings, advocating reduction of the hours of labour for the children, and the various other matters that I have now brought under your notice. I have written over 17,000 letters, and travelled over 230,000 miles. It has been asserted that I am one of those interested men who fatten on the miner's poverty and misery, and I assert that I have given to you a correct statement of every sixpence that I have received. It is simply because I believe that the work is a necessity that I have undertaken it. Seven years ago they proposed to give me 365*l.* a year. The proposition was very well intended. It so happened that I had to pay the Government income tax on the belief of 100*l.* of it, but I have never received the 100*l.* I state that I have expended out of my own pocket 238*l.* more than I have received for travelling expenses alone. All my labour has been for nothing; but I have been more than amply rewarded in the change made in the condition of those people whom I am interested in.

15,583. What is the number of the members in your general union at the present moment?—About 35,000.

15,584. And what are the national association objects?—First, "Legislation for the better manage- "ment of mines to protect the miner's lives, promote "their health, and to increase among them a higher "moral status in society. Second, to obtain com- "pensation for accidents where the employers are "liable. Third, to assist all districts and members "when unjustly dealt with by their employers in "point of law or legal rights." There has been a slight modification in those rules, and I will put that in; but I am giving now the general scope. "Fifth, "to make the hours of labour not more than eight in "the 24 for all miners in the United Kingdom. "Sixth, to assist all its members when permanently "injured in the mines, by which they are rendered "unable to follow any kind of employment. Seventh, "a weekly allowance permanently to aged and infirm "members" (I believe that has been removed); and "Eighth, to establish a national agency to carry out "the principles of the association." That has been removed also.

15,585. How are the funds raised?—By a penny per member per month.

15,586. That is to say, a penny from all members of this association?—From all members of this association.

15,587. Are all who are members of this association members of local associations, or are there any persons members of your association but not belonging to a local association?—Very few. I do not remember any at the moment. In regard to strikes, I had better explain in reference to this paper from which I have been reading that this association has nothing to do with strikes. There was a rule that if the members agreed to a levy to support a lock-out, after the opinion had been given, the executive would have power to ask that levy, but that, I think, has been removed also.

15,588. Then has there been any levy on the part of the association for strikes or lock-outs?—There were levies for lock-outs.

15,589. You say that that has been given up; has the rule been rescinded, or has there been no occasion for a levy?—The rule has been rescinded.

15,590. Though you say that that rule has been rescinded, I suppose that you do, as president of the association, take an interest in these questions of strike, and that where a local association is on strike, or a strike is likely to take place, you are in communication with that association on these matters?—The local association can communicate with the branch associations of which the national association is composed, and they can make levies to aid and support them as they like.

15,591. But is not your association referred to in questions of strike before the strike by the local associations?—No.

15,592. Have you yourself, as president, never been called to take any action one way or the other in a question of strike by a local association, or have you, as president, never volunteered to take action in these questions of local strikes?—In the year 1864 there was a very large number of members, very large branches, in Staffordshire. When they proposed to strike then, one of their delegates was with me in London here at the time. I advised him to return to Staffordshire at once, telling them that my opinion was that it was madness to strike at the moment.

15,593. On what was that opinion formed? When you say "madness," what do you mean? Do you mean that they had no justification for a strike, or that, if they strike, from the circumstances of the

trade, or what you knew of the masters, there was no chance of success?—I felt confident that there was no chance of success.

15,594. On what ground?—On the ground that there was at the time an accumulation, an over production in the Staffordshire districts, which made it to the advantage of some of the employers that the strike should have taken place, and I considered it madness on the part of the men to strike at that moment, and I had very serious doubts, though I have no data, whether the strike was not promoted by some of the owners.

15,595. (*Mr. Booth.*) What was the strike for?—Against a reduction of wages. As I say, I have no data, but I have very serious doubts whether the strike was not promoted by some of the owners in Staffordshire, that is not a matter to startle, it is a fact. I refer you to the inquiry into the combination laws in 1835. I could mention to you many instances, but I only refer you to that. You will find it there stated that strikes have been promoted by employers.

15,596. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) How was it brought about in the case of the Staffordshire strike of 1864?—The employers had accumulated stock.

15,597. The strike was for a reduction of wages?—Yes. If an employer has accumulated a large quantity of material, whether iron or coal, it is abundantly proved from the Report of 1835, that these employers have promoted strikes among the workmen, because if that material was raised at a cheap rate the price was enhanced to that extent and it paid the owner a comfortable sum for letting the work stand and promoting a strike.

15,598. You say "promoting a strike," I want to know how the master set about promoting this strike. As I understand, he offers reduced wages. Do you call that "promoting a strike?"—No, I do not call that promoting a strike; but he may pay for a man or men to inflame the minds of the men to resist the reduction.

15,599. (*Lord Elcho.*) Can you say that that was done?—I know this, that in 1864, on the occasion that I refer to, I gave my advice strenuously against the miners taking that course, as I looked upon it as madness. I do not say that it was done by the masters; but it looked to me extremely like it. That men had been guided with a full market and such material in hand to strike seems impossible.

15,600. Do you believe that in their strikes the men always consider the state of the market and consider whether the state of the market will justify their raising their terms, or whether the prices and the state of the market will justify them in resisting a fall?—No, I do not believe it is the case, and it is unfortunately the want of that true knowledge among the workmen that leads in many instances to those strikes.

15,601. You admit that, from your knowledge of workmen in strikes, as a rule that is not attended to?—I admit that it is frequently so; but I have known a great many more strikes successful than unsuccessful. I can remember the strike of 1837, that strike was manifestly wrong.

15,602. (*Mr. Booth.*) What was that strike for?—It was against a reduction of wages.

15,603. (*Lord Elcho.*) Was that a general strike?—It was a general strike in Scotland. The trade at that time was an opening trade. The result of the opening of iron trade was that a great many flew into the trade, a great many hands came upon the trade, and an over production took place. The over production led the employers rightly to demand a reduction of wages. The men resisted and they were unsuccessful. The same thing occurred in 1842. There was again a strike and it was against over production. The same thing occurred in 1856. We had a very large strike in 1856, and the men again were wrong. There was a very great expansion took place in trade from 1850 to 1856. The consequence was that a large number entered into the coal trade and a large number more took place in the iron trade. The prices remained buoyant until purchasers discovered that there was stock accumulating. The moment that took place as in every other thing purchasers refused to buy. The workmen thought that everything was right and they consequently went out and were defeated. These are the great strikes I remember in which it was a strike against over production.

15,604. All those three great strikes were cases in which the strike was unsuccessful?—Unsuccessful, and they were bound to be unsuccessful from the very nature of the circumstances. In reference to that I have to say that I am firmly convinced that even had those strikes not occurred, there would have been the same amount of want of work extended over a greater period, because in these periods there was over production, and the over production was bound to be removed either by a strike, or by the men getting only two or three days work in the week. And it is the want of the thorough knowledge of those laws among the men that leads to these collisions. I may be wrong in giving an opinion, it may be thought that I am again speaking wrong of the class, but I have a very strong conviction and believe firmly that if employers would take another course than the course that they have been in the habit of pursuing in these matters, strikes would be got rid of to a very great extent altogether.

15,605. What is the course which you think they ought to take?—I will state it.

15,606. (*Chairman.*) If all men were wise and good we should get on very amicably you think perhaps?—That is possible. But I will state what would have a tendency to soften strikes to a large extent. If employers instead of putting up a notice to this effect, "You shall receive a reduction on a certain date," would call a portion of their intelligent men to their office and point out that a change in the state of trade renders it necessary for them to make a reduction, and let the men think over it for a day or two and communicate with the rest of the men, I am satisfied that if that course were pursued in 99 cases out of 100 all those terrific things would be got over.

15,607. (*Lord Elcho.*) You advocate then something like what is called conciliation meetings of masters and men to talk over these subjects?—Yes.

15,608. (*Mr. Mathews.*) When you speak of a meeting between workmen and their employers, do you mean that the employers should have the intervention of the union delegates?—No, I am not speaking of the intervention of the union delegates at all, I am speaking of their own workmen.

15,609. Are you aware that there is any disinclination on the part of masters to have an interview with their own workmen?—I am aware of this, that it is not followed. If the course which I have indicated were followed, I believe it would have a tendency to get rid of the evil.

15,610. I am speaking of the masters, and I mean to state to you that the general course that the masters adopt is to try to get an interview with their men, that the intervention of the union prevents their having it, and they decline to have an interview with the union officers, and that thereupon the union officers advise the men to strike?—Then as a party who has for a long time taken a great part in connexion with the matter in Scotland at least, I assert without fear of contradiction, that union men or union delegates never attempt to interfere between employers and their workmen.

15,611. You confine your observation now to Scottand, and not to England?—That is what I state. There have been cases where a dispute has taken place.

15,612. (*Chairman.*) You have had nothing to do with strikes, I understand you?—Although I never had strike money, or things of that kind, and keep no accounts, I know what were the causes of the strikes, and I know everything about them, and that is the course that I think ought to be adopted.

15,613. Perhaps you have some idea, as some others have, that the workmen would like to see the books of the masters?—No.

Mr. A. McDonald.

29 April 1868.

15,614. If the masters would meet and make a declaration of the state of affairs, and appeal to the reason of the workmen, the workmen would agree, you think?—A very remarkable instance of that has occurred at the present time, in so far as the South Yorkshire district is concerned. The employers have come to the men and asked them for a 5 per cent. reduction. They stated that it is necessary; no notice has been given whatever, and there is a drop or a warning for a drop, and as I understand the men have on representation in that way accepted the drop without a word, and are going on voluntarily on the employers terms with a reduction.

15,615. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Let me take you into Lancashire. It is perfectly notorious that the price of coal is reduced in Lancashire 2*s.* a ton. That is known to all the world, and must be known to all the colliers, being as perfectly a matter of notoriety as that the sun shines. With that fact before them, what makes them resist the reduction of 15 per cent.?—When you say that it is well known to all the world and to the colliers, I have heard the colliers state that it was not known to them, and had the course that I have stated been adopted, it would have become known to them. The price of coal locally has as I understand suffered no such reduction. The collier does not carry his mind to London, and he does not carry his mind to Liverpool, but he inquiries merely in the local district around him, and when he finds that there is no material change in the price, then he comes to the conclusion that this is a trick and only a device for the purpose of getting him reduced.

15,616. But when all the world knows perfectly well that a reduction has taken place, and it is a matter of perfect notoriety, surely the collier cannot be ignorant of what all the world knows. Any person who reads the public papers can satisfy himself of it as well as the masters can. And with that fact before him, what makes the colliers resist the reduction of wages, and what makes him guilty of riots when the fact of the reduction of coals is before him?—It so happens that all the world does not know. In this very matter I found in the Daily News a few days ago a correspondent stating that it was fearful that there should be these riots and disputes, looking at them from his point of view in a public spirit, because there had been no change in the price of coal. Now if all the world had known it, a gentleman would not have come forward in a London newspaper and stated that there was no change. I found in America when I was there a short time ago a very excellent principle adopted and it is this. The employer causes his workmen to appoint three men who shall meet with him. At any moment that he wishes a change he shall send for these men and at any moment when the workmen wish a change these men shall wait upon him always after the hours of labour, or such other time as they may arrange mutually on any dispute occurring.

15,617. (*Lord Elcho.*) On questions of wages?—On all matters.

15,618. Including wages?—Including wages. The result is this, that these three men are not, as in too many instances, turned off for being meddlesome or troublesome. They are respected, treated by the employer as representing his workmen, and when he has a change to tender, he says, "I give you a week or "five days, or three days, or a fortnight," or whatever the exigencies of the case may require, and by that time the men are canvassed fully over, and either they come to agree or they come to reject. But I have been told by large employers that in 99 cases out of the 100 they are able to agree.

15,619. And you believe that good would come by such a system being introduced into this country?—I feel convinced of this, that if the men were raised to that standard of being instructed of the necessity of a change instead of being ordered to submit to a change without any instruction whatever, those disputes would not occur to the extent that they do.

15,620. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Had you anything to do with the Wigan strike?—I had this to do with the Wigan strike: previous to the time that the strike took place I was here, and I talked over the matter with Mr. Pickard, that a strike in the circumstance was wrong. I was invited to go down. I went down and there were delegates present from all their lodges. I found that every man connected with that association had come by universal suffrage to vote for a strike. At that meeting I stated what my views of the country were, that the state of the trade in Wales, (I happen to take a little interest in these matters,) the state of the trade in Staffordshire, and the state of the trade in Scotland was such that the result, if they struck, would be inevitably that it would lead to disaster; that it would lead to the importation of men from other districts; that it would lead to a collision; and that it would lead to the importation of coal into the district, as all the circumstances were adverse; so that they should avoid a strike if possible.

15,621. In short you advised the men against the strike?—The men had come to declare a strike on that day. I asked the men to return to their lodges (and I was supported by Mr. Pickard), and they came back with a proposition to accept, with a provision, a drop of 10 per cent. instead of 15 per cent.

15,622. What advice did you give them?—To accept the reduction of 10 per cent., and again to go to their employers to ask them to receive that, to take only that.

15,623. Then you advised them not to accept the reduction of 15 per cent.?—Let me explain. I further advised them, in the event of the employers refusing to take anything less than 15 per cent. to ask the employers to submit the 5 per cent. to arbitration between any two men; and in the meantime they were to go on and work as if there was no dispute in existence.

15,624. At what rate?—To go on and work as if there were no dispute in existence, and if the employers would come to it, allow the 5 per cent. to be a matter of arbitration.

15,625. Then the masters had first to agree to allow them to go in at the 10 per cent. reduction?—Yes, the masters to allow them to agree to go in at the 10 per cent. reduction.

15,626. According to your advice it would have been necessary for the masters to allow the men to go in at the 10 although they had said 15 per cent.?—And a very large number of the masters agreed to that; 24 agreed to it.

15,627. (*Lord Elcho.*) Out of how many?—30 or 40 altogether.

15,628. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Did the men go in in the case of those 24 employers?—Yes.

15,629. (*Lord Elcho.*) And was the five per cent. submitted to arbitration by those employers?—No; it never was asked.

15,630. Then have those men worked ever since?—Yes, since then.

15,631. Then the outbreak has not been in those pits?—No; but where the men played off.

15,632. You said that you recommended 10 per cent. when the masters proposed 15; why did you object to the reduction of 15 per cent.?—I thought it very strong. The men had only been advanced at the rate of 10 per cent. from time to time, and I thought it very strong to reduce them 15 per cent., and I believe this confidently, that if the masters had come and asked 10 per cent., or 5 per cent. from time to time, in three different sums, or two different sums, the men would never have hesitated at that, and I took that course of advising the men in order that the men might be appeased to prevent, if possible, their coming out. I believed that if they went on to work at the 10 per cent., submitting the five per cent. to arbitration, the men would resume work, and there would be no strike at all.

15,633. From your knowledge of the state of trade, irrespective of whether rises had been by 10 per cent. or reductions had been by 10 per cent. previously, did you consider that a fall of 15 per cent. in wages was

not justified by the state of trade at that time?—I did consider that it was not justified.

15,634. Do you think so still?—I think so still as far as my information goes.

15,635. (*Mr. Mathews.*) If the fact is admitted that a reduction of 2*s.* a ton has occurred in the Wigan district, do you think that 15 per cent. reduction in wages is too much?—The 2*s.* a ton has not been made manifest to me, and unless there are other lists of prices than those which I know and have the opportunity of seeing, I do not believe it.

15,636. Then you would not believe Mr. Hewlett's evidence yesterday, that there is a reduction of 2*s.* a ton in the price?—I am not going to say whether I believe Mr. Hewlett or not. I see the trade price manifest every day published, and I take a particular interest in it, and I have learnt privately, as far as I can, and I have not learnt that it has gone to the extent of 2*s.* a ton.

15,637. It may happen that Mr. Hewlett cannot get the trade price?—It may.

15,638. He is a very good authority as to what he can sell his coals at, and, stating as he does, that the price of coal is reduced 2*s.* a ton, do you think the 15 per cent. is too much reduction in wages?—Not if coals are reduced 2*s.* a ton.

15,639. I think you stated that trade is very bad in South Staffordshire, and that probably there will be a reduction of wages there? Do you know Mr. Kane?—I have known him, and met him some years ago.

15,640. You do not act with him?—I have seen him and acted with him on some matters.

15,641. If I were to say to you that Mr. Kane has been through South Staffordshire in the face of a falling market in iron, and advised the men to strike, do you think that a discreet course?—I am not a judge of Mr. Kane's acts, but I will tell you what I have done myself in Scotland. There was a proposal of a reduction in the commencement of this year. When I returned home I found the men all on notice for reduction. The notice had expired. At a very large public meeting I advised the men to accept the reduction. Since that again another fall has taken place. Wages have fallen in Scotland from 5*s.* to 3*s.* They are even not getting employment at 3*s.* or 3*s.* 6*d.* a day. I have advised the men to accept 2*s.* reduction. Mr. Kane may have motives for his conduct, which I do not know.

15,642. You would not endorse Mr. Kane's policy such as I have described it to you?—No; not as you have described it. I think it was sheer madness at the present moment on the part of the ironmaster's men to strike.

15,643. And they are out on strike in South Staffordshire under the advice of Mr. Kane?—I do not know how that is.

15,644. (*Lord Elcho.*) When you went to the Wigan district offering this advice, that the men should accept 10 per cent. reduction, submitting five per cent. beyond that to arbitration, what did you find that the local leaders had done? Had they given similar advice or anything approaching it?—Similar advice; and the local leaders in that matter have had no more power than the gentlemen sitting round this table.

15,645. (*Mr. Mathews.*) The men did not choose to listen to the advice of their local leaders?—That is so.

15,646. (*Lord Elcho.*) The result has been, has it not, an attempt to introduce foreign labour, that is labour from another country. What you said was likely to take place has taken place, and in consequence of violence and intimidation those men have had to leave?—It is so stated to me.

15,647. Have you any knowledge of that?—Only by report; I have not been there.

15,648. Seeing that, have you as president of the association taken any steps to go there to see the local leaders, and to try and prevent this intimidation and outrage?—I have communicated with Mr. Pickard two or three times a week on the matter constantly.

15,649. Do you as president of this general association approve of the course that has been taken by the Wigan miners?—Certainly not.

15,650. You do not approve of this intimidation?—Certainly not.

15,651. That you think ought to be suppressed by a strong hand if necessary?—Certainly I do not approve of it. I think that we ought to enjoy the most perfect freedom in making our compacts and bargains possible in regard to labour; that we have no right to interfere.

15,652. That every man should be left free to join the union or not join the union, or to work on what terms he chooses?—Yes.

15,653. Do you think that the law as it at present stands does give sufficient protection to free labour?—Quite sufficient, I think. I think as the law is carried out it is perfectly strong enough.

15,654. You think that the law is strong enough, but you would like to have seen the law firmly administered in this case in the interests of freedom?—I may state in regard to this matter that I believe that if a certain course had not been followed which has been followed those disgraceful scenes might not have taken place. Up to 1856, and in the year 1856, in Scotland, from as far back as I remember, the moment ever a dispute took place between the employers and the workmen (in 1837, in 1844, and in 1847 it was so), if it was only a single colliery, at once the high sheriff of our county, or the sheriff principal of our county, Sir Archibald Alison, was applied to and a body of policemen and troops were brought into the district. These paraded the district, and the effect of their presence was that of irritating the workmen, and very often collisions took place. In the year 1856, when the dispute was over (I only regret much that Sir Archibald Alison is now gone or he would have corroborated what I am about to state to you), I seeing the effect that the presence of troops had had upon the workmen wrote to Sir Archibald Alison.

15,655. What was the state of things when those troops were brought in?—The men resisted a reduction of wages.

15,656. What form did the resistance take?—They came out.

15,657. Was there any violence?—None.

15,658. There had been no violence offered?—No violence offered; that was the policy pursued. The moment that ever there was a strike or the notices terminated and there was a probability of a strike, troops were called into the locality. I wrote to Sir Archibald Alison and had an interview with him, and I stated my belief that the presence of these troops had been the cause in those disputes of irritating the men, and that I should be the very first person to give intimation that the thing should not be repeated if there was a necessity for their presence.

15,659. But I presume that when the magistrates themselves sent for the troops, they had some knowledge which you did not possess, which led them to believe that they were needed?—I apprehend that the coalmasters, whenever a strike occurred, went to him and asked him to send troops, and he was in the habit of sending them. From that day there have been a large number of disputes, strikes, and lock-outs, but from that hour to this there has not been an extra policeman or a soldier called out, and from that hour to this there has not been any outrage committed on life or property.

15,660. But that does not apply to Wigan in any way, for there there was outrage, there the police force is deficient, and it was not in consequence of the presence of that police force that these outrages took place. The police were put there, were they not, to protect men from these outrages?—The feeling that I have, and from what I have seen of working miners, is this, the moment ever that these men are brought the miners are of opinion that they are brought in the interests of the employers, and that the moment they are brought there they are brought there to intimidate; they are looked upon as so many men to

Mr. A. McDonald.

29 April 1868.

intimidate and awe, and therefore they at once get into a state of irritation that would never arise were they not there. And I state as a fact that we have had in Ayrshire and in Lanarkshire innumerable disputes in the last 10 years, and we have never had a soldier called out; and I ask respectfully, if you choose to inquire into the criminal records, if a single man has been brought up or a single employer has sustained a pennyworth of injury.

15,661. (*Mr. Booth.*) Do you mean to suggest that in the case of the Wigan strike, if the police had not been called out the Staffordshire men would have been allowed to go into the mines peaceably?—I fully believe that they would.

15,662. (*Lord Elcho.*) You yourself set your face against intimidation, and you think that labour ought to be protected in every way?—I am convinced that Mr. Pickard could have kept the peace if these men had not been there.

15,663. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Do you know as a matter of fact that there was no outrage or violence of any kind committed before the police were called out?—I have been informed so, that no outrages had been committed; but I only wish to state most distinctly that which I have already stated, that in Scotland for these long number of years a policeman has not been called out, we have had strikes innumerable and there is not on the records of Scotland a single case of outrage.

15,664. (*Lord Elcho.*) You have visited Mr. Briggs's works, I believe?—Yes.

15,665. Did you go into the question of co-operation?—I did.

15,666. And what is your opinion of the system of co-operation as adopted in Mr. Briggs's works?—My opinion is, that it is a very excellent system, and that if it were adopted in whole or in part it would lead to a change of the relation between employers and employed, and lead to the disappearance of these heart burnings or whatever you may call them, in regard to price, altogether.

15,667. You have found, then, that the evidence given in favour of that system by those who appeared here was corroborated by inquiry on the spot?—I found they were corroborated by inquiry on the spot, and I found that a great many of the objections which the workmen made were frivolous, and were the result of distrust engendered by former disputes, and that there was no real cause for any workman remaining out of that co-operation and not taking a part and becoming a shareholder in it, and were I a workman to-day I would be a shareholder in it if I were in that locality, and I doubt if I do not become a shareholder in spite of not being a workman.

15,668. Are you aware whether the principle is extended to any collieries in Scotland?—I am not aware, but I have been conversing with numbers of owners on the matter in Scotland.

15,669. Since your visit to this work of Mr. Briggs's?—Not only since my visit there, but I have long entertained the opinion that co-operation is the true solution to all the disputes, and I have been favourably disposed to it for a number of years, and before and since that I have talked over the matter, and I think that there is a growing disposition for it, and I have no doubt that before many years go round we will find a large number of the works carried on on that principle. I should like to see them all carried on on that principle.

15,670. I do not wish to enter into the question with you whether it is or is not likely to succeed, but your impression is that it is a sound principle, and you are prepared to recommend it for adoption generally in mines?—In consequence of the communications made by Mr. Briggs before this Commission, Messrs. Normansell and myself laid the matter before our council meeting, and they deputed Mr. Normansell and myself to visit the Whitwood collieries to examine into the system and learn from the men their objections, and from the employers their advantages, and learn as far as we could the true nature of the case. We have prepared a report which we are going to lay before the members of the association after our next council meeting, and if it is desired I shall be most happy to furnish a copy of that report to the Commission. I am the more anxious to mention this as it has been stated that the National Association was adverse to the principle.

15,671. The council deputed you to visit this colliery which you and Mr. Normansell had been invited to do by Mr. Briggs?—Yes. I want to say one word as to conciliation. I am strongly in favour of the plan of boards being adopted for such a purpose.

15,672. Do you mean boards established by law?—Yes, and recognized.

15,673. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is there not a Bill already passed for that purpose, Lord St. Leonards' Bill?—Yes, permissive.

15,674. (*Lord Elcho.*) Do you propose to make it compulsory?—It is a matter where mutual interests are so much involved that it is not a matter for hasty legislation, but I think that if the plan I have referred to was adopted it would lead ultimately to courts of conciliation and arbitration.

15,675. You have been to America you say. Can you give us any information as to the existence or action of trades unions there?—Yes, I found trades unions in America in almost every trade and occupation. They are not very powerful, because trades unions in America are for a large extent only of one class, that is for labour purposes only.

15,676. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) And is not the one which you represent for labour purposes only?—No, the Scotch unions are, but I am the president of the Miners' National Association, having the objects I have explained. The fact that the unions in America are not very powerful arises from this circumstances, that there is not a necessity for them.

15,677. (*Lord Elcho.*) That arises from what?—Wages being good and the condition of the labourer being also good.

15,678. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Does that prevent strikes?—It does not.

15,679. It does not prevent combinations?—No, combinations are recognized by the laws of the State, and I have an authorized copy of a statute in the State of New York, which I shall be glad to put in, authorizing a union which can sue, and be sued, and act in a corporate form of any other body.

15,680. (*Lord Elcho.*) Are the objects of that union the same as of trades unions here?—Yes, this is a benefit as well as a trades union society that I allude to.

15,681. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Does the American law forbid combinations to prevent people from free labour?—It does; the law is almost similar to that in this country.

15,682. Is there picketing there in case of a strike?—I did not hear of any picketing.

15,683. You do not know whether picketing would be illegal under the America law?—I presume that in America if the question were ever to come up it would be held to be illegal as in this country. I find that the words and the terms of their statutes, being nearly the same as ours, they follow the decisions, and have reference to the decisions that are given in English courts, as we are in the habit, in several cases at least, of referring to American judgments.

15,684. (*Lord Elcho.*) Have there been frequent strikes in America of late years?—Yes, very frequent.

15,685. Have they been strikes arising mostly out of grievances such as you have remedied in this country, as to ventilation and so on, or strikes on wages?—Entirely on wages as far as I know.

15,686. How have they generally resulted?—As far as I learn, in a number of instances, just as here, where they have struck against a falling market they have mistaken the course. On the other hand, where they have struck with a rising market they have been uniformly successful.

15,687. They have not been able in America any

more than here to interfere with the natural laws that govern the trade?—They can interfere with the natural laws which govern trade production and demand much more rapidly than here, and they interfere with it in such a way as very soon cures the evil they complain of. It is in this way hundreds of the workmen in America, indeed thousands of them, go out west, and pre-empt 120 acres of land. They build a cabin upon it, and then in some cases they return and work. If the wages given by the employer are sufficient, and they deem that they are better off working for him, they work. If on the other hand they find that they would be as well off living on their lands, they betake themselves to their lots, and the result is that in a very short time they make the inevitable law quite efficacious by lessening the quantity of the material.

15,688. Then the possession of this land makes them to a certain extent independent of their masters, and therefore they can exact terms which otherwise they would not be able to do?—To a large extent.

15,689. As to this lot they buy what do they pay for it?—A dollar an acre, and 75 cents an acre, and so on.

15,690. How do they cultivate it; do they reclaim it at all whilst working in the mine?—If they go to the state of Illinois, of Nebraska, of Michigan, or any of those immense plains and prairies, you only have to scratch the soil with a thorn bush and throw in a few grains of wheat or corn and it grows up.

15,691. Do their families reside on the land also?—Yes, I found thousands of young men who had left Scotland some years ago the owners of 40 or 100 acres acres of land, having a house of their own land of their own, and on some of those lands coal and everything got for a dollar an acre. In the Shenango valley, particularly, in Pennsylvania, the whole valley is occupied by the miners, and if they do not get the wages they think fit they betake themselves to the land. Hence they can command a fair price in the market. Almost every tradesman in the United States has an eye to the land as the last resort, and they betake themselves to it whenever there is a grievance or anything of that kind.

15,692. And they look eventually to settling on the land?—Yes, as a rule the American people look to the land as their home, and as I have told you large numbers of them go out, come back, and work at the puddling works; they go in the mines, and they have of their own. I found a very pleasant thing in Lower Illinois in particular, large numbers of mines being worked by co-operation. They hold the lands, and they have companies formed, and each man shares alike according to his proportion, and they go on amicably and make a very good thing of it.

15,693. Are they entirely the working men?—Coal miners.

15,694. No master as in Mr. Briggs's case?—No master.

15,695. Have any of those works been in operation any length of time?—Four, five, and six years.

15,696. And so far have succeeded?—So far have succeeded.

15,697. In the neighbourhood of the works themselves are these men lodged in cottages belonging to the owners of the works?—In several of the large works throughout the whole state of Pennsylvania and also in the State of Ohio they build cottages for the workmen, but the large majority of the miners and of all the workmen occupy their own houses. The first feeling of the emigrant is to be his own proprietor, as a rule.

15,698. Is there any land attached to their houses near the works?—Yes, always a bit of land.

15,699. A bit of garden?—I was very much pleased to find another thing. I will mention the name of Mr. Hewitt who gave evidence here. I found that he leaves in a number of his works large spaces and allows his workmen to use them. It was so different from the rules that we have in Scotland, where a man is not allowed to keep a pig or a fowl. There they are encouraged to have poultry, and cows, and cattle, and so on, and there is an open space for them to go out and live on for nothing.

15,700. There are the means, but in the densely peopled manufacturing districts of England, in Staffordshire for instance, would such a system be possible?—No.

15,701. It is physically impossible there, and you cannot reason from the analogy of America?—The mormal state of things here is against it.

15,702. Have the strikes that have taken place in America been accompanied by violence and outrage?—I learnt that a number of the strikes which have taken place in America have been accompanied by violence and outrage, but (and that is one point which I wished to state) I learnt that these were not the result of unions at all, they are national in their character and not the result of unions.

15,703. What do you mean by national?—I do not wish to state it invidiously, but large tracts are occupied by a certain nationality, and great crimes have been committed. Mr. Hewitt having stated here that it was in virtue of the unions that they were committed, I took very great care to inquire into the matter, and I have here a letter from a gentleman who went as a miner, and is being now one of the largest viewers, or mining engineers as they call them, in Pennsylvania, and he details those murders.

15,704. Does this refer to the outrages mentioned here by Mr. Hewitt?—Yes; this is a letter giving the detail of the circumstances under which they were committed, and also the names of the persons, and he states distinctly that it is the result of no combination, but a national organization of one nation and one people alone.

15,705. And what people is that, is it the American people?—I will only say this, as far as I know, I did out find an American miner.

15,706. Do you mean that all miners in America are immigrants?—Immigrants.

15,707. (*Mr. Booth.*) All these miners are from one country, is that so?—Where the outrages were committed there was the preponderance of a nationality.

15,708. (*Lord Elcho.*) And the nationality that was murdered was not the same as the nationality that murdered, I suppose? What nationality was it that was murdered?—Well, there were Scotch and English murdered. This letter contains the details of all the murders, and they are the most brutal deeds that have ever been committed.

15,709. You say that the union had nothing to do with that?—That gentleman of 30 years' experience states so.

15,710. Looking to the condition of the mining class there and in this country, do you think that the condition of the miners there is very much preferable to that of the miners here?—Yes; from the state of the country, that is, the advantages that are offered him of easy access to land and the easy access to mines.

15,711. By "easy access to land," do you mean the legal facilities that are offered in America for the purchase of land, or the existence of boundless tracts unoccupied by man?—The existence of boundless tracts unoccupied by man, that the condition of the workmen of every class is better than in this country.

15,712. And you attribute their better condition to that cause?—I attribute it to that cause. There are certain other conditions which I think are adverse, but I am not going to enter into those. I think, without saying anything of the Government of the country whatever, that politically we are a happier people.

15,713. That is the conclusion you have come to after travelling how many miles in the United States in the last year?—22,000 to 25,000 miles.

15,714. Do you think that America is likely to be, in the products of mines, a formidable competitor with this country?—I believe firmly that within 20 years British iron will not be carried across the Atlantic. I have seen the deposits of iron of such a nature, and deposits of coal of such a nature that I cannot conceive for one moment that they can be for more than 10 or 15 years dependent upon England; and it is the only competitor with England, as far as I know, in the world that we will require to fear.

Mr. A. McDonald.

29 April 1868.

15,715. (*Mr. Mathews.*) With the fact we have before us in evidence, that the wages of ironworkers in America are three times what they are in England, do you think that this opinion of yours is founded on sound reasoning?—I think so. The great cause of the high price of iron is not so much the labour. That is the mistake that has arisen in the public mind. When we speak of the labour we mean either the men engaged in manufacturing the iron or in getting it. The great cost of American produce is in its transportation. I will give you an instance. I have visited one work among many at Pitsburg belonging to Schœnberger, Blair, & Co., which is a furnace making malleable iron, and a large nailwork in addition. They were bringing one class of iron from Lake Superior, which is 1,156 miles. They were bringing iron also from Lake Superior, 1,180 miles. They were bringing iron from the iron mountains of Missouri, 1,260 miles. The nearest spot they were getting the iron from was New Jersey, and that was 370 miles ; and from the Marmora mine in Canada. You will see that the transportation there was the great matter; but in Pennsylvania they have now discovered immense deposits of black band lying immediately in connexion with the Mammoth vein.

15,716. If in the cost of iron something like eight-tenths is for labour, and labour costs three times as much in America as here, is it possible for them to compete with us?—I have a conviction that the Americans will not long have recourse to the same system of working as we have.

15,717. If they pay three times the amount for labour that we do what then?—They will not continue to pay three times the amount for labour, because when an increase of the population takes place they will not continue to pay those heavy prices.

15,718. (*Chairman.*) It is a long time before they will be peopled as thick as Bethnal Green, I suppose, and in the meantime wages will be high?—The wages are very sensibly diminishing ; they are not more than half what they were three years ago.

15,719. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Just three months ago the puddlers struck for 1*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* per ton for making pig iron, and our puddlers have 8*s.* 6*d.*?—But there have been reductions since that period.

15,720. Allowing for a material reduction in the rate of wages of American labour, still the cost of producing iron, seeing to how large an extent labour enters into this cost, must be much greater there than it is in this country?—If I compare two crops, 10 years ago they were paying two dollars a barrel for flour, and they are paying now 14 dollars a barrel for flour. In two years the crops will be sufficient to reduce the price of food enormously, and there will be a corresponding reduction in the price of labour.

15,721. How can you expect a corresponding reduction in the price of labour in America, seeing that they have an unlimited extent of land to fall back upon, where they can get what they want for labour?—From the increase of the labourers they will not continue to betake themselves to the soil.

15,722. Why should they not, the same law will go on ; if they cannot get a certain amount of wages they will go on the land?—That is very true, but still I have a strong belief—I may be wrong—that the result will be a large diminution in the wages, and it will be to that extent that it will prevent competition from England. I am sorry for it, but I believe it.

15,723. If that is so, it will stop the emigration from Ireland to that country to a considerable extent, will it not?—No, I think not. The feeling is at the present moment to leave as quick as they can. They are going from our part at the present time at the rate of 300 to 600 a week.

15,724. (*Lord Elcho.*) From Scotland?—Yes.

15,725. Is it the case that in America you found that machinery was much more employed in the manufacturing than it is in this country?—Yes, much more.

15,726. For instance is it the case that, in Scotland nails are still made by hand?—It is so in all Scotland.

15,727. Is there such a thing as a nail in America made by hand?—Not that I am aware of.

15,728. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is there no such thing as a cut nail manufactory in Scotland?—Not that I am aware of.

15,729. (*Lord Elcho.*) Is it true that iron has been exported from this country into America, manufactured there into locks, and brought back again to this country?—Yes, I have visited a lock factory at Buffalo, where the iron came from Lowmoor, and I saw a large order for London through. They are sending them back here after being manufactured over there ; the iron is carried out and back again.

15,730. Have there been any strikes or difficulties in the lock trade here?—I believe there have been.

15,731. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Were those locks made by machinery?—Made by machinery. It is quite astonishing to see it. From my observation there seemed to be two things that every American means to go at, the first is, that he shall take out a patent, and the second is that he will run for the president. Every native American seems to be imbued with those feelings. The patents were going into the Patent Office at Washington when I was there at the rate of 370 and 380 a week.

15,732. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Are you aware what the value of those patents is?—No, it would take any man a thousand years to examine them.

15,733. (*Lord Elcho.*) As to skill and physical strength, do you believe that the American workman is superior or inferior to the British?—I do not think that there is a man in the world superior to the British workman, and particularly not the American. I think, as far I saw, that the climate there has a tendency to develope more the intellectal qualities of the man and less the physical qualities. Hence they all take to some ingenious plan or another of devising a way of existence instead of following heavy work. All the heavy employment of the country is at the present moment being done by the emigrant, the foreigner, not by the people. The third or fourth generation attempt to get rid of work.

15,734. Have you any other point to mention?—Yes, there is one point. I have been astonished at seeing the statements made from time to time regarding the driving out of trade from this country to Belgium?—I have taken some care in looking up the returns, and I find the case to be thus : that if the trade has been driven out of the country, it is not the miner who is driving the trade out of the country, who is the raw producer of the material. I find that in 1865, the export of coal to Belgium was 17,809 tons ; in 1866, 61,486 tons ; but in 1867, while we have been hearing the cry that the miners are driving the trade from the country to Belgium, it rises to 169,089 tons. I cannot see how it is that we drive the trade from the country, when they are importing a larger quantity into that very country, Belgium. Then again in iron, Belgium imported from Britain in 1865, 23,422 tons ; in 1866, 28,451 tons ; and in 1867, 50,722 tons. I cannot see how we are driving the trade from the country, when we have increased the export trade in these two years and made it double to that country.

15,735. (*Mr. Mathews*). May not the case stand thus : If the quantity of iron goes from this country at a cheaper rate of labour, cannot they supply the customer with the manufactured work from Belgium instead of sending it from this country?—That is possible.

15,736. And is it not the fact that they are now taking Russian contracts for rails?—I do not think it is the fact. They may have one contract, but I find that as far as the trade in rails is concerned, in 1865, the export trade of this country was 434,300 tons. I find that in 1866 it was 498,021 tons ; and I find that in 1867 it was 582,420 tons, that is more than over 100,000 tons over the export in 1865. Consequently, in these times, in which we have had a cry of diminishing trade, we have really had an increasing trade.

15,737. But may not that be coincident with a large falling off in the home consumption?—Possibly so ; but the point I am calling attention to is that we are not being driven out of the trade.

15,738. Look at the fact from another point of view. If girders usually made in this country for building purposes are brought by contract from Belgium, and put up in a national establishment in this country cheaper than they could be bought here, would not that be a proof that in Belgium they were working cheaper than we could?—It would not be a proof that the coal and iron miners were working cheaper when they are coming to Britain for coal and pigs to make it into malleable iron.

15,739. But they make the malleable iron in Belgium, and they make the girders there to supersede the English workman, and an English contractor puts them up in the Kensington Museum?—I am aware of the fact; but I want to point out this, that it is not the wage that is given to the miner, the producer of the raw material, that has had any effect whatever, because from these facts which I have given, it would appear that there is an increase in the sales to this very country, Belgium. Now, it is a notorious fact that I have learnt in London, as far as the coal miner is concerned, that the man who carries any coal here into a private establishment, into any gentleman's house, has as much for carrying in the coal as the collier has per ton for working it.

15,740. That shows, I suppose, that wages are much higher in London than they are in the neighbourhood of coal mines?—It does.

15,741. Everything is dearer here, I suppose, than there?—Yes.

15,742. (*Lord Elcho.*) Do you want to say anything about the bearing of the union on the poor rates?—I think that the poor rates are becoming enormous in this country, and that, as in America, unions should be legalised with power to compel their members to pay to prevent the members from coming on the poor rate as the present moment.

15,743. By that American Act to which you have alluded, have they power to compel them?—They have.

15,744. The bearing of your point with reference to poor rates, as I understood from conversations with you before you were under examination, was that the effect of unions had been to keep men off the rates?—Certainly. I think that Mr. Normansell will be able to show you that the effect of unions in his district, and other districts, has been to keep men off the rates that otherwise would be on it. I should like to see the time when every man would, from 15 till he was unable to do any work, lay by something that he need not come on the rates. We give a reward to improvidence by our present laws, and put a tax on industry.

15,745. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) What guarantee would you give for the security of those societies before you compelled people to join them?—They should be formed on a proper basis so that they should be certain to be effective.

15,746. How would you secure that?—On the principle of Government annuities, or some such other principle. I should have every man contribute to a society the moment he is an adult, to have something for his old age. The result is inevitable, coming to this, that there is a large amount of money being raised in many parishes which is being carried away, and they are coming back upon the owner. A certain amount is being got in the royalty each year, and the owner will be left on the land shortly with all the poor to pay, and a great part of the wealth carried off.

15,747. (*Lord Elcho.*) Left with the poor with whom they have had nothing to do, you mean?—Yes, the poor have been created and maintained there for a particular class, and then it falls back on the landowner to maintain the poor.

15,748. And the class that made the poor may be in America?—They may be in America. They take their cash in their pockets and go to Germany, America, or anywhere else.

15,749. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) You say that it is desirable that men should be compelled to pay to societies of this description to keep them off the poor rates. When I ask you how you would guarantee the security of the societies which you compel people to belong to, you say that it might be done by Government annuities; but that is no argument in favour of making it compulsory to belong to ordinary friendly societies or trades union societies, is it?—I would make it compulsory in this way, that they should either belong to some public fund or to a voluntary association which would be solvent in its character.

15,750. How would you secure its solvency?—By proper laws for the purpose.

15,751. What do you call proper laws?—I have not made up my mind thoroughly on the details, but I am quite satisfied that we are going radically wrong.

15,752. In what respect?—In respect to an increase of poor and a destruction of human life.

15,753. As to your Scotch societies, as I understand you, there are no benefits attached to your Scotch societies. They do not contribute to any benefits—sick list, or payment at death, or anything of that kind?—Not as a rule. In all the collieries in Scotland there are connected with them private societies of their own, and hence they never, in forming unions, form them for those purposes.

15,754. The unions are purely for trade purposes?—For trade purposes.

15,755. Are there no unions in Scotland combining trade purposes and benefit purposes?—Yes, of the joiners and carpenters, but it is the miners that I refer to.

15,756. There are none among the miners?—In some places there is one, but not as a rule. The place of the benefit fund is supplied by the workmen of each colliery, having private societies of their own.

15,757. (*Lord Elcho.*) You have put in here what is called "An Act to incorporate the Operative Plasterers' Mutual Protective Benevolent Trade Society of New York"?—Yes.

15,758. I see that the second section states the objects. "The object and purpose of said corporation is for mutual protection, the burial of its "deceased members, the relief of the widows and "orphans of deceased members, and to promote harmony and co-operation of its members." With your knowledge of this Act (and this, I imagine, is only a specimen of other local Acts) existing in America, would it be possible under this Act, at New York, to have a union precisely the same as a union here, raising funds for trade purposes, that is, for the support of men on strike?—It is so, and they can compel man, by an order of court, to pay into the society.

15,759. That is to say, protection would be given to those funds by this Act, and a member of this trade society would be bound to contribute for those purposes, and it could be enforced by law if the registered directors thought it right that he should do so?—That is so, and the reason I brought that statute with me is to show that, if it is desired in New York, and I believe in other States of the Union, such a society can apply for a statute, and under that statute, as a joint stock company, you can sue your individual members, you can be sued by your individual members, and any other body or any other individual can sue you, and the trustees, when they have made a levy, can compel their levy by an order of court.

15,760. (*Chairman.*) That must depend on the deed of association. You have not put in the deed of association of the Plasterers' Society?—I have not the deed of association, but I can get it.

15,761. You will get one sample of the deed of association that accompanies this statute?—Yes, I will get it.

15,762. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) It does not mention in this Act that they will get relief from the society while out of employment?—No.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to Tuesday next at 11 o'clock.

INDEX OF WITNESSES.

	Page		Page
Chambers, John - - - - -	15	Hood, Archibald - - - - -	1
Cooper, Philip - - - - -	6	McDonald, Alexander - - - -	30, 37
Evans, Josiah - - - - -	34	Rowe, William - - - - -	27
Hewlett, Alfred - - - - -	30	Wilson, James - - - - -	23

LONDON:
Printed by George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode,
Printers to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty.
For Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

REFORM CLUB
PALL MALL

EIGHTH REPORT

OF

THE COMMISSIONERS

APPOINTED TO INQUIRE INTO THE

ORGANIZATION AND RULES OF TRADES UNIONS AND OTHER ASSOCIATIONS:

TOGETHER WITH

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY GEORGE EDWARD EYRE AND WILLIAM SPOTTISWOODE,
PRINTERS TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.
FOR HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE.

1868.

CONTENTS

	Page
COMMISSION	iii
REPORT	v
MINUTES OF EVIDENCE	1
INDEX OF WITNESSES	44

COMMISSION.

VICTORIA R.

Victoria, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith.

To Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Sir William Erle, Knight; Our right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin Thomas George Earl of Lichfield; Our trusty and well-beloved Francis Charteris, Esquire (commonly called Lord Elcho); Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Sir Edmund Walker Head, Baronet, Knight Commander of Our most Honourable Order of the Bath; Our trusty and well-beloved Sir Daniel Gooch, Baronet; Our trusty and well-beloved Herman Merivale, Esquire, Companion of Our most Honourable Order of the Bath; Our trusty and well-beloved James Booth, Esquire, Companion of Our most Honourable Order of the Bath; Our trusty and well-beloved John Arthur Roebuck, Esquire, one of Our Counsel learned in the Law; Our trusty and well-beloved Thomas Hughes, Esquire, and Frederic Harrison, Esquire, Barristers at Law; and Our trusty and well-beloved William Mathews, Esquire, greeting.

Whereas it has been represented unto Us that it is expedient that inquiry should be made into the several matters herein-after mentioned.

Now Know Ye, that We, reposing great trust and confidence in your ability and discretion, have nominated, constituted, and appointed, and do by these Presents nominate, constitute, and appoint, you, the said Sir William Erle, Thomas George Earl of Lichfield, Francis Charteris, Esquire (commonly called Lord Elcho), Sir Edmund Walker Head, Sir Daniel Gooch, Herman Merivale, James Booth, John Arthur Roebuck, Thomas Hughes, Frederic Harrison, and William Mathews, to be Our Commissioners for the purposes of the said inquiry.

And We do hereby enjoin you, or any Four of you, to inquire into and report on the Organization and Rules of Trades Unions and other Associations, whether of Workmen or Employers, and to inquire into and report on the effect produced by such Trades Unions and Associations on the Workmen and Employers respectively, and on the Relations between Workmen and Employers, and on the Trade and Industry of the Country; with power to investigate any recent acts of intimidation, outrage, or wrong alleged to have been promoted, encouraged, or connived at by such Trades Unions or other Associations, and also to suggest any improvements to be made in the law with respect to the matters aforesaid, or with respect to the relations between Workmen and their Employers, for the mutual benefit of both parties.

And for the better discovery of the truth in the premises, We do by these Presents give and grant unto you, or any Four of you, full power and authority to call before you, or any Four of you, such persons as you shall judge necessary, by whom you may be better informed of the truth in the premises, and to inquire of the premises and every part thereof by all other lawful ways and means whatsoever.

And Our further Will and Pleasure is that you, Our said Commissioners, do, with as little delay as may be consistent with a due discharge of the duties hereby imposed upon you, certify unto Us from time to time, under your hands and seals, your several proceedings in the premises.

And We do further will and command, and by these Presents ordain, that this Our Commission shall continue in full force and virtue, and that you, our said Commissioners, or any Four of you, shall and may from time to time proceed in the execution thereof, and of every matter or thing therein contained, although the same be not continued from time to time by adjournment.

And for your assistance in the execution of these Presents We do hereby authorize and empower you to appoint a Secretary to this Our Commission, to attend you, whose services and assistance We require you to use from time to time as occasion may require.

Given at Our Court at St. James, the Twelfth day of February 1867, in the Thirtieth Year of Our Reign.

By Her Majesty's Command.

S. H. WALPOLE.

REFORM CLUB
PALL MALL

EIGHTH REPORT.

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

We, Your Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into and report on the Organization and Rules of Trades Unions and other Associations, whether of Workmen or Employers, and to inquire into and report on the effects produced by such Trades Unions and Associations on the Workmen and Employers respectively, and on the Relations between Workmen and Employers, and on the Trade and Industry of the Country; with power to investigate any recent acts of intimidation, outrage, or wrong alleged to have been promoted, encouraged, or connived at by such Trades Unions or other Associations, and also to suggest any improvements to be made in the law with respect to the matters aforesaid, or with respect to the relations between Workmen and their Employers, for the mutual benefit of both parties, have held several meetings, and humbly beg leave to submit to Your Majesty the evidence given before us at our meetings held upon the 5th and 12th days of May 1868.

(Signed) W. ERLE, Chairman.
LICHFIELD.
ELCHO.
DANIEL GOOCH.
H. MERIVALE.
JAMES BOOTH.
J. A. ROEBUCK.
THOMAS HUGHES.
FREDERIC HARRISON.
WM. MATHEWS.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE THE

ROYAL COMMISSION

APPOINTED TO INQUIRE INTO

TRADES UNIONS AND OTHER ASSOCIATIONS.

1, Park Prospect, Westminster, Tuesday, 5th May 1868.

PRESENT:

The Right Hon. Sir WILLIAM ERLE.	JAMES BOOTH, Esq.
The Right Hon. the EARL of LICHFIELD.	JOHN ARTHUR ROEBUCK, Esq., Q.C., M.P.
LORD ELCHO, M.P.	THOMAS HUGHES, Esq., M.P.
Sir DANIEL GOOCH, Bart., M.P.	FREDERIC HARRISON, Esq.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR WILLIAM ERLE IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. WILLIAM PICKARD examined.

Mr. W. Pickard.

5 May 1868.

15,763. (*Chairman.*) I believe that you are the agent for the Wigan District Association of Lancashire Miners?—I am.

15,764. How long has that association been formed?—Since 1862.

15,765. Of about how many members does it consist?—The number has varied; it is betwixt 6,000 and 7,000 now, or was previous to the strike.

15,766. And what is the subscription?—The subscription on the rule has been about 6*d.* a fortnight to what we call the district board.

15,767. And anything more?—They pay certain incidental expences in connection with the lodges, which amount in some cases to a 1*s.*, or 1*s.* 1½*d.*, on the fortnight.

15,768. What are the purposes for which the association is established; I presume it is for accidents and funerals, but is it for anything else?—Yes, besides those the labour and wage question, and social rights.

15,769. What labour and rights? Do you pay the men if they are out of employ by failure of trade?—No, not in the case of failure of trade.

15,770. If they are out of employ for a reason sanctioned by the association, then do you pay them their wages?—We pay them a certain allowance.

15,771. What is the allowance?—It has been 9*s.*, but of late it has been 10*s.* a week up to the time of the fund being exhausted, as far as the relief fund is concerned.

15,772. What other charges are there on the funds?—In case of the death of a man or his wife by accident or natural death, we all owe 5*l.* and 6*l.*

15,773. That is like other unions; but the allowances in the way of trade are the important matter, and you give 10*s.* a week if persons are out of employ for reasons sanctioned by the association, as I understand you?—Yes.

15,774. And the reasons sanctioned by the association bear for the most part on wages and hours, do they not?—Yes.

15,775. You said something about the social condition of the persons. Is there any regular expence incurred with a view to education, or any other outlay of that sort?—Yes; we contribute for the bringing about of matters for the education of the boys in the shape of securing shorter hours for the boys and more attendance at school.

15,776. Could you tell me any expence that is incurred for those objects? I can understand that you would attend meetings, and we have had an example of that in Mr. Macdonald, I think, who told us that he had made endeavours in various directions for what he considered the social improvement of the people by attending meetings and addressing them. Is there any regular outlay for schools, for instance?—No, we do not go directly for giving support to the schools.

15,777. Indirectly you lend your efforts to that?—Indirectly our social operations go towards that point.

15,778. If any of the members have suffered wrong in the way of trade the union supports them, I suppose?—Well, it has considered the right or the wrong of the case according to the rules laid down by the association.

15,779. And if it is a wrong according to the rules of the association, the association stand by the man, so that he has a friend at his back in the association?—Yes, if he has received any wrongs, any encroachments upon his privileges and his wages or his work, he society steps in.

15,780. Instead of being individual workmen unable to cope with a man of property, the members of the association are supported by a powerful body; that is the great object of the association?—Yes.

15,781. Have you had many strikes since you have been agent for them?—We have only had this unfortunate one.

15,782. The one now going on?—Now closed. I am thankful to say to the Board that it is closed.

15,783. Were you at the beginning of that, or were you aware of the beginning of that strike?—I was.

15,784. What was the point on which the parties fell abroad?—Because they were working together in union down to a certain point, and at that point they fell abroad.

15,785. What was the question in dispute?—The question was 15 per cent. reduction. The masters proposed taking 15 per cent. off, and the men had been accustomed from 1862 to 1868 to receiving the advances in the shape of 10 per cent. at a time.

Mr. W. Pickard.

5 May 1868.

15,786. When was it that the falling abroad or the difference began?—Some nine or ten weeks ago.

15,787. There was a proposed reduction of 15 per cent. by the masters?—Yes.

15,788. Is there a quarterly meeting of all the coal owners, or have they any periodical time of assembling?—Yes, I believe that there had been a meeting of the masters' association in Liverpool.

15,789. And then they had come to the resolution to reduce?—They came to the resolution to reduce 15 per cent. I have been informed that some of the proprietors wished to put it before the men in the shape of 10 per cent. reduction, and that some were for 15, and those who were for 15 per cent. reduction carried it in the association.

15,790. Have you any information about the fall in the price of coal?—I have not any further than the statements from certain proprietors that they had reduced their coals. I may instance Mr. Knowles, a gentleman that has received me on behalf of the men in matters of dispute sometimes, and he said that reduction had taken place, and also Mr. Crompton said so, but never to the amount stated here last week by Mr. Hewlett. I had no knowledge, nor have I had to this time any means to know that prices had been reduced to what he stated.

15,791. (*Mr. Roebuck.*). Have you ever taken pains to ascertain the price of coals?—Yes.

15,792. What sort of pains have you taken to do so?—I made enquiries from gentlemen in the interest of the proprietors, and I have received from their mouths the statement that they themselves cannot ascertain the prices. The reporters of the Colliery Guardian could not give me the prices of the market.

15,793. Do not you ascertain the price of an article by that which it sells for?—Well, if I must judge by the application to myself in the district, I must say that not a shilling a ton has come off, but I do not wish that to apply to the general trade.

15,794. Could you not apply to some large manufacturer of iron and ask whether he could buy his coal at a less price? Supposing you wanted to ascertain the price of coal at Dowlais Works for instance, could you not go to them and ask what they bought their coals for?—Yes, but I do not think that that would be a ground on which you could get satisfaction. I may take a specimen from Birmingham. I have been in the building trade before 1862, when I commenced to be the agent of the miners, and I have bought iron work from Birmingham at 5 per cent. reduction, and bought iron work from Birmingham at 5 per cent. reduction, so that you cannot at once see the operation as to the net prices.

15,795. That is peculiar to the iron trade?—Perhaps. It is to be feared that it is more or less so in the coal trade.

15,796. Of the great iron workers in your district, some I suppose buy with ready money, and some upon a certain degree of credit. Do not you think that by going to them you could have ascertained the price of coal, and that any gentleman would have told you what the price of coal was which he gave; and did you ever do that?—Well, I happen by marriage to belong to a family that are consumers in the iron trade of 20 tons a day when in full operation, and I cannot ascertain from them that there is any falling off.

15,796*a*. Did you ask those people the price they paid for coal?—I did.

15,797. Did you put down the price which they told you?—I did not put it down; it was something like 8*s*. and odd.

15,798. Supposing you had gone to the next iron worker and gone on in that way, and asked a dozen and struck the average, do not you think that that would have given you the price of coal in the market?—Well, my impression is that I should not be received, there would not be that confidence exercised in me to lead them to give me that information, except at that place which I have referred to.

15,799. You have never tried it?—No, but we have only one iron manufactory in the district.

15,800. I suppose that there are persons who bring large quantities of it together and supply the neighbourhood?—Not exactly in the neighbourhood of Wigan. The competition is so facilitated with the different proprietors that we have no coal merchants except just in connection with the collieries themselves.

15,801. (*Mr. Hughes.*) I suppose as far as your whole trade goes it is extremely difficult to find what the trade price is?—Yes.

15,802. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) You could find in the London market and in the Liverpool market the price of Wigan coal?—Yes.

15,803. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Would not those prices in the London market and the Liverpool market guide the price of coal in your market?—I cannot answer that question.

15,804. You have not taken the pains to get the information requisite to know what the price of coal really is?—I have tried to get at such information, but I cannot get it.

15,805. Did you ever ask the gentlemen with whom you were in difference what the price was, as they stated it?—Well, in some cases they said, "We have reduced 1*s*.," and in some they said, "We have reduced 1*s*. 6*d*."

15,806. Did you ever strike the average amongst all those from the information that they gave you?—No.

15,807. Would not that have given you some means at least of knowing what they said the price of coal was?—I may say that our qualities vary very much and I know that in bad trade the common coal prices suffer more than better qualities. Therefore it is a difficult matter to ascertain.

15,808. You will see at once why I ask these questions. I want to know why you went out on strike, why you did not take all possible precaution to find out what was the price of coal, and then having really got at what you sincerely believed to be the price of coal, you could have made a rational determination? But going out on strike, a very deadly affair, on this sort of careless information which you have gathered together, does it not seem to you that that was a rather wild proceeding?—I may say that from the first it has been a most wild proceeding; and I stood upon my feet an hour showing that the trade was not good, and did not justify the men on strike, supposing that the masters did not reduce more than 10 per cent. The extreme of 15 per cent. I did not consider justifiable in the state of trade.

15,809. Then I gather from your evidence that in your opinion it was an unfortunate and unwise strike?—It was universal suffrage that brought its influence to bear against me, and I was strongly suspected of having been bribed by the proprietors.

15,810. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) How much did the 15 per cent. come to upon the ton?—It varies according to the nature of the working, in some cases 6*d*. or 7*d*.

15,811. (*Chairman, to Mr. Briggs.*) Can you confirm Mr. Pickard's statement as to the difficulty of ascertaining the price of coal?—It is easy to ascertain the variation in price in the retail trade, but the retail consumption is very small compared with the whole production of a large colliery. In a large colliery there must be contracts made which are generally private contracts, and those who make them do not like to divulge the prices at what they are made. Therefore it is very difficult for the colliers to ascertain the exact average price of the whole coal produced at any colliery. They may get the retail price, but that often misleads them as to the averag e price obtainable.

15,812. Is it more easy in the iron trade to know the rise and fall of the market?—I am not connected with the iron trade myself, but my impression is that it is more easy, because there are quarterly meetings at which the prices are fixed. The coal trade is more local; it is not so general all over the country, and

the prices cannot be reckoned to such a nicety as in the iron trade.

15,813. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) But is not the price of Wigan coal in London easily ascertained every morning in the market?—Yes, but the price in London is very variable, so that it is difficult to take a fair average.

15,814. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) But I suppose the coal proprietors do find out the rise to their cost very often, do not they, and they know when the price falls?—Yes; but I only wish to explain that it is difficult for the colliers to ascertain and judge just by the retail trade. They are very apt to be misled by that.

15,815. But the proprietors, the persons who took off the 15 per cent. upon the wages went upon some calculation?—I have no doubt that they did.

15,816. They know perfectly well what they were about?—Yes.

15,817. And if they were honest, that 15 per cent. reduction can be assumed to be the difference commanded by the price of coal?—It may be.

15,818. Mind my hypothesis, if they were honest in their statements, that 15 per cent. may be supposed to be a justifiable reduction in the wages of the men?—Yes.

15,819. (*Mr. Booth to the witness.*) I think that I understood you to say that you advised the men to strike rather than submit to the whole reduction of 15 per cent.?—No.

15,820. (*Chairman.*) Are you an adviser who sway the minds of the men? Some of the secretaries and agents are really in 9 cases out of 10 the persons that sway the community. Have you that authority and weight?—I am what is termed their leading man.

15,821. And during the last six years you have considered that you have been in a situation that authorizes you and makes it your duty to give them good information and advise them?—As well as lies in my power I do.

15,822. And you advised that they should not strike against the 15 per cent.?—Yes, I may say in confirmation of Mr. Briggs's statement that I had the most powerful influence brought against my argument by working men themselves bringing their tickets from the different collieries where they are served in the different parts of the district. They say, "I have paid so much for so many tubs," and this is the argument that they bring, and I try to get the men's minds disabused of that idea, and to show that our trade must be taken upon experience in London and other places, that it is not home consumption, and that our trade cannot be guided by that at all. There is the great difficulty.

15,823. (*Mr. Booth.*) Let me understand the advice that you gave to the men. I understood you to say that you advised the men not to go out if the masters would submit to 10 per cent. reduction?—Yes.

15,824. Does not that imply that if they would not submit to 10 per cent. they were to go out?—No, Mr. Macdonald and I were in council together upon this matter, and our views were one in the matter, and we asked the men to put the thing in its fairest form, namely, to accede to the 10 per cent., and for this there was strong disapprobation on the part of the men against Mr. Macdonald and myself.

15,825. But supposing that the masters did not accede to that proposal, what were the men to do?—The question was to be submitted to arbitration.

15,826. But supposing that the masters declined either arbitration or the 10 per cent. reduction, what were the men to do?—My advice was that supposing they would not agree to the proposal the men before coming to a strike should commence work at 15 per cent. reduction.

15,827. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You proposed an offer to accept the 10 per cent. at once and to submit the other 5 per cent. to arbitration, that was the offer which was to be proposed?—Yes.

15,828. And you could not induce the men to agree to make that offer?—Yes; they agreed to the 10 per cent. and put the other in arbitration.

15,829. (*Mr. Hughes.*) And the masters refused it?—And the masters refused it.

15,830. (*Mr. Booth.*) And then you still counselled them not to strike?—We still counselled them not to come into a strike.

15,831. (*Chairman.*) A majority being against you, it was your duty to accept the resolution of the majority?—Yes, being the servant of the men and not the master, I was obliged to submit.

15,832. And do the best you could?—I did, under the circumstances.

15,833. (*Mr. Booth.*) Then the strike has been entirely without your approbation down to the present time?—Yes; and I may say, as some unfortunately strong remarks were made by me as reported at a public meeting, that I there got a shew of hands from the thousands of men congregated, whether I brought them in the strike or whether they brought themselves into it. The reporters were there, and saw that the men admitted, by show of hands, that they brought themselves into it, and that it was not by my advice.

15,834. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You gave the chairman an account of the monies that the men paid. I think, upon the whole, you said that was about 1*s.* in the fortnight or 1*s.* 1½*d.*?—1*s.* or 1*s.* 1½*d.* as far as the district goes. We have three funds, the accident fund, the funeral fund, and the relief fund—the labour wage fund.

15,835. (*Chairman.*) What is the difference between the relief and the labour wage fund?—None. I used that term that you might apprehend what I meant by it. There is a penny got out of the contributions of the fortnight to the funeral fund; that is retained in the lodge and paid once a quarter. There is 4½*d.* which goes to the accident fund; that is, if a man is hurt in following his lawful calling, he receives 5*s.* or 7*s.* a week, and in the relief case they receive 9*s.*; but a few months before the strike took place, it came on to 10*s.* a week.

15,836. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You say that your society has been in existence how long?—Since 1862.

15,837. And that rate of subscription has been going on the whole time, or pretty nearly?—Yes.

15,838. Have you any notion of the aggregate sum subscribed by the men during the whole of this year?—Yes. I have some statements here from the secretary, which I have no objection to put in, stating the amounts of the different funds, and also I have balance sheets and reports from the commencement of the association.

15,839. Up to the present strike none of the monies that have been collected have been employed for any other than benefit purposes?—Not to my knowledge. That has been in accordance with the rules of the association.

15,840. You say that the association supported the men upon reasons sanctioned by them. You mean when they opposed the masters, I suppose?—Yes.

15,841. Will you tell me what were the sort of reasons that they sanctioned?—If a man is working in a bad place, and the master does not give him a sufficient remuneration, we, as an association, having a practical knowledge to judge upon the nature of things to a great extent, in some cases I have been received by the master, and have gone down the pit and have become the arbitrator between the master and man. In some cases I have had to give it for the master, and in some cases for the men, and where I have given it for the men, they have been supported by the association.

15,842. As a general rule have you found the masters fair in their dealings with you about the question of wage?—I have found some of them to be thoroughly so in every sense of the term.

15,843. But some not?—Some not.

15,844. Some who rather screwed the men?—Yes.

15,845. Generally what should you say of the character of the masters who employ their capital in that sort of work?—I may say this, that as a rule they are not the worst, there are worse in the country.

Mr. W. Pickard.

5 May 1868.

15,846. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Your district is better than other districts?—I mean to say that they are not the worst; there are others that I see treat the men worse.

15,847. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) In your trade you mean?—In our trade. I speak of our trade exclusively.

15,848. (*Chairman.*) Are your proprietors private proprietors, or are any of the collieries worked by a company?—The principal part of them are worked by companies.

15,849. Is there any difference between the agent for a company and the agent for private proprietors in consideration for the feelings and interests of the working men?—I find this, that where there are companies it is a difficult matter to get adjustment of a man's wrongs, but where it is a private enterprise in some cases we find it easier to get grievances settled. There is such a staff of officers, and there are such varying motives in the oppressive actions towards the poor man, that it is a difficult matter to get an adjustment sometimes either for the master or for the man.

15,850. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) That I suppose is because responsibility divided amongst a great number of persons renders it so small that they do not care about it?—Yes, and there is such a disposition on the part of subordinate officers to excel and gain position.

15,851. And I suppose it really comes round to the old saying that a corporation has no conscience?—A great way towards it.

15,852. You talked about the influence you exercised on what you called the social condition of the workmen. In what way was that influence usually exercised! Did it usually go to the promotion of their education, and to improving the general habits of the men; did you give them any advice or establish any rules with that object?—Yes, I have both by precept and example tried to do so. I was a collier 16 years myself. I know what it is to do the hardest work either in sinking shafts or driving levels or tunnels, and having passed through many trials I acted then like too many and gave myself to habits of drink, but since then I have been a steady man, and while I have been their agent I have been a total abstainer, simply to show them an example, and have tried to get them to educate their children.

15,853. Do you think that the Association has had a beneficial influence in that line?—Yes, and it is often spoken of in commendation by the masters themselves.

15,854. Has there been of late years any diminution of drunkenness in the body generally?—We have been having good trade, and from 1863 to 1867, or a part of 1867, there has been a great influx of labour; and the demand was so great that the proprietors had to fetch in 2,000 or 3,000 men from Cornwall, and any sort of man in whose hand they could place a lamp they placed in the mine, and that has had a serious effect by getting into the district a class of men who are not steady in their habits, and I believe that it has had something to do with our serious explosions and accidents in the mines.

15,855. Then, generally speaking, in your belief the habits of the mining body have been improved?—Yes.

15,856. Will you tell me as a matter of curiosity on my part, whether the improvement has taken place more in a good state of wage or in a bad state of wage?—Well, the improvement has taken place with a good state of wage as a rule, but there are exceptions to that rule.

15,857. Should you say that in a good state of wage there has been less drunkenness than in a bad state?—Of course if a person has not the means he cannot have the same facilities for drunkenness.

15,858. Did you ever find that misery leads to that sort of vice, that men drink to drown care?—I am sorry to say that in some cases men do have resort to drink when they have means, even to the neglect of their social happiness and their domestic comfort.

15,859. This being the first strike that has happened since you have been in the command I may say of the mind of the miners, do you think that any good can be drawn from it for their future guidance by pointing out to them the mischief of the course that they have pursued?—Well, I have learnt such a lesson in my life in this matter, I believe that if men would be guided by sense and reason lasting good would come from combination.

15,860. Do you think then that combination of the men will give facilities for instructing them?—I do.

15,861. And that the combination in this case having led to mischief, combination may lead to good by giving facilities for instructing them. Is that your conclusion?—Yes.

15,862. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You said that you attribute some of the accidents that have happened to the importation of men from other districts?—Yes.

15,863. Has that been done by the masters to a large extent in your district?—Yes, we have had some thousands of strange men, and I think it is quite contrary to common sense and reason to take strange men ignorant of the nature of the gases. I can point out passages in the Government reports to that effect.

15,864. Did you ever remonstrate with the masters on that matter?—Yes, and the Government inspector, and we have been together at the colliery.

15,865. What has been their reply?—"We want labour and we must have it."

15,866. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Could the masters have got the labour they wanted round about them?—No, the demand was so great that they could not get it.

15,867. Then they were driven to this by necessity?—They were driven to it by necessity.

15,868. So far there was no blame attributable to them; they only acted under necessity?—I think that a master ought to have consideration in placing a man in a dangerous mine, such as some of the mines are, where there are so many lives at stake, with a lamp in his hand.

15,869. (*Mr. Harrison.*) The necessity consisted only in the desire of making more money, I suppose?—Yes.

15,870. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Do the men in your district limit the quantity of coal that each collier is allowed to send up to bank?—They do not, and that is one fruit of the evil that has been brought on. Over production has given the impulse to the proprietors, and has caused this unpleasant affair, in my opinion.

15,871. A larger amount of coal sent up by the men would have lessened the number of strangers imported into the district, would it not?—Well, in these days of mining operations the workings are so extensive that they open out east, west, north, and south, and they place all characters they can get in the mine, irrespective of whether it is a reasonable thing or not.

15,872. Do you not think that the master has as much interest in the safety of the mine as the miner; his loss is great in an accident, is it not?—I believe that the masters are disposed that way, and that is their motive, but when there are so many subordinate officers there are sometimes interested motives apart from the masters' interest and the men's interest.

15,873. What interest can the subordinate officers have apart from the master's interest, and doing his duty?—There is the interest of promotion in working, and economizing in certain expenditure in the mine.

15,874. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Can you trace any of the accidents to that economy?—In some of the cases. I recollect being at an inquest where for the sake of leaving a little brattice cloth and two props there were four men burnt to death. I refer to the Garstang colliery. The colliery inspector and I inspected the mine, and we found that that was so.

15,875. Was it a case of economy?—It was supposed by the fireman to be matter for economy.

15,876. How much would they have saved by taking that away?—It was very trifling.

15,877. Could you have imagined that economy would have led to that?—There is a certain regulation

given to the firemen that they are to remove all that they consider proper, apart from the consideration of the higher manager. They take these steps and then the other manager comes and finds what they have done, and perhaps condemns it. It is a case of discipline with them, lest they should have disapprobation from the higher officers, they take these steps prematurely.

15,878. But if they took these steps prematurely, would not the higher officer find fault with them ?—Yes ; and in this case he did.

15,879. The higher officer finding fault, was not the tendency rather that the men should have left these two props and the piece of cloth ?—Yes ; but the motive actuating the younger man was a fear lest he should be complained of.

15,880. Would not the complaint in that case arise from doing that which led to economy ?—The head of the jury censured the man for his conduct as well as the manager.

15,881. (*Mr. Hughes.*) It is quite clear that men's lives are risked by carelessness in that way ?—Yes.

15,882. (*Chairman.*) Is there any way of ascertaining whether a man is competent to use a lamp in a mine, does he go through any inquiry before he is sent down ?—No ; I am sorry to say that there is not anything of that kind. I may just say that I was one that was sent down by the Miners' Association to watch the Farndale inquiry, when those 178 men were sacrificed, and there I found that men had a privilege, which is not only a privilege enjoyed in South Wales at the Farndale colliery, but at other collieries in Lancashire and in other places ; they can take a strange boy down a mine and give him a lamp, though he has never seen a mine before.

15,883. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Could a person understand a lamp by looking at it without explanation ?—No, and he cannot tell the operation of the carburetted hydrogen upon it.

15,884. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) I suppose that a man not well acquainted with the lamp would not be sent to go far in the working by himself ?—Yes, he is sent in different parts. Of course the supposition is that the fireman has been round, but a mine is open to such sudden changes and fluctuations in the air courses that they may be right one hour and wrong the next five minutes.

15,885. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Could any instruction guard against that ?—Yes, as to the use and the abuse of the safety lamp, but we have no such instruction given.

15,886. In what is the abuse of the safety lamp ?—If I were taking the safety lamp and were to travel above a certain speed I should endanger myself and other people in the mine, because if you go beyond a certain velocity with the lamp there is the liability of the pressure of the atmosphere forcing the light through the gauze and igniting the carburetted hydrogen outside.

15,887. (*Mr. Hughes*) I should like to know whether your association has made any representation as to the inspectorship of mines, that it is not perfect enough ?—Yes ; I may say that I have had communications with the Government inspector.

15,888. You have joined in representations as to the imperfection of the present system of inspection ?—Yes.

15,889. And do you agree with Mr. McDonald as to what is required to make the inspection efficient ?—Yes,

15,890. (*Chairman.*) What is required—more inspectors ?—More shafts, and more inspectors to see that the subterranean passages are properly ventilated.

15,891. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You are pointing to two different things ; first of all an increase in the number of inspectors, and then an increase in the number of shafts ?—Yes.

15,892. One relates to inspection, and the other to the modes of preventing danger ?—I mean to say this, that if we have not sufficiency of shaft room ventilation cannot be. To give you a case in point, at the Farndale explosion, when I questioned Mr. Wales upon his inspection of that mine he had been two or three years in the district and had never been down the Farndale colliery, and there was evidence given there, and it now stands recorded, by the witnesses that there ought to have been 40 or 50 feet of area, and a man had to go on his belly not having more than two or three feet of area ; perhaps 100 or 200 men were depending upon that ventilation entirely.

15,893. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Is not the inspector of mines bound to see to all that ?—Mr. Wales put himself right with the meeting ; his power was that he was only to go and examine a mine when he was sent for.

15,894. (*Lord Elcho.*) Is it not the case that the proportion of inspectors now to the mines in the district would render it physically impossible that they could inspect the mines thoroughly ?—Physically impossible.

15,895. It is in some districts something like the proportion of one inspector to 400 or 500 mines ?—Yes.

15,896. So that he would have to go down two or three mines a day if he wished to inspect the whole in a year ?—Yes. I may say this to the credit of Mr. Peter Hickson that when anything was reported to him he went with me night or day, and I have had him in as many as four pits on one day.

15,897. You propose that these inspectors should remain in their districts as at present, but that there should be sub-inspectors who should go down the mines constantly, and when they see cause report it to the inspectors for them to visit the mine, those sub-inspectors not interfering in the meantime with the management of the mine ?—Yes.

15,898. Those sub-inspectors would be men at a small salary ?—Yes, 100*l.* or 150*l.* a year.

15,899. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Can you tell me whether for the last 10 years there have not been at Wigan classes for teaching the colliers the nature of mines and gases ?—There are, and a most honorable gentleman has lately died that was the teacher, Dr. Burton-head, and some of our men have made themselves very clever from their training in that institution.

15,900. The teaching is almost gratuitous, is it not ?—Yes, it may be said to be so.

15,901. Can you give me any idea of the number of persons among the mining men that within the last 10 years have attended classes of that sort ?—I may say that it has not been brought down to meet the capacity of the ordinary intelligence of the mining population. I find that the institution has been more set apart and fostered by the proprietors themselves ; for instance, they have sent their subordinate officers there. If I were to go and engage myself as a fireman, for instance, they would give me facilities of going there in order that I might be able to conduct myself well for their interest and for the safety of the mine.

15,902. But why have not the men themselves, seeing that they are the real sufferers by an explosion, gone there to be instructed ?—I may say this, that there is a sort of class feeling about it, and the men have stated to me that sometimes they have felt that they were a little reflected upon on account of manifesting a degree of ignorance which they felt sorry about, and that has caused some of them not to go.

15,903. Has that been done by the teachers ?—No ; but by certain parties who attended. I have done my best to aid the movement. In the commencement of the association, I got up a sort of entertainment, and got the Government inspector to take the chair, and tried to get the men to take an active part, and laid all its bearings before them ; but, I am sorry to say, that there have been difficulties. Those little class feelings, and interested feelings, might have been put aside, had the men taken the interest in it that they ought to have taken.

15,904. I take it that that feeling was rather an unwise touchiness, was it not, to care about the small sneer of some small man ? You came there to be

Mr. W. Pickard.

5 May 1868.

taught?—Human nature is very sensitive in those things.

15,905. I think that public lectures have been given at the collieries in Wigan?—Yes.

15,906. Have they been attended by the working men?—To some extent. Not so much as they ought to have been.

15,907. Then you see that the carelessness of life as regards an explosion in the colliery is not confined to the subordinates, but it is really shared by the men, because, if they, knowing the value of this instruction, will not go to hear it, they thereby show themselves careless of their own lives?—I wish to make a little explanation there. The men, as a rule, are physically incapable, from over fatiguing themselves, of attending those lectures. Having no restriction upon their hours of labour, working from 10 to 12 hours a day, they so fatigue themselves, that they will have a play-day in the fortnight, two or three play-days, I am sorry to say, some of them will have, and when they go to work they go at it as if life and death were at stake, and the result is that when they get home and get some refreshment there, they are asleep at once.

15,908. When you talk of play-day, what does play-day mean? Does it mean getting drunk?—No. The rule is, that about once a fortnight the men require a day to repair their tools, and the men generally take what we call the reckoning Monday for those repairs.

15,909. The day spent in repairing their tools, you would hardly call play-day, would you?—They would receive no remuneration for that. They do not do it for themselves. They go to a smith to do it.

15,910. On that day on which they do no work what do they do?—They play, the pits are laid idle.

15,911. I want to know what you mean by "play;" does not play in that case usually signify drinking, I will not say getting drunk?—They set themselves apart, and I am sorry to say that many go to the drinking places.

15,912. Could they not, on that play-day, attend a lecture of this sort I have been speaking of, because there is no paying for the lecture?—Yes; but you would find if you were coming to a lecture in Wigan to-night, or any time, that about seven or eight o'clock the men would get up and go out of the meeting. They have to rise early for their work, and that is one difficulty. I have tried to give lectures myself, and have got other gentlemen to come and give lectures upon matters affecting their interests, and as a rule they cannot get them on account of the early rising and the work being so fatiguing.

15,913. As to that play-day you talk of, how many hours does it consist of?—They never go near their work on the Monday morning as a rule.

15,914. Supposing that on that day the lecture was given at 12 o'clock. They would not go away then to go to bed, and supposing the lecture continued an hour, do you think that you would get an audience then?—I scarcely think so.

15,915. I want to know the reason why?—Because the physical exertions have blunted their minds, and they cannot see any beauty in those lectures you may give them.

15,916. (*Lord Elcho.*) What is the state of education of these men at present?—It is very indifferent.

15,917. Of the grown men, do you mean?—Yes, of the grown men. I should say that 15 out of 20 can neither read nor write.

15,918. That arises from deficient education, you think?—It arises from deficient education.

15,919. Is the position of the next generation likely to be better? Are the means better for education now than they were formerly?—Yes, there are greater facilities given, and the Sunday school operations are working an important effect in that respect.

15,920. Do you think that the rising generation, which has, as you say, better means of acquiring education than the former generation had, when it has grown up will have a greater appreciation of these subjects referred to by Mr. Roebuck, than the present generation, and that the lectures then are likely to be better attended by grown up men than they are now?—Yes; and I may say, arising from the influence of Sunday schools, we have a large number of lads of 16 and 17 that can stand to teach fathers of 60 or 70. Even as to this late dispute, I have boys in my thought who have got up in the dispute and taken sides with me, and helped me to show the reasonableness of this course and that course, and there is a wonderful improvement.

15,921. If there is a wonderful improvement in the means available for education, to what are those increased means attributable? to public schools open for all classes, or to special schools open for the miners? and, if the latter, are they schools established by private individuals or a company, or how?—I may say it is done jointly, but the greatest influence I should attribute to the Sunday schools and night schools. With regard to the day schools in the mining district of Wigan, I am thankful to say that we have very good schools erected by the proprietors, but the boy is so taxed that he has just become able to read and write his name (from 10 to 12 years of age) when he is taken to the pit, and the result is that the poor boy cannot develope his mind.

15,922. And as to these Sunday schools and night schools to which you refer, by whom are they instituted and supported, is it by the coal owners?—They are to a great extent.

15,923. Mostly by companies, or by private individuals?—Private individuals bring the most influence to bear.

15,924. Then you think that the private coal owner looks in the point of education more after the interests of those whom he employs than companies do?—My experience teaches me so.

15,925. Do you believe that experience to be general throughout the coal districts?—As far as the Wigan district is concerned, I think it will be borne out there.

15,926. So far, that education would tend to the increased safety of the men; but I apprehend that what you look to, do you not, is that, irrespective of that education, an improved system of inspection would do what you want?—Yes.

15,927. Because I have heard it stated here or elsewhere, that in the opinion of many miners a mine might be brought to that state of safety with reference to ventilation, that an explosion would be practically impossible?—It is the case within my experience and knowledge that that can be done.

15,928. It is your belief that that might be brought about?—Yes.

15,929. That would be by having sufficient shafts and clear air passages?—Yes.

15,930. Would that additional expence shut up many mines; are shafts very expensive?—Yes, they are expensive, but taking the sinking down to certain veins, and working them out, I believe that it will be found to be more economical. In sinking the shafts just take the area you are about to work, take the space and put your shafts in an angular form, two in-takes and one out-take, and let the out-take be on the rise of the mine. There is no difficulty whatever in giving safety and protection and health and comfort to the men while at work.

15,931. Your belief is with a judicious arrangement of the shafts it would be to the interest of the coal owners, not only in the safety of the men, but for the proper working of the pit, to have more shafts than they now have?—Yes.

15,932. In any case, you do not think that this increased expence would have the effect of shutting up the mines?—No.

15,933. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) It would depend on the depth, would it not?—Where you have deep mines, when you have so little shafting, you are obliged to have an additional staff of superintendents, and the result is you are spending more than you would in

sinking the shaft at first. That is my opinion of the matter.

15,934. (*Lord Elcho.*) I presume you would say from your knowledge not only of the mining class, but of human nature, that whatever system of education you might establish as regards mining operations, whatever number of lectures might be given, and however numerous the attendants at those lectures might be, you may always reckon that whenever 1,000 or 1,500 men are got together you will find some careless men among the number?—Yes.

15,935. And the carelessness of one man may blow up the pit?—Yes; I may say that from my own experience. I have had to do pump work and other work, and I have stood with the most perfect indifference when I have had 500 fathoms before me, and since I have had more intelligence I have shuddered at the very things that I have passed through myself; and such carelessness as I have manifested is the carelessness which others in the mines exhibit from want of education.

15,936. I will assume that everybody is educated and is aware of the indications of danger which a lamp may exhibit; might it not happen that with everybody educated and everybody careful, by accident, as the result of a chance stroke, a piece of coal might fall on the lamp and injure the lamp, and explode the mine, if it were in a dangerous state?—Yes.

15,937. Therefore education alone and carefulness alone would not be a sufficient protection for the miner without the mine itself being in a healthy condition?—No; I may say that if the first rule laid down in the Act, about the ventilation of the mine, were attended to nothing would happen to life or limb. If there is a sufficient amount of ventilation to render harmless all the noxious gases, it cannot by the carelessness of any man cause an explosion.

15,938. All you want is that Parliament should take means to carry out its own desire and law?—Yes.

15,939. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) I gather from what you say that still taking every precaution there must be some danger. For example, I have heard that in what you call fiery mines every now and then there will be a sudden outburst of gas that no human prudence can predict or guard against, and that no arrangement can prevent?—But those cases are so exceptional that they are scarcely worth being taken into account.

15,940. (*Lord Elcho.*) We will assume the case of a mine which is generally properly ventilated, and the normal state of which is a state which you wish to see all mines brought to, namely, such that a lamp if put in a dangerous part will not explode. But as Mr. Roebuck says there may be behind a certain amount of noxious gas undiluted, which by the fall of coal or earth, or stone, is liberated. I imagine you think that although there may be there an amount of gas which would explode, still there would never be such a liberation of gas, if the rest of the mine were healthy, as to effect such destruction as we read of in our day?—Just so.

15,941. One man might be burnt but no general explosion of the mine could occur?—No.

15,942. Can you say whether you are aware of any single accident in the whole number of these accidents that has been caused by what is called sudden outburst of gas?—I have not known one single instance. I may say for the information of the Commission that we had at the Wigan Company, previous to its becoming the Wigan Coal Company, a sudden outburst, and I know no sudden outburst that they have had apart from that, but that was attended with no fatality whatever; a boy, having a little knowledge of the state of the mine, ran to the authorities, and was the means of saving the men's lives by their getting them out before it went to the different workings.

15,943. (*Mr. Harrison.*) I will ask you a few questions about what has been going on at Wigan. You have just told us that you and your central association did what they could to dissuade the men from originally striking in this question?—I did.

15,944. I need hardly ask you whether you agree with what is the opinion of all the world, that the circumstances which have arisen at Wigan since, in the shape of rioting, and in the shape of personal outrages against individuals, are excessively disgraceful to the country, and to the trade in which they have occurred?—I feel myself very much humilitated by them.

15,945. You must feel that that is publicly stated against you and your association, and it is obvious that in any case there rests a serious obligation upon all of you to show that your association have done all that lay in their power to put a check to this state of things?—Yes.

15,946. Will you be good enough to bear out that statement by showing what you have done, and what your own conduct has been in the matter?—I may say in connexion with this matter that there have been certain outrages that have taken place, not in the immediate town of Wigan itself, but in the outskirts. I have had consultations with the mayor of the town, telling him that I disapproved of those things, and he asked me if I would go out and try to prevent those unpleasant assemblies in the morning. I said to the mayor, "Supposing that I go out and a breach of the "peace takes place, there is a disposition on the part "of some people to place that at my door, and under "present circumstances I should not feel myself safe "to go out." I said, "I have done all that I can in "the private meetings of the men to keep them from "assembling together," and the very day that we had our public meetings I went and was the means, I believe, of preventing a serious outbreak. I was persuaded by the men not to go, and I said, "I will go; if my life is at stake I will go," and I did go, and I believe it was the means of preventing a serious outbreak.

15,947. (*Chairman.*) Will you just particularize that? You went out and saw some man that was going to commit an act of violence. Is that what you mean?—We were having a procession through the town after we had appealed to the society men and the non-society men. We wished them to respectfully retire, and to be loyal subjects of the Queen. I did myself. After we had had the procession, and they had decided not to go to work (I was very sorry that they had come to that conclusion), they said that they would take a walk to the springs (that was where what we called the knobsticks or black sheep, or foreign labourers, were brought), and they did not wish me to go, and I said, "I will go. If you do not wish me that makes it more urgent for me to go." I went with them to the springs, and I got upon a wall while the staff of the constabulary were there, and the men were pressing very strongly, and I remonstrated with the men, and I said, "If you are loyal subjects and wish to respect your Queen and your country, follow me," and the men in thousands followed me after I got up in that way.

15,948. (*Mr. Hughes.*) On that occasion there was no outrage, was there?—There was no outrage then.

15,949. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Are you in a position to show us that as far as you have been able to discover no portion of the union funds has been paid for the purpose of committing these outrages which have taken place upon individuals?—I am. I have brought here our fortnightly balance sheets to show that not one penny piece has been paid from the society's funds to defend these people that have committed a breach of the law. I was very much pained indeed when I heard Mr. Hewlett make that statement that such a thing had been done. I vouch on my honour, and it is open to investigation, that I know of nothing of the kind, and that from the reports of the society's officers I cannot find one penny devoted to such a purpose. I have brought them here to submit them to you for examination.

15,950. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Were the men defended?—They were defended.

15,951. Who was the professional man; the lawyer who defended them?—One Mr. Forshaw. But I may say that I have had no communication, either directly

Mr. W. Pickard.

5 May 1868.

or indirectly, through one person or another, as to the defence, or anything else.

15,952. And you, having no connexion or taking no part in this matter, could any other person connected with the society have done it?—I am positive of this, that no person in connexion with the society officially has had any connexion with it whatever.

15,953. In reality, either officially or in any other way, has any money belonging to the society been employed for that purpose?—It has not.

15,954. Have you consulted with the officers of the lodges which were more particularly implicated in this matter on the particular spot where it arose, or the members of which were suspected, for the purpose of discovering how these outrages were brought about, and seeing if they could trace the guilty parties?—I may say that I have asked amongst the men who those parties were. It was said that I must be cognizant of all that was going on. I vouched that I knew nothing of it, and this day I stand as an ignorant man before you, as to who were the men who committed the outrages. I was bent from the first to disapprove of the policy of assemblages of the men. I was bent from the first that I would not mix myself up with it in any way whatever.

15,955. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) There were combinations, large bodies of men gathered together, and I suppose that that could not have been done without somebody instigating them to do it?—Well, some parties are pleased to say that I have been the instigation through certain remarks which I made, but I wish the gentlemen round this board to allow me to make this statement here. I have stood associated with the men for six years. Previous to commencing being their agent I was contracting for building cottages, and they came to me and asked me to take their case up. Having been a miner I had strong feelings with them, more for social improvement and education, than I had for the wage question. That was my motive. There have been very strong things said of me through the public press, and through private interviews, that is to say, when working men have gone to receive or ask for work, persons have made statements to them that I was building out of the men's money, and that I had done this and done the other. Many strong things have been said of me, and on this occasion I was reiterating and just viewing these things over. One was that I had brought the men to the field and that I could not take them out of it. That was said by a Liverpool coal agent and circulated by the public press, and also that I had received a situation under Government of 600*l.* a year, to be an inspector, and had forsaken the men, that the society's funds had been misappropriated, and all this was through men going about and saying "Pickard has been cheating you of your money." I was just going through these statements in the meeting, and I expressed myself strongly, but it was because strong things, unjustifiable things, had been said against me.

15,956. You recollect, I have no doubt, that Mr. Hewlett said that you were reported to have made a certain speech to the working men assembled?—I do recollect it.

15,957. Can you call to mind what those words were that were laid to your charge, and tell us whether they were truly reported?—I cannot say that.

15,958. I read this in Mr. Hewlett's evidence: "I "will begin reading from the speech at the part "referring to Mr. Samuel Lancaster, 'Mr. Pickard "'referred to the recent disturbances and asked "'whether it was the law of England that attempts "'should be made to enrage the people. He spoke "'of the presence of the soldiers, and this brought "'on the name of Mr. Samuel Lancaster, whom he "'designated, that white-washed wall of the country, "'a man who came amongst them showing very "'largely indeed, and saying he was the working "'man's friend. He was a friend, but it was over "'the left (derisive cheers). Mr. Samuel Lancaster "'could do great things when he had his hand in "'somebody else's purse, tickling the yellows, and he "'had fetched some black sheep into the town, when "'he worked the Birkett Bank colliery, why did he "'not go to the market like another honorable "'tradesman? No, he had to go somewhere else, "'and he, Mr. Pickard, was told he got white-washed. "'This was more than a 15 per cent. question with "'such as he, for many a poor man had got the sack "'for 12 months and a day for speaking for his rights "'and privileges. Mr. Pickard called for a show of "'hands from those who had thus suffered, and a "'dozen were held up; one man exclaiming, 'Here "'is one that got it for life.' Voices, (Well, keep "'him without work). Mr. Samuel Lancaster would "'not live for ever, but he might do so for any harm "'he (Mr. Pickard) would do him; but if Mr. Samuel "'Lancaster could give him an ingredient that day "'which would quiet him he would do so.'" I do not quite understand that. You accuse Mr. Lancaster of desiring to poison you, I suppose?—No, it is not a question of poisoning; I will explain that, if you please.

15,959. "It was wrong for Mr. Lancaster to "practice robbery and confiscation upon the poor men "in his employ. Many a poor man was punished for "stealing a few pence, but Mr. Samuel Lancaster "thought nothing of taking a hundred tubs a-day." There are a good number of hard things in that speech, and I want to know how you (I have no doubt you can) explain that you being a man that wished to keep down the strike, and not to have the people excited, and in this very statement objected to enraging the people, thought that was likely to be the means of getting rid of that animus?—Well, I stand before you not a perfect man, but under those circumstances I gave expression to that which my life's action has not put forth. I do not mean to say that I have said such things as are hinted. I may have said some things that are strong, but I will not vouch that a verbatim statement has been taken by a public reporter. I may say further that I hold in my hand a notice to quit the house I live in immediately, and one of the coal proprietors has taken this house on lease. I saw the landlord himself and I told him that I was building myself a house, and that as soon as I could move I would do so. He was on very satisfactory terms, and since that this notice comes for me to "give up peace-"able possession of the house to George Gilroy, Esq., "on behalf of the Ince Hall Company." All these things combined together place me not a perfect man under like passions as my forefathers have been.

15,960. But I think that that notice was after this speech?—It was.

15,961. So that that notice could not have had any influence in placing you in this state of passion natural to man, that is evinced in this speech. You talk about Mr. Lancaster being "whitewashed," what did you mean by that, because, mind you, at this time you were a man who really guided, or were thought to be guiding, the minds of the men on strike? You have said that you are not a perfect man, and no man is, but being desirous that the strike should not be violent, and being yourself opposed to the strike, do you think that that attack upon Mr. Lancaster would have a beneficial effect?—Well, I am thankful to say that I believe the honourable board that I address to-day will not construe me to mean any personal violence by myself or those men that I was speaking to.

15,962. (*Mr. Hughes.*) What was Mr. Lancaster doing?—Mr. Lancaster was parading the streets with firearms, and William Rowe, who gave evidence last week, had shot pistols, and enraged the people, and the appearance of the police and soldiers had more to do with bringing about the violence than the disposition of the people had been to carry out the violence.

15,963. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Did not violence take place before the soldiers were sent for?—I have no knowledge of any violence before that.

15,964. Can you say that no violence did take place?—I cannot say that there was or that there was not.

15,965. Why were the soldiers sent for?—Because

of the disposition that there was on the part of the men to meet together in the mornings, which I condemned as much as any coal proprietor in the district.

15,966. With regard to the effect of this speech of yours about Mr. Lancaster, was he not mobbed after this, was not there a general attack upon him?—There are other matters surrounding that circumstance. Mr. Lancaster had recourse, or the Wigan Coal Company through Mr. Lancaster had recourse, to bringing their engineers and all the workmen down to be sworn in. Some of them I have been given to understand were told that unless they were sworn in they would be discharged from the works, and there was an element of feeling apart from my speech which would have brought about such circumstances as surrounded Mr. Lancaster in King Street (I knew nothing of that, I was at home at the time), and those arrangements that he had made for the special constables to go and fetch the men, sending the men to work, and saying, "If you do not come to work there is no more for you." This is the course that Mr. Lancaster took, if not through himself through others, so I am told.

15,967. Speaking of the masters, as masters generally, is there any violence practised by the masters against the men?—If I must take the statements of the poor men, they got up from their houses and came in in the morning, and rushed up to see what was to be seen, and the result was that 60 or 70 of them were summoned; but the principal part of them were dismissed by the magistrates, having nothing against them.

15,968. That does not touch my question as to whether the masters were guilty of acts of violence against the men?—I cannot say that the masters were guilty of direct acts of violence against the men, but that such influence was brought to bear as led to the intimidations, coming from that side, not from the men, so I have understood it.

15,969. Were not all the things that the masters did, matters of precaution to protect their property and the lives of the persons employed by them; such, for example, as what you have now spoken of, and rather in a complaining tone, swearing in special constables, calling for the police, and calling for the military? Were not all those acts of precaution to protect the property of themselves, and the lives of the persons whom they employed?—I have no doubt that the motives of the authorities of the town may be looked at rightly as being to protect the property; but a great deal of this was more in excitement and alarm than in intention on the part of the men. Had the disposition of our men been for violence, I have no doubt that from the number of men that have been in this unfortunate strike, there could have been a thousand stand of arms at the place from their social relations with life in the shape of pleasure going, hunting, and shooting, and one thing and another. There has been no such disposition manifest. I have not heard among all the men that have been brought out of a firearm being found on any person or any other weapon beyond certain sticks, which I condemned with all my soul at the meeting.

15,970. I suppose that the use of firearms and deadly weapons is contrary to the habits and manners of the English people?—Yes.

15,971. That being so, was there not much more violence used on those occasions by the men out on strike than you would approve of?—Most decidedly.

15,972. That is exactly what I wanted you to feel. As you were really a man of peace on that occasion, I would ask simply, looking back to that as one of the acts of your life which you may not altogether approve of, do you think that it was a wise and prudent thing to have made a speech like that under those circumstances?—I may say that it was a little unfortunate, and if the case were to occur again I would not repeat it,

15,973. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Will you admit that all these measures of the masters were precautionary; do you call evictions of the men from their cottages precautionary measures?—No.

15,974. Were there several evictions?—Yes. I may say further that one cause of these sad effects which were produced was this; men had got work under certain 24 masters who had complied with the men's terms, and they got them discharged and would not allow them to work there. Other men close to where I am now living had got employment, and the Ince Hall Company had brought their influence to bear, and I saw myself those men discharged passing my house because they would not receive the masters' terms. Some of them received notice before any violence took place and some afterwards.

15,975. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) That goes to this, that the masters were in some cases guilty of the class of acts that the workmen were; that is to say, that they did try to get men driven out of the work who did not do exactly what they desired?—Yes.

15,976. That is what we complain of in the men, and I do not at all wonder at the same thing being done by the masters; you complain of it, but that is what I understand you to say, that you complain of the masters using that class of means, preventing men getting work who displeased them?—Yes.

15,977. Is not that exactly what the working men do when they agree to call a man a knobstick, and prevent him from going down a pit when he desires to go down?—The two things engender a bad feeling.

15,978. The two things are of the same class?—Yes.

15,979. And if the masters are guilty of that class of acts they have been as guilty to that extent as the working men?—Yes, and a good deal of this has led to violence by the men feeling an influence at work against them. They have come to me and asked me what they should do. I said, Bear it peaceably and patiently, and bear yourself with propriety.

15,980. Have you any experience of any former strike in any place?—I have.

15,981. Was any former strike in your recollection attended with so much violence as this one at Wigan?—Yes; I think we have had as bad a strike in 1853. There was a little unpleasantness then, but it arose not from the colliers alone but from the factory operatives also; there was a joint influence there.

15,982. I want to know whether you thought that any previous strike of which you had cognizance was as violent as the present one?—Yes, quite. As far as the expression of this violence is concerned upon the town of Wigan itself, I may respectfully say that there is a gentleman, a clergyman of the town of Wigan, from whom you will see in yesterday's paper, the "Star," a letter very impartially written, both as regards the rights and the wrongs of the thing.

15,983. (*Mr. Harrison.*) But as a matter of fact, a number of men who were brought from other counties were forcibly driven out of the town, notwithstanding all the efforts of the police and authorities to protect them?—I think I may say that the feeling and disposition was on the part of the masters. The men had simply come to deceive the masters, which is too often the case. They would not work, if I am rightly informed, but the men from Staffordshire that went down the Lindsay pits, themselves said that they had come not for the masters' purpose but for their own.

15,984. You mean that the masters sent them back finding it useless?—Yes, they found that they would be too expensive.

15,985. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) They did not send them back because of the violence used towards the men, and because the magistrates got frightened, and advised them to send them away?—Well, I believe that the feeling of some of the authorities was that it was rather an injudicious step to fetch these men under the circumstances, for they thought that the matter would have come to a close with my influence and that of others at work, because we should bring the men to a reasonable consideration, and I do believe

Mr. W. Pickard.

5 May 1868.

that the thing would have turned out differently had not those men been fetched; that gave the turning point in the feelings of the men over which I could get no control, and it led to the serious result that took place. The feelings became embittered, and I was very roughly handled myself in words.

15,986. As I understand you now, the feelings became embittered from these circumstances. First you say, answering Mr. Hughes, that men were evicted, next that the police were called upon to protect property, that special constables were sworn in, and that eventually soldiers were called in, and that all these things combined produced a portion of the violent acts, and that a large portion of the violent acts began before anything was done, except evicting the men?—No, not a large portion, a small portion as far as my knowledge is concerned.

15,987, Then, as far as your knowledge is concerned, the first step in aggravating the men's minds besides the lowering of their weekly wages was the eviction of these persons who had found work elsewhere?—Yes.

15,988. Then violence took place, then the police were called upon, and then the police were overpowered?—I do not think that it was the case that the police were overpowered. If I understand the thing right the matter was this—from what I can gather the proprietors were disposed to make use of the policemen to fetch men from the different localities, east, west, north and south, to the various works, and they had not a sufficiency. Our men very injudiciously would congregate together in a morning simply to persuade the men not to go to work, and this led to their coming in contact.

15,989. You use the word "persuade," and we have often heard the expression "moral suation." Moral suasion often has something at the back of it. "If you do not do so and so," was not that the tone?—I have no doubt expressions of that kind would be used, but I hope that I shall not be held answerable for such things.

15,990. (*Mr. Booth.*) You spoke, in that speech, of Mr. Lancaster having brought black sheep into the town. What do you mean by "black sheep?"—I mean foreign labour.

15,991. But an employer not having sufficient labour to work his own mines, was there anything wrong in his bringing in foreign labour?—I think that if Mr. Lancaster had seen and reasoned with the men the matter would have been settled without fetching foreign labour, because they were a sacrifice to the proprietors themselves, and were come to supplant a body of hard working and industrious men who are not equalled in the world.

15,992. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) But do not you think that it is the best as a general rule for the good of the whole community that a man should be at liberty to sell his labour where he likes?—Yes; I have nothing against that.

15,993. (*Mr. Booth.*) You had not the intention of stirring up the minds of these men against the black sheep?—No. God forbid.

15,994. But was not your using the expression calculated to do so?—I made use of the expression to convey my meaning. The "Times" itself makes use of the term. I had no more meaning further than to express myself in a way that should be understood.

15,995. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) I will read the sentence to you again. "Mr. Samuel Lancaster could do great "things when he had his hand in somebody else's "purse" (that is the first insinuation) "tickling the "yellows, and he had fetched some black sheep "into the town." Now all those things are put before an excited mob as a description of the conduct and character of Mr. Lancaster?—I may say as far as the men are concerned there was no violence meant, it was far from my thoughts.

15,996. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Was it previously or after that Mr. Lancaster appeared brandishing a revolver?—He had appeared, I believe, previously, and afterwards too, firing a revolver in the public streets.

15,997. Have you been able to satisfy yourself that neither directly nor indirectly out of the general funds, or out of the local funds, has money belonging to the union been paid in any way to the authors of outrage?—I have no knowledge whatever of anything of the kind having been done.

15,998. Have you been able to satisfy yourself that such is not the case?—I have brought here our minutes giving an account of the monies that we have paid to the men since the strike has commenced, and I cannot find one item of that kind. I may say that the transactions of the society when I am engaged on other business go on without me, and I have no knowledge.

15,999. Are those accounts made up to a recent date?—Yes, to yesterday fortnight.

16,000. Have you investigated with a special view to this point the accounts of those particular lodges, or of those secretaries who are generally suspected of being implicated in this matter?—Yes.

16,001. And you can find no irregularity?—I can find no irregularity as far as the association is concerned.

16,002. And would you, speaking for the association, pledge yourself that no such sum will hereafter be allowed if any such sum should be discovered?—Yes; I can vouch that if such be the case I will retire on that day that it is done.

16,003. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You said that there were lawyers specially employed to defend the men. I suppose that they were paid; whom do you suppose that they were paid by?—Indeed I do not know.

16,004. Those poor men had no money to pay them with excepting they had got it before hand. They would not pay a lawyer his fees, would they?—Well, I can vouch that the association has not found those fees, neither directly or indirectly.

16,005. Now I will put to you a question that possibly is an indiscreet one. Could it be possible that rival masters should come into the market, and that one of those rival masters should pay the fees of the professional man who defended those men?—Indeed I cannot say, but I should say one thing, that one of the proprietors has sent *5l.* to the association in sympathy with the men, to be distributed in breadto them.

16,006. (*Mr. Harrison.*) The men who have taken part in these riotous assemblies in fact, and in fact in all the meetings which have been held, have not consisted exclusively of unionists, have they?—Not at all, the majority are out of the union.

16,007. All the men, in fact, that work the pits have been acting together independently of whether they were members of the union or not?—Yes.

16,008. They have been directed, I suppose, more or less formally by leaders or agents of their own on the spot, have they not?—Yes.

16,009. Have those men been in all cases officers or members of a union, or have they been selected for the purpose by the men at the pits mouth from time to time?—They have been selected by the men from spontaneous circumstances.

16,010. Out of a meeting?—Yes, out of a meeting. It sometimes takes place at the bottom of the pit and sometimes at the top of the pit before they go down.

16,011. They elect their own leaders in those cases without any reference to their being members of the union or not?—Yes, as is the case in South Wales now.

16,012. There is nothing that distinguishes what has been taking place at Wigan from what has taken place not very long ago in Wales, where there was no association whatever, and where there never had been one?—Just so.

16,013. So that, as far as you can see, the whole of the transactions that have occurred at Wigan recently, would have gone on, and probably in a much more aggravated form, supposing that there had been no association at all?—I believe candidly, let the results be what they may, that had there not been myself, with an honest straightforward purpose, and Mr. McDonald

and other gentlemen that I have consulted with, and had not the association's influence been brought to bear, the thing would have assumed a far worse feature.

16,014. In point of fact, there was a sudden and a very great reduction of wages, greater than what has taken place for a great number of years?—Yes.

16,015. The men in the separate pits became very much irritated at this, or indignant at it; they met together and elected their own leaders and representatives, and were addressed by men spontaneously springing out of their own body, and, as far as the association has acted, it has been with a view first to prevent them from striking, and when they had struck, with a view of restraining violent action?—Yes. I may say further that at this meeting that has been referred to so much the men's wish was to decide the question as to a continuance of the struggle; and I said, "Nay, the "position of affairs now is not a question for the asso- "ciation, seeing that we have more men not in the "society than in it, I think that there ought to be an "opportunity for them to express themselves whether "they are willing to go to work;" and I posted the willingness of the association up, to let the association with all its firmness, as they would show in the meeting, go and be at the threshold of the decision of the public meeting by the non-society men, and by a show of hands to go to work if they were willing. That is what took place at that meeting, and by show of hands it was unanimously carried that they should still continue the struggle.

16,016. You mean to say that you proposed that the conduct of the union men should be decided by the decision of the non-society men?—Yes.

16,017. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) I think that you were present when these questions, which I am about to read, were put by Mr. Mathews, and I wish you to pay attention to them and to tell me now what you say to them. Mr. Mathews said to Mr. Hewlett, "You "judge from these speeches (one of which I have just "now read to you) of Mr. Pickard, that at all events "Mr. Pickard, as the organ of the union, gave this "movement his sanction?" Now, this was the answer of Mr. Hewlett, "If he did not give the "movement for a strike his sanction, his speeches "are singularly at variance with what he said in "private." I suppose, from what you have said to us to-day, that you entirely deny that?—Yes, I do; I was never more cut in my life than when such strong statements were made.

16,018. Again, Mr. Mathews said, "His speeches "had a tendency to induce the men to continue the "strike?" The answer is, "Most undoubtedly." That, again, I suppose you deny?—Yes.

16,019. Then comes Mr. Mathews again, "There- "fore, as Mr. Pickard was the organ of the union, "we may infer that the union was instrumental in "organizing or continuing the strike?" The answer is "Yes." Now, from what I understand you to say to-day, you say that the union had nothing to do with the strike, and that you, as the organ of the union, recommended the men not to strike?—Yes.

16,020. Then Mr. Mathews says, "The general "tendency of Mr. Pickard's observations at this "meeting went to encourage the strike rather than to "discourage it?" and Mr. Hewlett answers, "Clearly so." From what I gather from your statement to-day, if that were the case it was not your intention that it should be the case?—It was not.

16,021. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Have you any miners' journal published by the men?—We have not, I am sorry to say.

16,022. What paper is that taken from?—The "Wigan Examiner," I think.

16,023. In these reports do you recognise any omissions of what you may have said on the other side?—Yes, there is plenty omitted.

16,024. In fact you do not admit the correctness of the report?—There is plenty that I have said which if it had appeared just as I said, it would revolutionize the feeling of this board about the speech.

16,025. Do you know anything of Mr. Briggs's plan of working collieries?—I have gathered certain information on that matter through my honourable colleague, Mr. McDonald.

16,026. What do you think of that?—I think that it is a very satisfactory thing, and I hope that it will gain influence with the working men and with the capitalists.

16,027. Do you think that the better organized unions and the best men in the mining trade will approve of it?—Yes, I believe they will.

16,028. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You said just now that you rather regretted—at least, I gathered from you that you rather regretted—that the practice of limiting the get of coal from the men had not been followed out in your district. Was I right in so understanding you?—Yes.

16,029. What is the nature of the limit which you are prepared to recommend?—My limit is this, that I think that a working man (I speak from experience) should be brought into the habit of working 11 days in a fortnight, and giving over each day with eight hours.

16,030. Yours is a limit of time; but you would make no limit as to the quantity which a man was to produce?—I would let that limit of time carry its bearings upon the men in the regulations with respect to the different nature of the workings. Such is the system that we have had in my time of mining in going by scales that in some cases a man would get 5*s.* where another only got 2*s.*

16,031. You are in favour of carrying out generally, for instance, the limit adopted in the South Yorkshire district, of working not more than eight hours?—Yes.

16,032. On what grounds do you advocate that?—Well, I believe that it would economise. It would check the excitement and impetuosity that gets over the men. From the habits that prevail now, there are two or three play days, and then a man goes to work and the master ties his hands to a certain extent, for a man to do that is an outrage upon his physical powers, checking his mental development, and the result is most disastrous to the man's domestic happiness and the master's interests.

16,033. You mean irregular work?—Yes. I may say that I had an interview with Mr. John Lancaster, of the Wigan Coal Company, and he said to me, "If "you could only bring your influence to bear on the "men to come to a system of regularity, it would be "a good thing. Three days out of the week we have "wagons on sidings, and we cannot get stuff to supply "our contracts," and it has been a part of my duty to get the men to regularity.

16,034. What should you say are the maximum hours of work in your district?—In Wigan I should say 10 and 11 hours, and in some cases 11 or 12. Some men are not less than 14 hours from home I should say.

16,035. Do you find that where a maximum day is the common practice the men are more regular in working day after day and less inclined to take what they call play days?—Yes.

16,036. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) I do not quite understand that. I suppose that by the eight hours a day the men would gain really as much wage in the week as they do now?—They would.

16,037. That being the case why should they not under the eight hours have a play day?—They would in that case. I am making the provision that 11 days in the fortnight they should work.

16,038. (*Mr. Harrison.*) They do not have more than one play day in that case?—Not more than one.

16,039. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) I want to know how this habit of play days arising from the present state of things may be altered by that plan. If the man gets as much under the eight hours' work as he does under the present plan, how would that conduce to doing away with the habit he now has of indulging in play days?—By the eight hours system, 11 days a fortnight, a man would give more time to the attention

Mr. V. Pickard.

May 1868.

and interests of his master and his own than he does now.

16,040. That is just what I want you to show me?—There is the attention for 11 days instead of as now for eight and nine and 10 days in a fortnight, as the system is amongst the men, which works most painful results to the proprietors and the men themselves.

16,041. Do you think that under the system of eight hours he could not just in the same way, have a large number of hours of play, and do double time in the other hours, and would he not gain just the same as now in that case?—His physical nature would not allow of that; it would go to destruction.

16,042. Do you mean to say that the eight hours would limit the output?—I believe that it would increase the output.

16,043. Why should he then not have his play hours just as now?—Because the regularity is to the master's interest and his own.

16,044. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Is it not the case that when a man has worked three days running for 13 or 14 hours, he will rest then for a day, whereas if he works eight hours a day he need not rest in that way?—Yes.

16,045. You have spoken about the system of forfeits in the Wigan district. Will you explain how far it is general, and what is the ordinary rule?—I may say that we had evidence given on that subject before the committee that inquired into the grievances of the coal miners, and I think you will find in that report that we have check-weighmen placed on the bank there; but that is only a nickname, for they will not allow us to have what we really want, and that is chronic evil.

16,046. You have a right to have it by law?—We have a right to have it by law, but it must be a mutual arrangement between master and servant, and the masters set their face against it in the Wigan district.

16,047. You mean that there the Act of Parliament is a dead letter?—Yes, and I see no help without Government assistance for a fearful strike coming on. I think that Mr. Morris, from the Ince Hall coal pits, the cannel pits, gave 1,000 in something like six thousand and some odd hundred tubs as being confiscated from the men.

16,048. What do you mean by confiscated?—Taken entirely from the men; they gave them no benefit for it.

16,049. On what ground?—Because they were supposed to be short of weight.

16,050. You mean that tubs which came to the surface short of weight are taken, and the coal not reckoned to the men?—Yes; I may say that Mr. Morris's evidence is in the blue book now, that tubs were taken from the men because they were supposed to be short of weight, that they were taken to the market and sold, and produced about 1½ cwt. more than the masters said it was, and they received the proper price for it, and the men have received nothing for it.

16,051. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) I believe the rule is, that the tub is confiscated when it is minus so much; there must be a defalcation of a certain quantity before the tub is liable to be confiscated?—It so happens with regard to the nature of our mines and the principles that we now work our mines upon, that there are serious operations going on with the pressure of the earth, so that the roof comes down. The result is that many of our poor boys get their fingers cut with the friction upon the surface, and it has now become a practice to find iron handles that the boys fingers shall not come in contact between the roof and the coal. When this has been the case the coal of the tub that the man put on at the far end of the place comes in contact with the brattice cloth and the roof, and the result is that it is swept off, and when that tub gets to the surface, though it is no fault of the man who has filled it, yet it is left to the approbation or disapprobation of a man that is paid about 3*s.* a day, and as a rule it is taken from him many a time when he cannot help it and has no knowledge whatever of it.

16,052. (*Mr. Harrison.*) What do you say is the greatest amount of forfeiture which has come to your notice, and been proved to your satisfaction?—I have had serious cases proved to me, and I am afraid that the bearing of my conduct in former actions with the Wigan Colliery Company has had something to do with the strong way in which Mr. Hewlett expresses himself. At the California pit we had occasion to place a check-weighman there on account of the men having sacrificed some days two, three, and as high as four tubs.

16,053. Out of how many?—In some cases 15 and in some cases 20 per day, varying according to the nature of the work they were in. This led the men to send for me to a special meeting, as they called it, of the colliery. They placed a man of the name of Savage on the pit bank. The law says that the men shall place a check-weighman there, and pay him at their own expense. He was carried off the pit's bank and seriously illused, and put in the highway by the banksmen by the master's authority, and told to come there no more. He did come again, and was ill-treated again. The society then took an action to Bolton, and Mr. Pease, the gentleman now present, defended the person, and the magistrates dismissed the case.

16,054. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Can you give us any idea of the cause assigned by the magistrates for dismissing your case?—I cannot give you exactly the cause. According to the rendering of the law, as I will prove from a circumstance that arose since, the masters have not the power which they thought that they had. In this case they took the course to dismiss the man, and that was the reason it ended in that way.

16,055. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Was their right of dismissal questioned?—Yes, the right of dismissal was questioned.

16,056. (*To Mr. Briggs.*) Do you know whether the coal owner has the power of dismissing the weighman?—I believe that the coal owner has not the power to dismiss the weighman appointed by the men unless he interrupts the work, and if he interferes in any way or interrupts the work going on, he is entitled to dismiss him.

16,057. Is there not a clause in the Act that the man at the pit who is selected by the men must be be approved by the owner?—No, that he must be a workman employed in that colliery.

16,058. The owner can dismiss him from his work, is not that so?—No.

16,059. (*Mr. Hughes to the witness.*) Are the tubs always weighed when they are confiscated?—They are not weighed, they just lie at the discretion of the banksmen, they are taken from the men without any consideration whatever, they simply survey the tub, and when they see that there is a little dirt in it or slack they take it for that.

16,060. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You mean it is done by the eye?—Yes, at many of our pit brows a girl is placed, who cries out "This tub has a little dirt in it," and the result is, that the banksmen hangs up a forfeit on that man's peg.

16,061. (*Lord Elcho.*) You have said that you disapproved of violence, and that although you may have used words which you have since regretted, which might not have a beneficial effect, all your efforts were really directed to the maintenance of peace in this late strike?—It was so.

16,062. Then you said that that violence on the gatherings of the men, and the state of angry feeling, were to a certain extent caused by the presence of police and soldiers?—Yes.

16,063. Now in that Wigan district there are, are there not, magistrates and persons responsible for the peace of that district, properly constituted legal authorities?—Yes.

16,064. By their having police and soldiers, one may assume that in their opinion (it may be an error of judgment, but still in their opinion), the presence

of the police and those soldiers was necessary to the maintenance of the peace, and the performance of their duty as conservators of the peace, that is so, is it not?—Yes.

16,065. You say, however, that they should not have exercised that judgment on their part by calling out the police, and should not have had soldiers fetched, because you, at the head of this union, were using your influence, and Mr. McDonald and others were likewise at work using their influence, to calm the men, and get them to go to their work again?—Yes.

16,066. Do you think that that would be a right course for magistrates to take, if they have reason to believe that law and order is threatened by gatherings of large bodies of men, whether armed with guns or armed with sticks or not, and if they see that there is a need of protection to free labour? Do you think that, as responsible to the country for the maintenance of peace and order in the district which has been confided to them, they would be justified in not using the means which the law has placed at their disposal, but entrusting the peace of their district to the efforts of persons in the position that you and Mr. McDonald were in? As a general rule, do you think they would be justified in such a course?—I think that they were perfectly justified in that sense to have them in reserve, but the exposing and exhibiting of them led to strong irritation.

16,067. But as a general principle, if the magistrates were not to trust for the maintenance of order in their district to the means which law places at their disposal, but were to trust to the efforts of another body, or self-constituted body, a body not recognized by law, would not that be, to a great extent, an abrogation of the principle of civil government and regular authority?—Yes, I suppose it would.

16068. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Do you think that the ordinary police power at the disposal of the authorities would have been sufficient to keep the peace if properly used?—Yes, I think we have a most energetic gentleman as the chief constable for the county; I think that he is a man that would have been able to have competed with the matter, without having recourse to the soldiers.

16,069. In fact, admitting entirely Lord Elcho's principle, you think that the calling out of the military and showing of the military was premature?—Yes.

16,070. (*Lord Elcho.*) That would be a question of policy, and the other which I referred to was a question of general principle. Now reverting to that question of general principle, assuming that magistrates as a rule in such cases were not to trust to their own power and their own authority, but that they were to have recourse to another authority, such as the authority of the heads of unions, a self-constituted unrecognized authority, do not you think that such a system generally applied would be injurious to law and order in the state?—Yes, I should not like to see the country established upon that system.

16,071. Do you think that if there were not properly constituted law and order in a state, any persons would suffer in that state sooner than those who are dependent for their bread upon their daily wage, and who are consequently dependent above all things on the security of property?—I think that there is strong misrepresentation as to the motives actuating men meeting in trades unions, and my experience teaches me that the general bulk of them are as loyally disposed in their action and conduct as the authorities themselves.

16,072. I am not disputing that now, but I am merely asking whether, as a general principle, it is not so, that in a well-ordered state order should be maintained by the properly constituted authorities and no other authority, no matter how well disposed?—Yes, but not to give irritation to the public.

16,073. (*Mr. Booth.*) You have said that the police ought not to have shown themselves. They did not show themselves, did they, until groups of workmen had shown themselves in a hostile manner?—Well, I think that the police did not show themselves in numbers until the men began to assemble together, and then there were cross firings that began to spring up. I should just wish to say upon the question of the check weighman, that in connexion with the Wigan Coal Company we have now a man established on the pit bank, at what is called the Lindsay pit. I may say that this question was very much discussed by the society, and they thought it was right that they should have a man there. They placed one on in 1866, on the 31st of March. This man was taken and put in custody; I had an interview with Mr. Lancaster and our late town clerk, that was employed as the solicitor for us to take this matter up. We wished to know whether the law justified us in placing a man there or not, and we wished the thing to go into court.

16,074. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You said that he was taken up. What was he charged with?—I will just read you a paragraph if you please from a newspaper about the circumstance on that date: "Charge of trespass "on a coalpit brow.—William Martindale was summoned for a trespass on the brow of the Lindsay pit. "The information was supported by George Peters, "the banksman, who said defendant was connected "with the society of colliers, and was sent on to the "bank with the errand to see to the interests of the "men with respect to the sending up of stuff. He "was ordered off the bank the day before, and refusing "to go was carried off. On the day now in question "he again refused. The bench did not hold that the "charge of trespass had been sustained and dismissed "the charge. Mr. Hilton appeared for the defendant."

16,075. Then there the case of the masters was beaten?—Yes.

16,076. He was charged with trespass?—Yes.

16,077. On what ground was he charged with trespass. If he were not the servant of the proprietors of the mine it would have been trespass?—Yes.

16,078. But I suppose the magistrates decided that he was a servant, and therefore it was no trespass?—That is so. I may say that about this matter Mr. Lancaster and I had interviews, and the matter was settled; the man was in prison two hours, and a certain compensation was given, and since that I am thankful to say that the understanding upon that question has been understood by the company and the association, and there is a man this day in that man's stead, and the thing is working since satisfactory, as far as I know.

16,079. Do you know whether in every case the man employed as check weighman is in the employ of the proprietor of the mine?—He is generally selected from the body of men.

(*Mr. McDonald.*) He was charged with assault, but it should have been with obstruction; that was where the case failed.

16,080. (*Lord Elcho.*) This question has been put into my hands to put to you. Is it true that Mr. Samuel Lancaster was seen brandishing a pistol and firing it in the streets of Wigan?—Yes, it has been communicated to me that such was the case.

16,081. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You did not see it yourself?—No.

16,082. (*Mr. Harrison.*) I suppose that you have been occasionally called in to consider cases of men who consider themselves to have been wrongfully dismissed from their work upon insufficient grounds by viewers?—Yes.

16,083. You have from time to time interfered, I suppose, in such cases?—Yes.

16,084. On what ground has your interference been called for?—My interference in many cases has turned out to be satisfactory both to employers and employed, and I have received, both at the hands of employers and employed, compliments for my impartial dealings in the question.

16,085. A great number of witnesses have complained very seriously to us of the injury which is done to the discipline of the mine by the miner who

Mr. W. Pickard.

5 May 1868.

is dismissed going off to the secretary of the union and bringing the association to interfere?—There may be isolated cases of that sort, but as a rule it is to the contrary.

16,086. What advantages to the men do you find from that course? I mean do you find that there are cases in which underground viewers harshly and oppressively dismiss a man?—In some cases we find that there has been wrong action taken against a man, and in some cases we find that it has been justifiable. Where discipline has been neglected, or there has been insubordination, we have put that down.

16,087. (*Chairman.*) The union representative is at hand to be applied to in a case of hardship to see that the men are righted?—Yes.

16,088. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You have found that your advice has from time to time prevented a general spirit of insubordination from springing up amongst the men in consequence of these things, where you have shown that the man was in the wrong?—Yes. I will put an extinguisher, as far as my employers will allow me, upon any insubordination, because I know the serious results of it. I have had to deal with men and work with them, and have had to go and remonstrate with the men apart from unions altogether, that have been working in gas and going to fire shots, and one thing and another, so that I know that for a man to stand in my position and not to co-work with the authority of the master for good discipline would be most serious. It is our interest to work with the masters in that sense.

16,089. You have no special evidence with regard to the employment of women on the pit bank, which is common in the Wigan district? Your association has done what it can to resist it?—We have very much opposed it, and the proprietors of cheap labour have very much encouraged it. We know that a great many of these men that are ignorant have been committing this wrong, and so long as a large number of the 700 females that work on the pit's bank in Wigan become the wives of these men, we think that it demoralizes the men. We think that females would be far better not employed at all on the pit's bank, and that they should be dressed in their own attire, and not in a man's; but we have been opposed by masters on account of the interests of the cheap labour that it produces.

16,090. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You say that there are 700 women now working in the Wigan district on the pit's bank?—From 700 to 800. I may say that I have had two wives, and my first mistress worked with me in the mine in 1842 when that was stopped.

16,091. (*Lord Elcho.*) Do you wish to make any further statement?—Yes; upon the matter of advances. I may say that I have here minutes about the association of the Wigan miners, showing that with regard to the advances referred to by Mr. Hewlett, propositions were made, and solicitations asking the masters for those advances which he said were given without being solicited.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. J. Normansell.

Mr. JOHN NORMANSELL examined.

16,092. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Are you secretary to the South Yorkshire Miners' Association?—Yes.

16,093. How long have you been the secretary of it?—About four years.

16,094. Have you been secretary from the formation of the association?—I have been secretary since 1864, but I have been in connection with the management ever since it was formed.

16,095. When was it formed?—In 1858.

16,096. What was the cause of its formation?—The employers throughout the district gave notice for 15 per cent. reduction in wages in 1858. There was no union previous to 1858; but in 1858, about March, the employers gave notice for a 15 per cent. reduction enerally throughout the district, and the consequence was that the men met at the various collieries, and formed themselves into branches, and from branches they formed themselves into a general union, for the purpose of resisting the 15 per cent. reduction.

16,097. How many members were there on the original formation of the society?—Perhaps from 2,000 to 3,000.

16,098. And were they successful in resisting that reduction?—Yes. I may just state that, by the arrangements that were made by these various branches and the general union which was formed immediately, they agreed that they would make the best terms possible with their employers at each colliery; and some got off with 5 per cent., others got off without any reduction whatsoever, and others took 15 per cent. reduction. We left it to themselves to deal with the question the best way they could, with the understanding that one colliery, a very large one, was kept out; and the result was that in three weeks there was not a single colliery in the neighbourhood that was working upon the reduction. The owners began to differ among themselves, and found fault with each other for not sticking to their agreement; and it resulted in all the places resisting the reduction with the exception of one; that was the Oaks, which struck, and was kept out about 18 weeks.

16,099. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) At what reduction?—They did not commence work at any reduction at all.

16,100. (*Mr. Hughes.*) So that in the first instance the association was quite successful?—Yes.

16,101. How many members does it now consist of?—It contains about 7,000 members now. We have more on the books, but there are 7,000 who can claim benefits under all circumstances.

16,102. 7,000 paying members?—More. 7,000 financial members.

16,103. Why do you call them financial members?—Because they are within a certain rule. There are other members who are behind with their contributions.

16,104. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Those 7,000 are men that have fully paid up?—Yes.

16,105. (*Mr. Hughes.*) What are the objects of your association?—It has many objects. First, to raise from time time by contributions among the members funds for the purpose of mutual support. Secondly, to assist its members in striving to obtain better legislation for the efficient management of mines, whereby the health and lives of the miners may be prolonged. Thirdly, compensation for accidents when the employers are liable. Fourthly, to assist all lodges and members when unjustly dealt with by their employers or agents. Fifthly, a weekly allowance to members locked out, or when driven into a strike. Sixthly, a weekly allowance to members when injured while following their employment. Seventhly, a grant of 8*l.* at the death of any member caused by accident while following his employment. Eighthly, to shorten the hours of labour, and to infuse steadier habits of working among all its members. Ninthly, to secure the true weight of the miners' material at the pit banks, thus giving to both employers and employed their legitimate due. Tenthly, to abolish all illegal stoppages at the pay offices, and to secure the prices and wages that the members may at all times bargain for. Eleventhly, to improve the miners' positions, morally, mentally and physically. Twelfthly, to extend the association's principles to our less fortunate brethren by aiding all other similar associations that have for their objects the rights of labour. Thirteenthly, a weekly allowance to the widows and orphans of members who lose their lives by accident while following their employment. These are the benefits of the general association. The benefits out of local lodges are, a weekly allowance to members when sick from natural causes, an allowance of 4*l.* at the natural death of any member, an allowance of 2*l.* at the death of a member's wife, an allowance

of 1*l.* at the death of a member's child if under 12 years of age.

16,106. What are your subscriptions to provide for those benefits; what, for instance, is your entrance fee to begin with?—Our entrance fee is now 10*s.* for a member.

16,107. Does it not vary according to the age?—No; we have two classes of members only, a first and second class. Boys under 16 years of age we charge 5*s.* entrance; they pay half contributions and receive half benefit.

16,108. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) How long do they do that?—Until they are 18.

16,109. (*Mr. Hughes.*) And then from that time to what age do you admit men on payment of 10*s.*?—Up to any age.

16,110. What is the amount of contribution that each member pays?—The amount of contribution to the association is about 9*d.* per week, the regular contribution. But for the past 12 months, with the levies that have come upon us for different things, there has been an average of 1*s.* a week paid into the association besides entrance fees.

16,111. During the last year how many levies have you made?—We have had one 3*d.* per week levy for perhaps about eight months.

16,112. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What was that for?—It was chiefly for the Gresley miners who were being locked out.

16,113. (*Mr. Hughes.*) To assist the men of another district in a dispute, in fact?—Yes.

16,114. When your association was first established was it recognized by the coal owners of the district?—It was not recognized.

16,115. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What do you mean by that?—They would not acknowledge any officer or any deputations that were deputed from the association. They would not treat with us as an association. They preferred treating with the men in their own local way.

16,116. That is to say, I suppose, that when the matter referred to their own pit entirely, they did not allow anyone to come in and interfere with them?—They did not allow anybody from the association to come in and interfere with them.

16,117. Not anybody at all from outside?—No.

16,118. And that was the ground of what you call the non-recognition of the union?—Yes.

16,119. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Do they recognize you now?—Yes, they have recognized us for the last three years; I may say, since about the middle of 1865.

16,120. Have you had any strikes during the time that the association has been formed?—We have had very many strikes since the year 1858, and lock-outs as well. I can give you a history of the strikes if you desire it.

16,121. Will you tell us shortly as to those strikes, when they broke out, and what was the result of them?—In the year 1858, which I have already alluded to, after the Oaks resumed work (that was the pit that was kept out on strike on the 15 per cent.), we went on till the year 1859, when the employers of the Wharncliffe Silkstone Colliery, Messrs. Jeffcock and Company, gave notice to a certain portion of their workmen to leave; and it was said during the time that those men were on notice, that if they preferred going on at so much per yard less price they could continue their work, and that if they would pay 1*s.* per fortnight for the use of their lamp (the oil that was consumed in it, and several other matters similar) they could continue their work. This the men refused, and attempted to find employment elsewhere in the district, but they were shut out; the rest of the owners said that they understood that there was a dispute at this colliery, and that they could not employ them. There were about 17 coal getters kept on who did not receive notice, and these men joined with those that the employers gave notice to, and the consequence was that the great bulk of them were locked out, and the other portion struck; and that dispute lasted about eight months. It resulted in their going back chiefly on the men's terms. I was working in this very same pit at the very time, and we had no means of checking our accounts—we had no check weighman, for there was no weighing clause then at all, and we had as many as 80 to 100 tubs of coal out of one pit confiscated in one day from some pretence or other, some for short weight. The tub should contain, by agreement, 5½ cwt., but if it came to bank 5¼ cwt. it was confiscated, and nothing at all was given to the men; and if there came rather too much slack in these tubs of coal there was a confiscation made then; and if so much rubbish and dirt came up there was a confiscation made on that account; and altogether the confiscations amounted to 20 or 25 tons daily.

16,122. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Out of how many?—Perhaps the pit was drawing about 300 tons per day at that time.

16,123. (*Mr. Hughes.*) That would be between seven and eight per cent. on the whole get?—Yes, that was about the amount at that time; and there were these stoppages which they wished to bring on the men for oil and one thing and another which also caused them to strike. It resulted in the 1*s.* per fortnight demanded for oil being withdrawn, and it resulted also in placing a man on the pit bank to check the men's accounts

16,124. A person was appointed by the men as their weighman, you mean?—A person was appointed by the men as their weighman. That was the origin of the present clause in the Act of Parliament for the man to be so appointed.

16,125. (*Mr. Booth.*) Was the person so appointed one of the workmen from the mine?—Yes; I was the workman so appointed.

16,126. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Had you in that strike anything to do with Mr. Dunn?—Not at that time, nor have I had anything to do with him since.

16,127. He is the manager of that pit, is he not?—No; his collieries are near Sheffield; he has nothing to do with this colliery; it is Jeffcock and Company's.

16,128. (*Mr. Booth.*) Under the system of forfeiture, does the forfeiture take place since the appointment of the weigher as it did before? Supposing that when the tub comes to the pit's mouth and is weighed, it is found to be under weight to such an extent as would justify confiscation, is it still forfeited?—There is no confiscation at all that takes place now where the weighing principle is introduced. If a tub of coal is supposed to contain 8 cwt. and only contains 6 cwt., they get 6 cwt.; if it contains 10 cwt. they get 10 cwt.; there is no confiscation under the plea of short weight. There are a few confiscations that take place because too much slack or shale comes up with the coal occasionally.

16,129. That remains as before?—That remains not as before, for this reason, that previously there was no check whatsoever on the man placed on the part of the employers on the pit's bank, but now there is a check. The check weighmen themselves, or the greater portion of the check weighmen, if it is a bad tub, at once condemn it as such, or say: "I cannot object to a sacrifice being made" according to the amount of waste in it.

16,130. That check weighman is in the nature of an an arbitrator?—Yes, and it requires a very reasonable man to be placed there in order to judge of those matters.

16,131. (*Mr. Hughes.*) I understood you to say that the association took part in this strike of 1859?—In 1859 it was supported. We received 8*s.* per week from the association for 28 weeks, and 1*s.* a head for each child under 12 years of age.

16,132. Do you consider that charge of a shilling for oil in a fortnight a fair charge? Would it have been fair otherwise, I mean, supposing you ought to have paid it at all?—We did not consider it a fair charge to charge 1*s.* a fortnight for the oil that is used, and we do not consider it fair now where it is charged. We contended against it then, and have not altered our conclusions on it. The lamp of course is introduced, and it is a great drawback to the men's

Mr. J. Normansell.

5 May 1868.

wages to work with the lamp. It affects him in many ways; it affects his eyesight; but it is more dangerous in many respects to work with what is termed the Davy lamp than what it was when we worked with naked lights or candles.

16,133. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You say that from your experience?—Yes.

16,134. You say that workmen would rather depend upon the naked light than upon that which the world has been taught to consider a safety lamp?—I wish to qualify my last answer. If the safety lamp is a protection from danger in one way, it is perhaps dangerous in six other ways in bringing on injuries as well as loss of life.

16,135. Then the conclusion is that it is a mistake to call it the safety lamp?—It is a mistake, and a great mistake.

16,136. It is an unsafety lamp, according to you? I want to know if your experience tells you that what we outside have all been taught to consider as of great benefit to mankind, the Davy safety lamp, is a mistake, and that it is not a safety lamp, but an unsafety lamp?—Of course I have been brought up in and about the mines all my life, and my experience is that the Davy safety lamp is no safety lamp at all. I believe that what are termed safety lamps have destroyed more lives than they have saved really.

16,137. When I am told that it is injurious to admit into a pit uninstructed men who know nothing about the safety lamp, that must be a mistake according to you, because the less they know the better, and they may use the safety lamp the same as a naked light, and Mr. Pickard, who said that that was a great injury and mischief to the mining people, made a mistake. There can be no injury done by the improper use of the safety lamp, if I understand you?—There can be injury done by the improper use of the safety lamp, and very often the lamp being in existence is the very cause of the danger existing, because if there were no reliance placed upon the lamp probably there would be no need of it in those cases, because the danger would be removed. I have known scores of instances where the ventilation has been seriously neglected, and they have relied entirely upon the lamp. And not only that, but when we have got a locked Stephenson's lamp, which is considered the most safe lamp that we have in existence at the present time, it is put into the hands of an inexperienced workman, as Mr. Pickard has mentioned, and that is the channel which we are drifting into now under our mining engineers, and the different people who have the management of our mines. We are never safe now, according to the theory of the mining engineers. Eruptions may so suddenly come upon us that we are never safe in the best ventilated mines which we have in the country, because it has been frequently said in South Yorkshire (which is one of the most fiery districts in the country) that it is an outburst. If an explosion takes place, all the talent is brought to bear to trace it to an outburst, something that could not be really prevented and provided for. If that was so then we are never safe, we cannot be safe at all, because of the inexperience that is introduced into mines. It does not matter wherein it be, or how it may be; but if there is an inexperienced man who does not know when the gas comes into the mine and is about him, an explosion may occur even with the Davy lamp being it use.

16,138. I conclude from your experience that if you go with a naked light or go with a Stephenson's lamp the thing is the same, as much danger arises from the one as from the other?—No; I am not condemning the safety lamp, understand me, but what I say is that my opinion is that scores of accidents and explosions have taken place solely on account of depending on the safety lamp instead of depending on proper ventilation. I mean to say that the lamp is good in its place, and I mean to say this, that there are probably mines that would not be safe to be worked without the lamp. The lamps are all right in their place, but when we trust to them further than that, we are all wrong with them.

16,139. That means to say that people put too much faith in the protection of the safety lamp, that the safety lamp will not protect against all dangers, that there must be some ventilation and other means to prevent mischief? But now I gather from you that the safety lamp is a safeguard in many places?—It is a safeguard where there is gas, but even there there are other accidents that take place. I had a great mind to bring a safety lamp from Barnsley to show you the difficulty that there is in keeping the lamp in its place, and the fickleness of the light; it is like a glowworm. They will not allow a man to put the lamp on the floor, or to hang it on the tub by a hook, he must keep it on his thumb the day through. Perhaps for 400 or 500 yards he will have the rails jumping as they do jump, and chucking it up or down. Sometimes he may let it fall, and if he does he is fined for it.

16,140. Will you put it thus: If the safety lamp were not in existence it would be better for the miner?—No, I do not say that. I say that the safety lamp is all very well in its place, and that it never ought to be used except in its place.

16,141. What is its place?—Its place is in fiery mines, no mistake about that, and its place is for the purpose of going and examining places every morning before the workman commences work. Its place is to go in goafs, to go in places where the coal has been cut and examine all that.

16,142. Suppose the morning examination over, would you work then with a naked light. I suppose you do mean to say that the utility of the safety lamp ends there, and that then a man might as well work with a naked light as with the safety lamp?—No, I do not say that exactly, I say that there are mines where they are constantly and rapidly pushing at that rate that there may be such a quantity of gas given off that it may be quite requisite to work with one of these lamps at times. Then there is no doubt that these outbursts which they talk about are blowers of gas. If there is a mine that is given to a good deal of that, blowing off a good deal of gas in different places, it may be requisite there to work with a safety lamp, but it is never requisite to work with a safety lamp except to protect the miner against anything of that kind, and whenever there is gas seen anywhere in the pits, even if there are safety lamps, a man has no business there at all.

16,143. Supposing that you were the guide of the mine, would you say to the men generally, "Use safety lamps," or would you say to the men generally "Do not use them"?—If I had a fiery mine, I must say this, that I should be easier in my mind whether I was the proprietor or the manager if it were worked exclusively with Stephenson's lamp, providing that here was a good ventilation kept up, providing that there were an adequate amount of shafts and air passages and thorough ventilation.

16,144. But supposing it were the case that there was not a good ventilation, would you be more satisfied in your mind with the naked light?—Where there is not good ventilation a human being has no business at all.

16,145. Would you be more satisfied without the safety lamp supposing that the mine were not ventilated?—Not at all.

16,146. Then there is some good in the safety lamp?—There is this good in it; if I am working in a mine where there is not ventilation, the least accident to my lamp, or the least carelessness of a negligent person might bring on an explosion.

16,147. I want to know whether the safety lamp is of any value, you having set out with the statement that it was not. I want to know what sort of value is attributable to the safety lamp?—I must keep clear on this point, because my position and experience are rather important I think as an humble individual. I say that lamps have been relied upon too much, lamps have been placed in mines instead of more shafts and thorough ventilation. So long as a pit has been worked exclusively with safety lamps they

have been dependent on them, and hence the explosions that have occurred at so many of these pits.

16,148. Do not you think that it would be more correct to say that too much dependence had been placed on the safety lamp, that it does good, but that it will not exclude the necessity of thorough ventilation?—Yes, I will put it in that way if you like.

16,149. As you began you said that it was of no use whatever?—I said that the Davy lamp was not a safety lamp at all, no more is it. The Davy lamp will explode if you allow the gas to be in the lamp for a few seconds.

16,150. Then you think that the nation was mistaken when it gave its great approbation to Sir Humphrey Davy for his lamp?—Well, our managers of mines a great many of them prefer going round with one of the Davy lamps to examine the working places, as they can detect the gas much better with it than with the Stephenson lamp; but as to working with it, it is very dangerous to work with.

16,151. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Would not an experienced man working with an open candle detect the presence of gas almost immediately and before it became dangerous, while an inexperienced man would not have sufficient knowledge to do so?—Yes, just so. You can detect the gas from the candle, but I prefer detecting it with the lamp after all.

16,152. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Would not a common candle blow you up much sooner?—It does not matter whether the gas blows you up with a lamp or a candle, the effect is the same.

16,153. But would it not blow you up sooner with a naked candle?—True, but when an accident happens with the lamp it is not less dangerous than with a naked light.

16,154. Would not that difficulty and danger arise much sooner by the naked light than by the Davy lamp?—Yes, if you work in gas; but the moment you go in the fire damp with the Davy lamp it explodes in it. The heat of the gas burning inside the gauze, the wire gauze gives way, and hence a burst and a naked flame, and hence explosion.

16,155. That is to say, then, the Davy lamp becomes simply a naked lamp, and then it becomes so terribly dangerous. Therefore would you not conclude that common sense tells you that the naked light is far more dangerous than the Davy lamp?—True, but I have worked with a lamp until it became red hot, before I had that experience that I ought to have had. We have had to carry them on our pick points. We have seen them tested frequently, and we have known explosions to take place where they have been working with lamps of that description, and they have taken place when the lamps have been locked, in consequence of the wires becoming so heated the gas has ignited.

16,156. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Are there many fiery mines and dangerous mines in your district?—They are mostly dangerous mines with us in South Yorkshire.

16,157. With proper attention to ventilation, do you believe that they are dangerous to human life in working?—When they depend upon the lamp they are.

16,158. But, given good ventilation, you do not believe that any of these fiery mines are dangerous to work in?—I believe that they will not be dangerous as far as gases are concerned. There is Messrs. Charlesworth's colliery—a colliery drawing about 1,000 tons a day the year round, two pits at Rawmarsh, and I was in them a week since, and I went back in the goaf about 12 feet high in the roof, and I did not find any gas. It is all worked with the naked lights.

16,159. My impression is that Mr. Briggs's men when I was down their colliery all worked with a naked light?—I believe so. They work with naked lights at Rawmarsh and the Barnsley Bed.

16,160. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Is that a fiery mine?—Yes.

16,161. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Their ventilation is perfect, is it not?—Yes, their ventilation is perfect as far as I could see.

Mr. J. Normansell.

5 May 1868.

16,162. After 1859, when had you the next strike in which your association was concerned?—After 1859 we went on till 1860. There were several places then that were supposed to be underpaid, paid less than the neighbouring collieries in the district, and the association sanctioned a strike at one little place employing about 50 men for the purpose of bringing up the prices to those of the adjoining collieries. Then in the same year the new colliery of Smith, Carr, and Smith, of Strafford Main, was just commencing, and a dispute took place as to what should be the starting price of the new working, and they demanded the prices that were paid, or in fact rather higher than were paid at the adjoining collieries on the ground of their being more difficulties for the colliers. Those men struck in addition to the Men at the small place. Then we had another colliery employing some 200 men under Captain Clark, the Old Silkstone colliery. They were confiscating the men's coal there as they were at the place which I worked at in 1858, and they had a rule to suspend a man a day if he sent up a bad corve or a corve short of weight, or anything of that sort, and to confiscate his tub besides. They had got from that to suspending him three days and they took his corve as well. This the men objected to and they stopped. Then we had three collieries out—Sturges and Paley's, Strafford main, and the Old Silkstone—the two former places being supported by the association for a number of weeks, until at last the owners met and locked the men out of the district to cut off the support of these men on strike. We were locked out about a month; and it ended by the first place—Sturges and Paley's—being paid the same price as the adjoining colliery, and it ended in Smith and Carr's colliery being put to arbitration, and the other men at Old Silkstone turned round and demanded an advance before they would go to work, when the evil that they had struck for was removed.

16,163. Did you back them in that?—We did not.

16,164. The confiscation I understand was abolished, and the masters agreed that the coal should no longer be confiscated in No. 3 strike, but the 200 men said, "Besides that we demand an increase of wages"?—The strike was chiefly over being suspended three days instead of one; and it ended in no confiscation taking place, and that they should be suspended only one day, and then they turned round and wanted an advance; and it was arranged about a fortnight after the lock-out took place that these two places—Sturges and Paley's and Strafford Main—should commence work, as I have named, and when the owners found out that the men at Old Silkstone did not resume work they would not allow the other men in the district to resume work, and the consequence was that we did not give those men a penny from the association, but they stood out for about a fortnight and at last it ended in the old Silkstone men leaving the association altogether, and they were away from it something like four years. Then in 1862 we had another strike that took place at what is called Woolley Edge colliery. The proprietor, I believe, is the solicitor for the West Riding, Mr. Marsden. There was one part where the dirt between the coal and above the coal was of great thickness, and in the other part of the pit it became very thin, and the consequence was that the owner wished to reduce the price for getting this coal on account of the dirt going thinner. The men would agree to having the price reduced where it was thin, but he wanted to reduce the price all over the pit, and the men objected; they said that they would have the price reduced where the labour was gone from it—that is, where it was thin—and a strike ensued, until at last the association gave it up, and we lost that altogether. The result has been that those new men have never joined the association since then. The old hands gave up the strike on account of new hands being imported into the district from Staffordshire and other places, and we have never been near them or asked them to join our

Mr. J. Normansell.

5 May 1868.

association since that time, as we believe that we are better without them than with them.

16,165. What is the next strike after 1862?—In 1863. I myself was thrown out of a situation for seven months. I was locked out for seven months. I was a check weighman at this very place, where I was appointed in 1858, at Jeffcock's, and I was the local leading man, as they termed them with us, over this branch. There was a branch lodge belonging to the association at this colliery, and I was the secretary of it, and I was the check weighman at the pit called No. 1, and they removed the men out of the pit No. 1 to pit No. 2, and when I went to check their accounts at pit No. 2 I was ejected from the weigh-house on several mornings together.

16,166. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) On what ground?—On the ground of not being a person employed on the colliery for the time being. We took out a summons and brought the manager before the magistrates at Barnsley, and the result was that the magistrates decided that I was legally appointed. That was all they said. They charged the owners with the costs, and the decision was that I was legally appointed.

16,167. That you really were a person employed in the colliery?—That I was legally appointed. Those was the only words that they put to their decision. I went back again to commence my duties, and I was ejected again. And I went for five or six mornings together, and was thrown out of the place, and was called a scamp and vagabond for coming there to interrupt them, and all that sort of thing. We took out another summons, and the decision of the magistrates again was that I was legally appointed, but we could not get the costs paid. I should think that I went 17 or 18 times to this weigh-house during this process, and was put out every time. We took out a third time a summons, and took out a distress warrant for the costs. That was not executed, and it ended in the case being brought to the Court of Queen's Bench by a writ of certiorari. And there was nothing but delay after delay; it was put off from one term to another term, and the men were very impatient, and would have struck, but my advice was that they should not strike, and they went on during those seven months. Then it came before the three judges. Sir Fitzroy Kelly was one of our counsel; Mr. Cleasby was another, and Mr. Maule, I think, was another. We had several consultations, and they doubted the decision that would be given by the judges, and they wanted to know what would suit us the best. I said, "Well, we want two things; the men want me re-instated at their weighing-machine as their weighman; and the miners of the country generally want the law tested." "Well," Sir Fitzroy Kelly said, "we know what the law is without any test at all, and we had better not risk any test at all, but if we can get you back by a compromise, you will be much more comfortable to work than forcing yourself back—that is, you paying your own costs; they doing the same, and they recognizing your former privileges. If they do that, will you agree to it?" I said, "Well, we have employed you three legal advisers, and we must abide by that which you think will be the best, and I will take your decision, but the men will not be suited unless I get back again." It came on for hearing for an hour, and was then adjourned for a fortnight, and when it came on again this proposition was made, and the court accepted it. Mr. Baxter, the parliamentary solicitor, was one of the proprietors of the place. The judge asked what they had against me. Mr. Bovill, I think it was, said that I was the leading man of a powerful organization at the colliery, and they could not very well carry out any rules or regulations with reference to putting this Act into force with my interference, and they thought that they should be better without me than with me. He said, Well, if that was all that they had against me they had better let me go back on Sir Fitzroy Kelly's terms. I went back, and stopped for a short time, and was never more comfortable in my life. I had the privilege of adjusting all the three weighing machines at the colliery, and we have never had anything the matter since. We have had disputes since, but that seems to have settled the weiging question in South Yorkshire. We have never had another question arise out the principle. I was about the first check-weigh man who was attempted to be ejected, and about the first who was put on as a check-weigh man in 1859, and the principle has grown, until we have now 40 check-weigh men in the district, paid by the men, and we are working well upon that principle.

16,168. Was there any other strike?—In 1864 the Oaks Colliery men struck. They left the union in about two years after the strike in 1858. They kept their own money at home, and invested their own funds, and when they had got 100*l.* together they agreed to draw it out of the bank, and divide it. The result was that the men who were sent to draw it ran away with it, but they were caught. The men at that colliery then came back to the association, and the moment that they came back they had many grievances to complain about, and they wanted to strike. The association said, "You "have brought on your grievances through your own "carelessness, and must bear with them until we "think that the time has come for you to have them "set right." The result was that they struck themselves without the sanction of the union.

16,169. (*Mr. Booth.*) What for?—For an advance of wages, about 4*d.* per dozen advance, a little over a $\frac{1}{2}$*d.* a ton, and little odd matters besides. We had another little colliery in the district at which the association sanctioned a strike for an advance of wages, on account of being lower than their neighbours. These two places caused a lock-out again in 1864, and the owners locked out 3,000 of us, and there were only 1,000 of them that were connected with the union. The masters locked out their men because they were in the masters' association. This strike lasted 19 weeks, and I was one of them, and I and my family had not more than 5*s.* 6*d.* a week for 19 weeks; I was one of the leaders, but I just received equal pay with the others. We fought more against the principle of locking-out than against anything else; we thought that if we could kill the policy of locking-out we should do a good thing, and we did. They allowed us to resume work, and the Oaks strike ended in a compromise, and the men at the other colliery got their terms, and we have been at peace ever since that strike, with the exception of Mr. Chambers's place, which I will come to presently. I may say at this stage, that we went on till the year 1865, when there came on a general prosperity of the trade throughout the country. That occurred in the latter part of 1864 and the commencement of 1865, and the Lancashire men got twice 10 per cent., and other districts got similar advances; the trades generally of the country got a rise, and provisions rose, and everything suggested to the minds of our men that they ought to have a little advance. During this time the association had augmented in numbers considerably to what it had been before. We thought that we would make a general demand for an advance, and we sent offers to the employers throughout the district; at least we sent it to each branch, and each branch sent it on to the proprietors of their collieries. This was the offer:—

"Gentlemen,

"Your workmen after waiting a considerable "time in the expectation that an advance of wages "would be offered to them, and wishing such advance "to emanate from you, find themselves under the "necessity of making this application, having full "confidence that such request will be cheerfully "acceded to. The advance of wages that has taken "place in nearly all branches of labour during the "present season, and the advances that have taken "place (from time to time) in the article we produce, "together with the high price of provisions, renders "it necessary that an advance of wages should be

" granted, thereby allowing us to reap some share of " the increasing prosperity of the country. Under " these circumstances we ask that an advance of 10 " per cent. be given to all your workmen in or about " the mine or colliery, requesting the said advance to " be paid on the first pay-day in November 1865, and " awaiting your answer, for which a deputation will " wait upon you on Thursday, October 26th 1865,

" We remain, most respectfully,

" YOUR WORKMEN."

The owners met together and the only answer that we got from them was through the newspapers. It was merely a short paragraph that got into the newspaper. There was no official signature to it, and it was not even directed to the miners. After that this circular was sent in :—

" To the executive and members of the Barnsley " District Coal Masters Association.

" Gentlemen, Barnsley, November 16th.

" At a very numerous, unanimous, and important meeting of the miners' delegates, held at " Wombell, last evening, the present trade prosperity " and the social progress of this district was duly and " prominently represented. That the present relations " of supply and demand justifies the claim of a 10 per " cent. advance upon all wages, and that the working " miners ought to share in the prosperity, and should " be benefited proportionately to the growth of trade " and wealth of society, was not discussed at length. " It was affirmed as not needing discussion. With a " view, therefore, of harmonizing the present disturbed " relations of capital and labour, and of settling satisfactory the present contentions, the executives of " the operative miners have respectively to request an " interview with the masters' association, or their " executive, for the purpose of submitting propositions " and a course of action, what they hope will prove " alike and mutually advantageous.

" I am, gentlemen,

" Yours very respectfully,

" JOHN NORMANSELL,

" Secretary.

" P.S. Saturday or Monday next, at your own time " and place, will be convenient to us, and an early " intimation of a meeting will be duly attended to, " and greatly oblige.—J. N."

Then followed this : " To A copy of the above " circular having been forwarded to the Chairman and " Secretary of the late meeting of the Coal Masters' " Association, it is respectfully placed before you for " the object of speedy and especial information, in the " belief it may prove advantageous at the present " crisis.—Most respectfully, &c., John Normansell." —After the second circular a sufficient time elapsing, they did not meet the men nor the executive of the association either. Then we had a very large meeting after our local meetings, and the men were determined to fight for an advance, that they thought they ought to have, in some way or other, and the way of getting it was this : instead of striking we restricted the output which Mr. Chambers referred to in his evidence the other day. Instead of sending as much out as we could in eight hours per day, we reduced every man's output to 3*s.* a day ; they passed a resolution among themselves not to earn more than 3*s.* a day.

16,170. (*Lord Elcho.*) As an equivalent to how many hours' work ?—Some would have done it in three and some in four hours—some would have perhaps taken five, but they stopped in the whole of the hours.

16,171. They did not work hard you mean ?—They did not work hard—they took it easy, and only sent up so many corves. It operated in this way, that the output throughout the whole district was brought down to one-half, or nearly so. The owners outside the masters association give the men 5 per cent. and weekly payments on condition that if we got 10 per cent. in the district they would give it also. Well, it kept going on like this till the masters in the association began to give it, and then we kept on six weeks until it was all given, with the exception of Mr. John Chambers's colliery, 5 per cent. and weekly pays, instead of 10 per cent. and fortnightly pays, Mr. Chambers wished to give it in his own way, to those men and in those places he thought proper. The men objected to this, and the consequence was that instead of allowing them to make that restriction he shut up his pits. He stated that there was a strike here, but he merely shut up his pits because they restricted their labour for 3*s.* a day. This state of things went on for about 10 months. The men were all out. It cost the association 5,000*l.* to support them, and his reason for doing this was that he would not meet the association at all, and he did not meet it in the outset, and treated the men in the manner the employers of the district had treated these circulars. We could do nothing else than take the men's statements and act upon it, as he refused to meet the association. The result was that after spending all this money he put it on just as he was asked to put it on at the first. Some men were getting 7*s.*, some 5*s.*, and some 4*s.* per day. He said and he proposed putting as much as 12½ per cent. on the wages of some workmen and nothing on others, which we, as the association of the workmen, altogether considered was very unfair, because the man getting his 7*s.* a day might be in no better place than the man getting his 4*s.* a day, and we thought it wrong that all this ability and physical power must not reap any advantage in the country over those who were careless. So we asked it for the man who got 8*s.* as well as for the man who got 4*s.*

16,172. (*Mr. Hughes.*) So you have no jealousy of superior skill and strength, but you allow them to make the most they can ?—To make the most they can in their eight hours.

16,173. The result was that you obtained what you considered equivalent to your demand, in fact ?—Yes ; and I may say this—Mr. Chambers said many a time that he would neither meet me nor the association as long as he lived; and it was settled with the association—he did not settle with the men at all.

16,174. It was settled, you mean, with the officers of the association ?—Yes.

16,175. Have you told us all the grounds upon which you thought that the 10 per cent. rise was fair ? As near as I can ; the circular states the grounds.

16,176. (*Lord Elcho.*) The circular states the grounds, but how did you make it out that those grounds as stated by you were sound ?—All the wages of all the workmen all over the country were going up more or less in every district nearly. The Lancashire miners had gone up 20 per cent., and the West Yorkshire miners had also gone up, and most of the other trades, and the miners in most of the districts had gone up without much contention, and there was a great demand for labour and for the article that we produced and a general rise for provisions as well.

16,177. We have heard that in the Wigan district, though the retail price was easily ascertained, yet as to the wholesale price, there was a great difficulty in the workmen, even if they wished to ascertain it, finding out what it was. I wished to know whether in Yorkshire, in your district, there are any facilities for ascertaining that fact which do not exist in Lancashire ?—There were our own local consumers we applied to, and coals had been advanced to them as much as 2*s.* a ton.

16,178. In the retail trade ?—In the Barnsley trade. And in the London market the employers acknowledged that they had advanced 2*s.* or 3*s.* a ton.

16,179. Did you ascertain that ?—Yes ; I got the London papers, and wrote down to friends here who found that it was the fact.

16,180. You only made the demand for the advance when you had satisfied yourselves on what you considered sufficient and reliable information that those demands were justifiable under the circumstances ?—Yes, we satisfied ourselves before we made the demand.

16,181. (*Mr. Hughes.*) What restrictions does your association enforce on its members as to hours ?—All

Mr. J. Normansell.

5 May 1868.

the restriction we have is simply confined to the hours—eight hours per day. We have no rule in the association to say that a man shall not work longer than eight hours per day, but it is an understanding among us that eight hours is a recognized day's work, and we say to a man that he should leave at the eight hours whether he has done or not—whether he gets what he thinks he ought to get or not.

16,182. Is that generally accepted by the men?—Yes, generally, or some men would stop in 13 or 14 hours if it were not for that restriction.

16,183. Why do you think that a good arrangement?—Because it induces steadier habits among the men, and it causes them to get more money than if they were working longer hours. I may say this, that my experience has enabled me to know that we have more coals put out of the pits in eight hours in South Yorkshire than ever we had previously in 12 or 14 hours, and more money got, and better arrangements in every respect whatsoever. We have better winding gear, better roads, better discipline, better management, and better everything about the concern. As far as the wage question is concerned, I have seen men go to their work at five o'clock in the morning and half-past five, and I have seen them lie down until nine o'clock in the morning and doing nothing at all, and then they have got up, and when they have got themselves warm, wanted to get as much money as myself who commenced at six, and they have stayed in till five or six in the evening, and the consequence is that they are taxing the energies and time of other people. There are probably 50 boys in a pit, little boys from 10 to 12 or 14 years of age, driving horses, opening and shutting doors and so on, all paid by the day, and they have to work till all these men have done.

16,184. Do they work the same time as the men?—They have to work a little longer than the men, because they have to empty all the corves of the men. If these men were allowed to stop until four it would be six when these boys had finished, so that we ask them to give up earlier that they may liberate 50 people beside themselves. They have lain down in the pit perhaps three hours, and then began again when night comes on.

16,185. Do you think that this system which you advocate entails any serious additional expense upon the masters?—Very little. It amply repays it in other ways if it does entail any. There might be a little point that wants attending to such as an extra boy or or an extra man. But we always find that when a boy goes to his work at six in the morning and knows that he is to be liberated at two in the afternoon, he is willing; it is a short race, and every one is attentive.

16,186. You are sure that the system is thoroughly acceptable to the men in the district?—Yes; and to the masters too. I believe they are perfectly satisfied, every one of them that are in the association, on that point.

16,187. Can you speak as to the improvement of the men since the association has been formed on its present basis?—The men are much better in a social position than they were before, particularly for this last three or four years. You see a gradual change in them; so much so that last September it was a common remark by the inhabitants of Barnsley that there were rapid strides taking place among the miners. We brought 20,000 people into Barnsley, and there was not a single drunken case before the magistrates, and not a single robbery or report of any kind.

16,188. (*Lord Elcho.*) On what occasion did you bring these 20,000 people into the neighbourhood?—At a large demonstration of the miners.

16,189. A meeting of the association?—A meeting of the association; a procession of about 8,000 miners connected with the association. It was brought up to 20,000 by wives and sweethearts, and so on. I went to the superintendent of the police the next morning, and he told me that he had not had a single case before him.

16,190. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Did he employ an extra number of police?—We ourselves asked for about eight just to help us to keep out the crowd from the procession.

16,191. The authorities did not think any unusual police force necessary?—No.

16,192. (*Mr. Booth.*) Was the object of that demonstration to show your strength?—To bring our objects more prominently before the members of the association.

16,193. How are those objects displayed on such an occasion?—By myself and others. I read them the annual report and tell them what has been going on during the past year; and we support something like 140 widows; they are rather lessening now.

16,194. Do you mean that the report is read to the meeting?—Yes, and the principles of the association are laid before them by myself and other leading men of different associations throughout the country. We had one thing, for instance, brought before them on this last occasion. We had all the Oaks widows in the procession. Some men objected to contributing to the widows' fund generally, but when they saw that we could bring 140 widows, all respectable and not supported by the parish, it made them feel differently.

16,195. Had you a special levy to provide for the widows in the Oaks accident?—We had a special levy to meet the death claims. We levied 5*s.* per member to pay about 3,000*l.* in death claims.

16,196. In your opinion, the habits of sobriety and order which enabled you last year to have this gathering without a single case of drunkenness, or impropriety of any kind, have been materially fostered by the association?—Yes. The men in the local branches meet together regularly once a fortnight, or once a week if it is needed, and we always make it a point to get the most respectable men at the head of affairs at the local branches for local secretaries and treasurers and all those officials, and they have a great influence over the men in this direction, and out of 45 branches which we have got in the association, I do not think that there are three where beer is allowed to come into the room, or where any swearing is allowed, or anything of the kind during business hours.

16,197. What measures do you take to prevent fraud?—We have had two or three cases of fraud and embezzlement, and in one case the man got six months imprisonment, and that has had a great effect over them ever since. We have local treasurers, and each local treasurer signs the agreement which I hold in my hand, and which I will put in.

16,198. You have found that sufficient hitherto?—We have never had a case to the contrary since. Then in transferring the money from the local branches to the general association we have cheques, the man that signs this cheque takes the cheque with him. We have this form of cheque (*handing it in*) for the man to present.

16,199. Have you thought about the subject of any change of the laws as respects the rules or funds?—We have thought a good deal about the legalization of trades unions and all that sort of thing that has been talked about by other trades for this last twelvemonth or two years, but the only conclusion that we have come to as a miners' association in South Yorkshire is that if our funds are protected that is all we desire; that is to say that you should not allow them to be run away with by any fraudulent person.

16,200. (*Lord Elcho.*) Do you mean protection for the whole of your funds?—Yes.

16,201. Whether for trade purposes or for benefit purposes?—Yes, we ask for protection for these funds and we think that is all that is necessary.

16,202. (*Mr. Hughes.*) I suppose you would not consent to any division of your funds into trade funds and benefit funds; you would not consent to have your society broken up into a purely friendly society and a purely trade society?—I may say that now we have the sick and accident fund entirely apart from the labour fund.

16,203. Still the society is distinctly one?—The society is distinctly one.

16,204. And when you make a levy, supposing your funds fall low in the event of a trade dispute, you make

it upon subscribers to the accident fund and to the trade fund, alike upon every body?—Just so.

16,205. And you would not consent to have that privilege taken away from you?—No, I think that if the benevolent fund is protected the other funds ought to be protected as well, because we consider that one gives help to the other.

16,206. (*Mr. Booth.*) But you do not object to keeping distinct accounts of the expenditure for each of the two funds?—We have no objection to keep an account of every penny expended in its true colour.

16,207. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You do that at present?—Yes.

16,208. Is that done in other large societies?—Yes.

16,209. Have you seen the yearly report which has come out the last two or three days of the carpenters and joiners' society?—I have not seen it.

16,210. You are aware that there you can see how every penny has been expended?—Yes.

16,211. Are there any truck practices still in your district?—No, we have no truck practice at all.

16,212. How long has truck disappeared from the South Yorkshire district?—There was a little of it when the association commenced, but very little. We may say that there is one place where it is practised a little, but it is not within the borders of the association. We have a little colliery adjoining Barnsley that is on strike now. Out of about 40 men there are only nine connected with the association, and a manager has a shop there, and the last money that one of the men should have drawn the manager stopped it for provisions. He had 1*l.* 0*s.* 6*d.* to draw and the manager stopped it; that is about a fortnight ago.

16,213. You have lately agreed to a reduction in that district, have you not?—We have just agreed to five per cent. reduction.

16,214. That has been agreed to without any dispute whatever, or at least without any lock-out or strike?—Yes, I will state how that has been brought about. The first intimation we got of it was from Mr. John Chambers; he takes generally a leading place in the Masters' Association.

16,215. Is that the Mr. Chambers whom you named in the strike of 1864?—Yes, the same Mr. Chambers.

16,216. Which strike cost the association 5,000*l.*?—Yes. He takes a leading part in the Coal Owners' Association. He is generally the chairman, and he first wrote to me as the officer of the association about it some months ago. This is the correspondence that took place. On the 19th February Mr. Chambers wrote to me the following letter:—"Sir, The country through-
"out is, as you know, overtaken with an unprece-
"dented bad trade (*i.e.*, for several years past). We
"have been compelled to meet the difficulty by con-
"ceding from 10 to 20 per cent. in the price of
"coal and iron. We therefore ask the working
"men to concede 10 per cent. in wages, and to do it
"promptly and cheerfully. By so doing they will obtain
"the good opinion of both masters and the public and
"gain more money than by being short of employment.
"Iron has been going down for the past six months,
"and coal and coke has been settled from the first of
"January. With a reduction of 10 per cent. we will
"engage to give an average of four days per week
"except something happens that we cannot see nor
"control—I am sir, yours truly, JOHN CHAMBERS."
To that letter I sent the following reply on the 25th of February:—"Sir, Your letter of the 19th inst., requesting
"the workmen to submit to a reduction of 10 per cent.
"in their wages would have been answered sooner,
"but the importance of the subject and the great
"responsibility involved in the question have been
"such that I felt myself compelled to take the liberty
"of laying it before our executive previous to replying,
"which I have done this evening. 'Our executive do
"not for one moment call in question the accuracy of
"your statement regarding the slackness of trade, but
"at the same time cannot see the soundness of the
"policy in reducing wages to mend it. You will be
"aware that the miners' wages in South Yorkshire
"have seldom or never been ruled by the price of coals
"in the market. Two years ago when applying for an
"advance on that ground the greatest difficulty was
"experienced in obtaining it, and after a deal of
"unpleasantness the men only succeeded in getting
"5 per cent. Since that time the miners of Lanca-
"shire have been advanced on one or two occasions,
"and our executive have had the greatest difficulty
"in restraining the men from demanding advances in
"consequence. The advice given to the men was 'Stay
"'where you are; the markets will come down, and a
"'settled steady policy will be found better in the end.'
"We are sorry to see the markets have come down in
"some instances, but having remained stationary when
"they advanced, and when other districts were
"advancing, we are afraid it would disturb the
"harmony of the district to attempt to enforce a
"reduction, and could only tend to cause counter
"demands when trade became better and the price of
"coals advanced the least in the market. The
"executive therefore most earnestly recommend you
"not to press your request, but respectfully commend
"to your notice their desire to keep more on a
"stationary principle than the fluctuations in the
"market prices of coals, as they believe nothing is
"calculated to cause more jealousy, strife, and
"contention between the employers and workmen in
"this district. I am sir, yours respectfully, JOHN
"NORMANSELL."

16,217. (*Chairman.*) That proposal of Mr. Chambers's was not acceded to. What happened then?—They did not attempt anything further on that till about three weeks ago. The coal owners had several meetings, and at last it was arranged among them that they should call their men together, and tell them the state of the country generally, and ask them to submit to a 5 per cent. reduction, and they did so. The various branches brought it before the general association, and the delegates from the various branches passed a resolution recommending the members to accept it.

16,218. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Has it been accepted?—It has been accepted, and will commence on Thursday. This is the resolution agreeing to accept the reduction. "South Yorkshire Miners' Association. To the proprietors of the colliery. Gentlemen, With a view of preventing any misunderstanding between you and your workmen on the question of the 5 per cent. reduction, the council of the association, together with your own men, have agreed to lay the resolutions passed on the 27th April, before you, which is as follows:—'That the request of a large number of employers, for a reduction of 5 per cent. in the wages of the workmen, having been discussed by the delegates present, and the question having been considered in every possible way, it is the opinion of this council, that it would be against the true interest of the men and of the association in general to resist the same. The council, therefore, agree to accept the reduction at every place where asked for, being convinced by so doing, the interest of both employer and employed, in this important district, will be best served. And that the reduction commence on and after Thursday or Friday, the 7th or 8th days of May next, on either of which day the pay commences.' Your workmen in accepting the reduction have every confidence that it may be the means of continuing the present amicable relations between both parties for the benefit of all concerned, and respectfully desire to place before you the case of the boys now receiving 1*s.* per day, in the hope that you may be able to make an exception in their favour. By order of the miners' council, J. Normansell, April 27th, 1868. On behalf of your workmen."

16,219. Since you have been connected with the trade society, have you ever known an advance in wages given when there has been a rise in prices without a demand from the men?—Not generally. We have had demands made in local places for

Mr. J. Normansell.

5 May 1868.

advances on what we call bad work. I do not know that there is any branch of trade that has so many variations in it as the miners' trade. You have places sometimes in which you cannot get a living at the ordinary prices paid in the pit, and then you have to ask for a little addition, and then difficulties come in which you could not foresee. In those cases they have conceded a little, but never a general advance without the power of the association.

16,220. (*Mr. Booth.*) When you say "without the power of the association," how is that power shown?—It has been shown on one occasion which I have mentioned by restriction, reducing the out-put, as well as strikes.

16,221. Do you mean that there has never been an advance in wages without a strike?—That 5 per cent. and weekly pays is all the general advance we have obtained since the union was established.

16,222. And that you got by the power of the union?—Yes.

16,223. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Then it is not the case in your district, as we have heard it is elsewhere, that wages have risen within the last ten years from 20 per cent. to 30 per cent.?—The wages have risen, but the prices have not risen. You may have a good price per ton for your coal but it may give you very low wages, but we take means to secure the price that we bargain for by weighing the coal on the pit's bank, and wages have been made good by that means.

16,224. (*Lord Elcho.*) When you got that 5 per cent. rise in 1865, do you know if there was any corresponding rise in your district at collieries where the men did not belong to the union or generally throughout the country?—No, the men that do not belong to the union always wait for the association, and always have done so. For instance, here at Earl Fitzwilliam's colliery, at the time when we were agitating for 10 per cent. I saw scores of them; they said: "Go on, Normansell, do anything to restrict; we shall get it after you," and they did.

16,225. Have you known any case, where there was a brisk trade, of a rise taking place at non-union collieries before it was got through you?—Not in our district.

16,226. You heard Mr. Pickard say that in his district, where they were struggling for 10 per cent. in the union, non-union collieries gave a rise of 5 per cent., on the understanding that if the union subsequently succeeded in getting a rise of 10 per cent. another 5 per cent. should be given to the non-unionists also?—Yes, I heard that, but all the collieries in our district are guided by the union entirely, up or down.

16,227. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Will you explain to us the weighing system. You have your own men, I understand, to weigh at the pit's mouth for you?—Yes, when I came into this position I think we had about eight. We had no check weighman at all when the association was formed. After it was formed we began to agitate for those weighing machines and men to attend to them, and up to 1864 we only succeeded in getting eight men on. They had no power, but the result was that they were merely nonentities, and several of them went off again. We have gone on and gone on until now we have 40 check weighmen on the pit hills, and all paid by the men.

16,228. (*Lord Elcho.*) How many machines have you?—One weighing machine to each man; there are a few of the men that are satisfied without check weighmen.

16,229. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Do you have a separate weighing machine?—No, one weighing machine, and the employers have a man to attend to it and we have one.

16,230. Then, of course, the corve is considered sufficient unless the master's weighman objects?—All that he has to do when the corve comes on the machine is to weigh it, and if the check weighman thinks that he is not weighing it honestly he says, "Now oblige me by weighing it again." It is brought back if it has gone off the machine and is weighed again, and each of them enters it in his book, and the accounts are checked over every night.

16,231. (*Mr. Booth.*) Does it often happen that there are disputes about the weighing?—Very seldom now; it used to be so before we got the thing into the shape it is now. The law is very imperfect in this matter; it is not the law that gives us justice in this, it is our association that does it. The law says that it shall be "truly weighed," and that is all it does say, but it does not say how it shall be truly weighed. It says immediately after that the check weighman shall not be allowed to interfere, and they may construe anything into interference.

16,232. What alteration in the law would you suggest?—I would say, put it under the Weights and Measures Acts, the same as anything else bought or sold, and let inspectors be there to test the machines when called upon, or to decide upon any matters of dispute which arise without resorting to a strike.

16,233. (*Mr. Hughes.*) But if you had a Government officer there constantly as an inspector of weights and measures that would add to the expense immensely?—But if he were under the Government Act we should only have to bear a portion of that, the same as with the weights and measures now. You can have weighing machines now, but yet the coal may not be truly weighed.

16,234. The present inspectors can take a considerable district in their day's work, and go round, and go into the works and test weights and measures, and go out again when they have done their duty, but in your case, as a rule, the inspector will be in one place a whole day?—No; he might be called upon once in six months.

16,235. You mean only as an arbitrator?—The check weighman may see that it presses upon his his fellow-men. A weighing machine gets wrong, and we know that it is wrong, but we have no power to put it right.

16,236. You wish for right to appeal, whenever your check weighman thinks the scales are wrong, to the inspector of the district, that he may come and test the weighing machine as other scales and weights are tested?—Yes.

16,237. (*Mr. Booth.*) Who pays the expense of the weighing machine?—The owner places the weighing machine down.

16,238. You think there is no security that the machine shall be a fair one?—There is security by our own experience and knowledge. Then if there is anything disputed we have got a position, and we can at once depute some men to the owners and bring the fact before them that it is wrong, and before they will enter into a collision with the miners they will put it right.

16,239. You mean that there would be a strike if they did not?—Yes, if we thought the machine was wrong and could not get it right by any other means we should strike.

16,240. Have you any reason to suppose that the masters on any occasion have refused to put a machine right under those circumstances?—Yes, we have an instance now of a place where we had no machine at all about eight or nine months ago, and the men themselves locally appealed to their owner to have a weighing machine put down and get them paid by weight, and he kept saying that it was to his interest to have a weighing machine and he would have one. They went on in this way for four months and then they brought the case to our association. Our association sent me to him to say that it was the rule of the district and they hoped he would put it down. He tampered with it two months, and at last the men put in a month's notice to leave the place because he would not put down the weighing machine. They had six months of that moral suasion which Mr. Roebuck talks about, and then after their sending me still he did not do it. We sanctioned the men putting in the notice. When they had worked a fortnight on the notice the weighing machine came and was put on the pit's bank; so the men thought that there were

some signs of the machine being used. It was never touched at all, however, and the men went to him at the end of the month and said: "We do not want to "strike. If you will give us any definite time when "it shall be ready we will go on." "Well," he says, "in a fortnight from now I shall have it all ready for "you," and they went on another fortnight and it had never been touched or had only had some little thing done to it. They brought their tools out and were out four days, and then it was put down.

16,241–2. Can you tell us what colliery that was?—In that case we should never, without a strike, have had a weighing machine put down. Then Mr. Cooper referred to advances having been got at his place time after time. Well, as to all the advances got at Mr. Cooper's colliery, there the bad work would come in. We appealed to him frequently to know if they were to get compensation or allowances on this bad work. On one occasion we tampered with him, if I may call it so, that is to say, we tried for three months. He admitted that they ought to have something, but would not give what was asked for three months. We kept saying to the men, "Keep still now, do not "attempt to set the pit idle or strike." There was something belonging to the weight question as well. I went to him and said, "Now, Mr. Cooper, "our association have sent me once more, and we "hope that these matters complained of so long will "now be set right," and he began to search his wages book out to prove the scale of wages. "Now we can "do no more, we shall leave the men in your hands." The next morning the men played, and then he gave them all that they wanted, and they said, "Now, Normansell, we told you we must stop the pit to get a settlement." They had tried three months in vain; they stopped one day and they got all they asked for.

16,243. (*Mr. Hughes.*) However, that is an exceptional case now; you find that the masters are very reasonable in your district in doing what the association thinks right?—The great bulk of them are very reasonable, and I may say, it is through the association and meeting each other on one common platform as it were, and discussing the questions, and the great bulk of owners now say that they would rather treat with the association than the men; they find us more reasonable as an association. But we have spent hundreds and thousands of pounds over disputes that might have been prevented by proper negociation between the men and the association and the masters. Formerly we always had to fight on the men's statement alone; but now when the men come to us with a statement we always take means to ascertain the other side of the question, and try if we cannot meet and reconcile the matter in dispute in the best way possible. If the law on weighing were altered to-morrow, and made in the best way possible, I do not think it would do without our association, because it can be set at defiance if there is not some power and supervision on behalf of the men there.

16,244. (*Lord Elcho.*) In what way do you wish the law altered?—We want to have the weighman from where we think he will suit. We do not want to be confined to the pit for a check weighman. There is many a good man at 20*s.* a week that has had a good education or a moderate education that would suit to be a check weighman perhaps better than any man in the pit, but we cannot bring him at present if he does not belong to the pit.

16,245. (*Mr. Booth.*) Would you propose to allow the master to have any voice in the appointment of the check weighman?—There might be isolated instances. I am not prepared to say but there would where the men might attempt to put a man on. That perhaps would not be preferable for many reasons; for instance, where there are 50 or 60 men in the pit I have known an odd case or so where they have attempted to put on the man that would be most unreasonable and objectionable. We had a case not many weeks ago where I talked to the men frequently about it. I knew he was not a proper person when appointed, but he was the men's choice.

16,246. In case of dispute between the master and the men on the appointment of a check weighman, would there be any objection to allowing the matter in those contested cases to be decided by a magistrate?—It might be so. We should not care in whose hands the appointment was; if the owner could point out that he was a dishonest man we should have no objection then to put it to anyone. But the greatest objection the owners have is that they have been afraid of leaders coming from different parts of the country, or leaders out of the pit, prominent members in the union, becoming check weighmen.

16,247. Would it not be a reasonable thing on the part of the men to avoid such an appointment if they think it objectionable to the master?—The men naturally look to those who serve them the best. For instance, they thought that I served them the best, and all the owners had against me was that I was a leader of the trade union.

16,248. They did not object to your being appointed?—They objected as much as this, that they kept me out of the weigh box seven months and brought us to the Queen's Bench, and it cost us some hundreds of pounds besides the contention. Although we are bound to be employed for the time being to be eligible for check weighmen, the moment we have served a notice to leave we are out of his employ, and we cannot become check weighmen, and it is only by his consent now that we can have a man out of the pit. The master allows him to come without notice in many instances.

16,249. (*Lord Elcho.*) Who pays him?—The men pay him.

16,250. Do they pay him what he would earn naturally in the pit?—They go from 33*s.* a week down to about a pound. We have paid this last eleven months 2,500*l.* to check weighmen.

16,251. Out of the funds of your association?—Each pit subscribes for that purpose.

16,252. (*Mr. Hughes.*) The association funds are not devoted to that purpose?—It is a matter under the association.

16,253. (*Lord Elcho.*) How is the money raised for the check weighman?—It is attached to some of the other funds, and some of them have a local committee just to take that money alone.

16,254. When it is attached to other funds, what other funds is it attached to?—It is taken through the contribution books, where they pay 1*s.* 6*d.* a fortnight.

16,255. Where an association is divided for trade purposes and benefit purposes, does it appear under one of those heads or under a special head?—If I pay 1*s.* 6*d.* a fortnight, that is the regular contribution to the association for the accident fund as well as the general one; but if the coal miner has to pay his quota to support the weighman he has an additional 6*d.* per week to pay for the weighman's wages and books, which altogether amounts to 2*s.* 6*d.* per fortnight where the weighing principle is upheld. In the first place there is 6*d.* set apart for the local benefits per fortnight, 1*s.* for the general fund, and the third case is where the weighman has to be paid. Then there are cases where a man will consent to the weighman deducting from his week's coal one corve, a tub of coal amounting to about 6*d.*, and delivering in the money himself.

16,256. Is that done by the persons employed at the office of the colliery, or done by a committee or by somebody representing the miners' association working at that pit?—Each collier has a token to recognize his own corve and the amount he has sent, and if the check weighman requires 30*s.* per week he takes so many tubs of coal off each man in the pit for the week, and books him as though he got them himself to the number, and the employer pays the amount over to a small committee and treasurer to receive it; they prefer it, some of them, in that way. It is done with the entire sanction of the men. The owner does it to oblige them.

16,257. Are there any check weighmen at collieries

Mr. Normansell. 5 May 1868.

where there are no union men?—There are very few collieries in the neighbourhood where there are not union men. At Earl Fitzwilliam's colliery there are not union men.

16,258. Have they any check weighman there?—No.

16,259. (*Mr. Hughes.*) How is it that they are not in the union?—They joined us in 1858, a portion of them, when they got notice of a 5 per cent. reduction, and they struck, and the association took hundreds of them without paying a penny to the association. They supported them over six or nine weeks, and spent about 3,000*l.* over them, and they lost and had to submit, and they have never joined us since.

16,260. (*Lord Elcho.*) How many men are employed there?—Probably 1,000 altogether. His lordship's agent discourages the union. For instance, they give 5*s.* a week to the widows of all the members that get killed, and 1*s.* a head for each child under 12 years of age, and we have some few men at Earl Fitzwilliam's belonging to the association that have been in ever since 1858 and paid as private members. It so happens that two of the members have got killed within a few months, and they have come under this rule of ours, and it appears that his lordship gives 2*s.* 6*d.* to the widows of his miners if they lose their lives in his service and their home coals. One of these widows told me that she had applied for the 2*s.* 6*d.* a week the same as the other widows have got and his lordship's agent said he understood that her husband was in the miners' union and she was getting 8*s.* a week from it, and she would not have a single penny from his lordship's fund, and he would have discharged the man long ago, he said, if he had known it.

16,261. Was it a known rule at Lord Fitzwilliam's colliery that Lord Fitzwilliam did not employ union men, and that it was because he believed them to be non-union men that they were employed?—I do not know how far his lordship is responsible for this, but his agent has often said to the men that if they belonged to the union they would have to go away.

16,262. Whether it is Lord Fitzwilliam or his agent, is it known in Yorkshire that the system at those pits is that only non-union men are employed?—When they go to ask for a place there they do not introduce the union question to them at all, I believe. There are very few men in the union that go there.

16,263. Why do they not go there?—They prefer stopping when there are union men.

16,264. Then they show by not going there that they are aware that there are no union men employed?—They know there is no union, and that there are some very long hours in the pits, and confiscations.

16,265. (*Mr. Booth.*) Has Lord Fitzwilliam difficulty in getting men?—He has no difficulty in getting men, and very few of the owners have any difficulty in the district in getting men. No matter what the regulations and rules are they have no difficulty, but they do not stop long. They employ as many as 100 strange men in a week at some non-union pits. Many a hundred yards of our roads are driven by fresh comers at less price than the old hands will drive them at.

16,266. Notwithstanding that, he has no difficulty in getting the men that he requires?—Coal is coal, and it does not matter what sort of a man it is that gets it; any sort of man that can get coal is allowed to, and he is paid for nothing but what he does get. A non-union employer will take any sort of men on, no matter what sort they are, straight out of the farmyard, wherever they are from, if he can get them to do anything in the pit.

16,267. I suppose that the agents who act for him are satisfied that the men so taken on are capable of doing the work?—I must say that Earl Fitzwilliam's men are men that do not run about a great deal.

16,268. The agents are the proper persons to judge what men they should take?—They ought to be the proper persons to judge, but they want to set men on irrespective of what the man is; the Earl Fitzwilliam's men are more stationary than what they are at the place I referred to just now. For instance, he provides them with a very good house, and allows them a good deal of land very cheap, and they make up a nice living out of the land and one way and another. That keeps them at the place.

16,269. (*Lord Elcho.*) Have they lower wages than at other places?—I believe that they have lower wages than at other places; I am always told so when I go among them.

16,270. Still they remain there and do not join the union?—Still they remain there and do not join the union.

16,271. (*Mr. Booth.*) There is no difficulty in getting a sufficient supply of those men?—No difficulty that I am aware of.

16,272. (*Lord Elcho.*) Then how do they account for remaining at a place where their wages are low?—I have heard many of them say this, that if it were not for their house and garden they would go somewhere else to work.

16,273. That is part of their wages, I suppose? Having a better house and other circumstances in their favour, they think that on the whole they are as well off there as they would be anywhere else, and they remain?—That is so, they are located there and their domestic arrangements are fixed, and that is a great consideration, even for men doing badly, anywhere.

16,274. Are they as respectable a class as miners in other parts of the district?—I think they are; I know there is a good deal of grumbling among them on confiscation and long weights.

16,275. You said that you are in favour of legislation to give security to the funds of unions, and also that you are in favour of unions and combinations. Are you in favour of leaving those who, like Lord Fitzwilliam's men, do not choose to join unions, free to act as they choose and to employ their labour wherever they think they can employ it best?—As far as legislation is concerned, I think I should leave them alone. But there are moral considerations as well as others.

16,276. What do you call moral considerations?—I do not mean to say that Earl Fitzwilliam's men are right even with ourselves, because whatever the district is ruled by, they come in for it, they are always looking up to us and we keep the position at our own expense and trouble, and by our contentions, and all that sort of thing. We have all the work to do and they will not pay us a single farthing, and people who participate in any benefit got in that sort of manner ought to help in the payment.

16,277. That may be a moral consideration that ought to weigh with them; but supposing that as a rule trade funds are protected, do you think that it is desirable that the law should give full and sufficient protection to those who, whether morally right or morally wrong, do not wish in any trade to join the union but to have their labour free?—Well, I am not one of those that would compel men to join the union, and I am not one of those that talk so much about having their labour free, what they call free labour, but it is what I call labour free; for instance, if a body of men join with me, or I with them, to carry out such objects as an association like ours has, probably the objects are not all formed at the time the association is formed, but members join it and we keep growing, and as we grow in organization they feel the effects of certain benefits resulting from it. Then we add others on the strength of those men keeping with us that have joined us, and the numbers and the faith of these men joining us are the only standpoint that we have to keep the benefits. And if when the least thing goes wrong they withhold their support, that is very wrong.

16,278. Granted that you have a society which, in your opinion and in that of other people, has done good to the miners in enabling them to get the benefit of a rise in wages which otherwise would have been delayed or not got at all, and that in consequence

of this benefit clubs are attached to the association, you say that legislation ought to give protection to those funds. What I ask you is, whether you think on the other hand that if there are in this country working men who do not wish to join these associations, who wish to employ their labour as they think best, and as they think they can turn it to greatest advantage, then, in like manner, Parliament ought to give full protection to those persons in the free employment of their labour?—Just so. I should have no objection to that at all.

16,279. And if in any way it should appear that the law is non-efficient in that respect you think that as soon as you require protection for your funds, so you should give protection to free labour if it has not it now?—Yes, I think that in giving protection to the funds that I name, at the same time, though the Legislature ought to have an eye really to those objects that the association is formed for. I believe that there are trade rules in existence that are really detrimental not only to the members themselves but to the country.

16,280. Of course one assumes that the objects are considered not to be injurious to the State?—Not generally injurious.

16,281. And further, you probably consider as regards these funds and the association, that if they purport to give a certain benefit, it would be necessary before they have protection from the law that it should be clearly shown that they are in a position to fulfil the understanding which the subscribers have in joining the association, namely, that they are entitled to these benefits, and that the funds of the society are sufficient to provide them?—Yes. But whilst on the free labour question I would say there is a question that would arise similar to questions that might arise out of our own objects. I do not think altogether that a free labour society can be founded on sound principle; in fact, what I have been acquainted with have not been hitherto.

16,282. I am not talking of free labour societies, but the right of an individual man born in these islands to do what he likes with his labour without joining any society, whether that society is to make that labour free, or to restrict it as your society does. I merely ask whether the law ought to give that man individually a full amount of protection for his free labour if it fails to do so at present?—Well, on the principle of every man doing what he likes, the law might come in then. But I hold that a man has no right to do what he likes.

16,283. How do you mean that a man has not a right to do as he likes with his own labour?—By injuring me. If he can do as he likes with his own labour without injuring other people, then he ought to do it.

16,284. Supposing that I do not wish to join any of these associations, how should I injure other people by taking what wages I can get rather than joining a union?—We have scores of men that come and ask for work, and never ask anything about the list of prices paid at the place; all they want is a job, and I have known men to work at 2*d.* a ton less than myself. In fact, I have known three relays of men working at eight-hour shifts, and being paid with three different prices, and yet it was all one and the same work. I have known men come into an adjoining place to me, and take 3*d.* or 6*d.* less than I had, and the moment they have done that the owner has come to me, and said: "I have men doing it at so much less, and you must do it, or go about your business." Then we have agricultural men coming in, and getting a job at 2*s.* 6*d.* a day, and men that have been in the pit all their life will in consequence be pulled down to any figure, however low.

16,285. Do you mean to say that you would like that there should be any legislation to prevent a man coming from the country and becoming a labourer, and saying, "I am willing to serve for so much less than these men," or that there should be deficient protection from "moral suasion" or intimidation as regards that man? You cannot mean that surely?—I do not want any interference at all with the man.

16,286. All I asked was whether you did not think that if you can have your wish for legislation to protect your funds, it is necessary that free persons who do not join your society should be equally protected if occasion is proved to require it?—Protect a man if he likes to work there; I do not say otherwise; I would be sorry to say anything to the contrary: but I do not want the law to step in and construe anything I may have said to that man for the purpose of inducing him to act in the same way as myself as being intimidation; I want "moral suasion" defined a little more than it is.

16,287. How do you define "moral suasion"? If a man is inclined to go into my work, and I meet 50 men who come round him and try to persuade him not to go into it, should you call that "moral suasion"?—Well, the owners go into a strange locality, and they import men into the neighbourhood, and put them in such a position that they cannot get information from the men of the neighbourhood; they stop the trains opposite their collieries, away from stations altogether, build them barracks on the place, and keep them in total darkness; and the first opportunity I have to get near one of those men, and tell him the truth, it is called intimidation.

16,288. Let us take the case of a strike in South Yorkshire. There is a dispute about wages in South Yorkshire; the men, for reasons best known to themselves, think that the master ought not to reduce; the master, for reasons best known to himself, comes to the conclusion that he must reduce. The men strike and decline to work on the reduced terms. It so happens that in another part of England there is a surplus of labour, say in Cornwall, mining operations in that description of metals being at a standstill or nearly so. Do you mean to say that the law ought not to protect men who may be brought from that part of the country, and who are willing to work at this reduction in the colliery in South Yorkshire?—I think that the law ought to protect them, but the law ought not to indict me because I go on the road and speak to them, and tell them the consequences of working there. Why should not the law allow me to go and say, "Here you are injuring me and my family; I am "here located"?

16,289. The law allows that now, except for large bodies of men, does it not?—We have had many a man brought up that has gone by himself.

16,290. (*Mr. Booth.*) You do not propose that men should intimidate others?—I do not propose intimidation.

16,291. Those cases in which the law has interfered have been cases of intimidation, not cases of merely explaining the state of things to the men?—They have gone with the best of intentions, and they have never said anything wrong, only tried to induce the men away, and they have been indicted for conspiracy as well as for intimidation. Now we are extremely careful in sanctioning any place to strike ourselves. We always try to lay it on the men themselves to strike, and always do for fear of getting into the clutches of the law.

16,292. (*Lord Elcho.*) Let me put this case to you. For instance, lately we had a great strike in London, the tailor's strike, what did we see in that case? At the corner of every street where there was a tailor's shop at which the tailors were on strike, you saw sometimes 20 men, sometimes only three or four men, waiting till the non-union men came out of the shop, and then using what they called "moral suasion." That "moral suasion" took the form of pursuing these men to their homes and calling them names and hooting at them. Now do you consider that that is a satisfactory and justifiable state of things in a free country?—I do not.

16,293. And you would not defend anything of the kind?—Nothing of the kind.

16,294. And in that view of the question, you would say, I suppose, that the law should be sufficient

Mr. J. Normansell.

5 May 1868.

to give protection to those who did not wish to join the union. I am not saying whether the union is a good or a bad thing, I give no opinion upon that; I merely ask you whether if protection is to be given in the one case to the union funds, it is equally necessary that full protection should be given to what is called free labour?—Yes.

16,295. (*Mr. Booth.*) You think that every man ought to be allowed to make his own bargain?—If he can make it without injuring me.

16,296. How do you mean "without injuring you"?—So that I shall have to make the same bargain myself.

16,297. Do you mean that if you are standing out for 5*s.* and I am willing to work for 4*s.* I am not at liberty to do so?—Yes, you are, but I am at liberty to use all the "moral suasion" in my power to persuade you to take 5*s.*

16,298. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You only ask, in fact, for the opportunity of putting your case fairly before the other men?—That is all.

16,299. (*Lord Elcho.*) You know what we have ourselves seen happening here in the streets of London in the case of the tailor's strike, that which you yourself disapprove of?—Yes, but I say that now I am on dangerous ground by putting my side of the question before that strange man. I want the facilities of doing that.

16,300. (*Mr. Hughes.*) The fact is that the present law protects him unfairly by making what you believe to be quite proper "moral suasion" an indictable offence?—Yes.

16,301. (*Lord Elcho.*) Can you call this which I will put to you "moral suasion"? If there are 20 men, say, who have been brought from another part of the country, who are employed in a pit in Staffordshire, and if those men should on going to the pit, or leaving the pit, find themselves surrounded morning and evening by a large body of men who are waiting for them, and talk to them and try to prevent their working, do not you think that there is something more than "moral suasion" in great bodies of men acting in that way?—I do not like that. If they would allow myself and Mr. Pickard to go before a batch of strange men brought into any locality we should be satisfied. We are not afraid of good men like those in our own localities coming to take our places, but it is men such as we have had at Gresley, who boast of being in 22 different strikes and lock-outs in the last two years.

16,302. But the state of things that I have referred to does frequently arise in a strike, and indeed in this Wigan district, that was practically the state of things was it not?—I believe there has been.

16,303. The moral influence of countries in the world depends very much on the number of bayonets they have at their back. It is something like that, I suppose?—I do not call it "moral suasion" going in large crowds to a pit at 3 o'clock in the morning.

16,304. The "moral suasion" which is backed by hundreds of men who do not use their sticks, but who are armed with sticks and have good fists, is very much like the moral influence of nations, is it not?—I do not like it, I cannot say that I do. The first means that we take now is generally, if we can get to the house, to do so, and reason with the men, one or two of them, and if we cannot do it by that means, we leave them alone. In that restriction time there were one or two of the men that would not restrict, and the means adopted was this, we said to two of the most sensible men that we had in the pit, "You two go and talk to them," and they went, and the result was that about 20 followed and spoiled the thing. Instead of talking to the men, these men who followed got hold of them and put them into an empty corve.

16,305. That was hardly "moral suasion?"—That was not "moral suasion." Those that were going about the "moral suasion" were interrupted by the mob.

16,306. When they put them into the empty corves the "moral suasion" ceased then?—Yes; and these two men that were there were brought up for it, and we defended them, because they went with good intentions. There are lots of such cases that have come before us where we have not been ashamed of taking the union funds to defend the men.

16,307. (*Mr. Booth.*) Am I to understand you that acts of violence done with the best of intentions are defensible?—I do not say so.

16,308. There was some violence in this case?—Yes; but not committed by the men sent on purpose to effect the moral object that we wished to effect, but through the reckless fellows following and using this violence, or rather not violence—there was no violence at all used—it was force. Then the other two men that went with the moral object in view were made responsible. The few roughs who followed them used force, and they were implicated in it.

16,309. (*Lord Elcho.*) It was not the roughs who were taken up but your moral persuaders?—Yes; it happens so in many cases.

16,310. (*Mr. Booth.*) I suppose that the men who were taken up were taking an active part?—They were taking an active part, because they went to the men for the purpose of talking to them.

16,311. When these men were carried off by force, they were present and taking part, I suppose?—They were not taking part, the 19 or 20 that followed did it.

16,312. The magistrates said that they were taking part, I suppose?—The magistrates said so, because they said that they had not any right to go and talk to working men. We defended the men, and we defended the men out of the funds, and we supported their wives and families while they were in prison out of voluntary subscriptions, and the reason why we defended the men was that I and my other colleague Mr. Casey might have been sent by the men, and we should have thought it hard if we had been going in that way that no defence should be granted to us in such a case. We did not defend those that did the deed. We have had many cases where we have sent the most sensible men that we had got to effect a real good, and yet they have been brought up for intimidation or conspiracy, and the association has had nothing to do with anything of the kind.

16,313. (*Lord Elcho.*) Do you believe that much good would come from councils of conciliation, that is, the masters and men of a district, employed in the same description of work, whether the iron trade or collieries, meeting together and talking over questions?—Yes. If they were practical courts of conciliation.

16,314. I do not mean courts having any actual power, but merely recognized means in the district of communicating as to the rise and fall of wages?—We have that principle partly in operation now in that district, and it is the way that we have done our business since 1865, since that large dispute ended with Mr. Chambers, and we have never had a single case since, except that at Silkstone Hall. I referred to isolated little cases where the owners were rather obstinate. We do not find all the owners and managers altogether right any more than the men.

16,315. Have you anything else which you wish to state?—I wished to name to the Commissioners some facts to show that working men can manage their own affairs. I wished to show them the amount of money that has come in through our own association this last 11 months. Then Mr. Cooper or Mr. Woodhouse spoke about the discipline—that there was no discipline in the pits where unions are.

16,316. You do not agree in that statement?—I do not agree. I am at a loss to know where Mr. Woodhouse gets his information from.

16,317. I think he said that there was an insubordinate spirit?—Yes; Mr. Woodhouse has been connected with the Oaks pit he said since 1848, and when he came to the pit he said that there was neither rule nor order, nor any discipline whatever. They did not like the lamp, he said, for instance, but threw it on one side, and just bought one at Wakefield to suit their own

purpose. We had no union up to 1858, and as far as Mr. Woodhouse has been acquainted with the discipline of South Yorkshire, he knows nothing at all about it then. I believe that for some years previous to the explosion he had never been down the Oaks colliery, and his official under him had been nearly a month and never been into the pit. It was stated in evidence, at the Oaks inquiry, that there was not a better pit anywhere for discipline among the men. I have spoken to the managers frequently since then in our district, and they have said that they believe that there is not such a district elsewhere. In the report upon the Oaks colliery accident, the inspector, Mr. Dickinson, says this :—"In considering to what such a "state of things was attributable, I have first to "observe that there seemed to have been no want of "care or discipline in carrying on the work, and the "special rules duly established and enforced at the "colliery were of the most stringent kind, supplying "all that could be anticipated as a requisite for safety "as contemplated by the Act of Parliament."

16,318. You bring a direct contradiction against that statement of Mr. Woodhouse's ?—A direct contradiction.

16,319. And you confirm that contradiction by reference to Mr. Dickinson's report?—Yes ; and by my own knowledge, and by my own information that I got from the managers themselves. It all depends upon what is termed discipline. We do not submit to such discipline as they have got in Derbyshire : there they have been fighting all these months in Gresby. We mean by discipline a regard for the safe working of the mine and the protection of our lives and health. We back all that out because it is our interest to do so. When you know that we have paid this last 12 months something like 2,529*l.* for sick and accident purposes, that we have paid something between 2,000 and 3,000*l.* to widows and orphans in this last 11 months, that is sufficient for you to see that there is a proper discipline for the safety of the men's lives. But perhaps what they mean by discipline is, (and Mr. Cooper referred to it) that men will not be knocked about as they used to be. Here is a rule from one of the byelaws which they have got in Derbyshire, a master's byelaw which would never stand five minutes in our district. "Every stallman or labourer may from time to time, "without notice, be removed by the owner from his "pit or stall or other work, to any other pit or stall "or any other work necessary to be performed at "these collieries, and coal and iron mines and works, "and he shall not object to any such removal, but "shall perform the work required, and shall be paid "for such work after the current rates of payment at "these collieries, for such new work at the time of "every such removal." None of our men would submit to a rule like that without a great deal of contention. In fact, in the present state of the union they would not submit to it. I am engaged, say, to get coal at 3*s.* 6*d.* a day, but under this rule I can be brought to be a banksman at 2*s.* 6*d.* a day, on a wet day, when the banksman does not come, or to any other work, and must take the rate paid.

16,320. At totally different wages, you mean, from what you engage yourself now at?—Yes, if they require me ; and it is done frequently in Derbyshire now. Such things as those we do not submit to, and such things as those have caused strikes in South Yorkshire before.

Mr. J. Normansell.

5 May 1868.

16,321. Do you mean that they have done such a thing as bring a man who has been earning 3*s.* 6*d.* a day into the place of an inferior man, and that they transferred him from the 3*s.* 6*d.* to the 2*s.* 6*d.* work, and given him the 2*s.* 6*d.* a pay?—That is so. And there have been several of those cases in Derbyshire before the magistrates, and because it is part of the contract the magistrates have decided against the men.

16,322. I suppose that they entered into the contract knowing that they might have to be transferred from the 3*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* as the convenience of the master required?—They do not know that. Scarcely a dozen men in Derbyshire have had their eyes opened to this. All pits commence with a very few men, and all the new men are led into the contract that the other men have made. A man has a copy of the rules put into his hands after he is taken on.

16,323. But after he has looked at the rules and has seen how they work, he can leave if he likes?—Yes, by a month's notice.

16,324. (*Mr. Booth.*) I understand you to say that you and the men at your colliery would not accept work on those terms?—We should not work at those terms. We make it a point, whether we are right or wrong, if there is a rule like that in force at any of our collieries to get it abolished as soon as possible, so that strange people may not be brought under it.

16,325. But until it is abolished, if I were a workman and desirous to accept work on those terms, you would not prevent me?—No, we should not prevent you.

16,326. You would endeavour to make the rules more reasonable?—Yes, more reasonable. A similar rule caused Mr. John Chambers's men to be kept out in 1860, The men were out nine weeks longer than the rest, and he introduced a code of rules that they were not to be union men.

16,327. You do your best to introduce improvement in the rules?—Yes.

16,328. Have you any other observations to make?—With respect to Mr. Ely of Gresley, he said, after he had stated some sentences in which Mr. Brown had advocated the union, that I sanctioned it, and said that the coal owners of Derbyshire would have shown the same opposition had the union been put forth in the same spirit as it was put forth there. But what I said was this, that if all which Mr. Ely said about the inflamed speeches of Brown was true, there was no wonder at his speaking so strongly against Brown. Then, too, I believe Mr. Wilson stated that they had had a delegate there that had been very fast at one of their collieries, and he said that he believed that if he had discharged that delegate there might have been an interference by the union. It would have been well if Mr. Wilson had stated that that delegate has been discharged.

16,329. And the union has not interfered?—The union did not interfere, not in the slightest degree.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. Alexander McDonald further examined.

Mr. A. McDonald.

16,330. (*Lord Elcho.*) I think you want to add something to your former evidence?—What I want to say is this. A statement has been made repeatedly here by witnesses on the other side that advances come by the employers spontaneously. During the whole course of my life I have never known but one solitary instance in which the advance was not the result of a pressure by combination.

16,331. When you say "combination," do you mean by an organized union, or by two or three men, or a certain number of men, going to an employer and saying, "We want an advance?"—I mean by combination, the workmen in union, or the workmen of a locality making a demand upon their employers. Individual workmen might go for ever to their employers for an advance before they would get it.

16,332. You mean this, that wages are never raised by the employer unless he is asked to do so?—Not unless he is asked to do so. We hear very much at the present time about farm servants and others, and wages rising spontaneously, and of their own accord. I want to put this clearly, that in 33 years' experience I have never known the employers come voluntarily forward and state that they would raise wages unless on one single occasion, and that was merely following another locality where the wages had been raised

Mr. A. McDonald.

5 May 1868.

through combination. I want to make another statement, which is this, that taking all the strikes that I have known, nine out of every ten of them have been successful, and as a rule they were only unsuccessful on matters where they were resisting a fall of wages that was occasioned by an over production; but as I say, nine out of every ten have been successful.

16,333. That is to say, when it was for a rise?—Not when it was for a rise only but for other objects.

16,334. Out of these ten strikes, which in nine instances have been successful, how many of those strikes do you suppose have been on the matter of wages?—I think about one half have been on wages.

16,335. Can you specify what class of questions the other strikes have been about?—I have a case here within these last few years at a colliery in Ayrshire. They were paying the men there only every three months, and sometimes not even then; there was a truck shop, and everything was spent in the store. That was the cause of complaint, and the men after a sharp struggle of a few weeks (they had complained for more than twenty years) got weekly pays, regularly paid, and they are paid regularly now.

16,336. Was this before the Truck Act?—No, it was within the last five years.

16,337. How has the truck question been affected by the strike?—The employers ceased to make them follow the course that they did before.

16,338. They were following a course by which they evaded the Truck Act?—Yes. Then at Keppock and Knightwood's, another large place, they struck against monthly pays three years ago, and for an advance of wages, and they got the month's pay abolished and an advance of wages granted. At Mossend, another large place, employing 1,000 men, —the men struck against monthly pays, and got them abolished. Then again, at the Portland ironworks, they struck for an advance of wages and gained it. At Stevenston they struck for an advance of wages, and they gained it. And at Inkerman, a large work belonging to Mr. Merry, employing 1,000 men, they struck respecting their prop wood. He wanted them to cut their own prop wood.

16,339. Do you mean to say that he wanted them to go into the wood?—No, to saw it and take it down with them. They struck for a fortnight and got it abolished. And I could go on with strikes almost innumerable in which the men have been successful in nine cases out of every ten when the question is on these private matters. But I wish distinctly to be understood, that I have not known, in thirty-three years, a single case but one, where voluntarily an offer of a rise of wages has been made by the masters. It has been combination, either local combination of the workmen, or a general combination, that has produced these advances of wages.

16,340. A demand is made, you mean?—A demand is made.

16,341. And the success of that demand depends very much upon the state of trade?—Entirely upon the time.

16,342. So that no combination could really be successful if the state of trade did not justify it?——As our friends in Wigan have unfortunately proved by the action they have taken now.

16,343. And the probability is that you have come to the conclusion, looking generally and broadly at this question, that the effect of the union as regards wages is simply this, that in prosperous times it anticipates a rise, and that in bad times it may perhaps check a fall, is that so?—That is so. I think that the true vocation of a working men's union is to direct its attention to see when an advance of wages canbe got advantageously to the workmen, and at the same time not to injure the employers, by the demands they make upon them.

16,344. Because injuring the employer would be injuring the men in the long run?—Killing the goose that lays the golden egg. The next duty of a trade union is to watch the time that a reduction takes place and, as has been wisely done in the case of South Yorkshire, to accept the reduction when necessary; to fence it off as long as possible, but to receive it without a collision at last.

16,345. There is no doubt that, looking generally at strikes (I do not confine it to your own occupation, the coal-mining trade), a great many strikes have been accompanied by very great suffering and distress, by long periods of suffering, by the selling off of everything, by perhaps evictions and great privations entailed on families, on wives and children, and that in many cases they do fail?—Yes.

16,346. Setting cases where strikes have been successful in anticipating a rise or checking a fall, against these privations and sufferings that I have detailed, do you think on the whole that they have been in the matter of wages a benefit to the working man?—I am satisfied upon the whole, and am able to show on the whole, that strikes, although in those periods to which I have referred they have proved disastrous, yet as a whole they have been a gain to the men in wages. I will put it thus: I am satisfied upon the whole that combinations have given more to the workmen by an advance of wages than the loss has been on the other side in the way of privations or in the way of destitution caused by them.

16,347. But if you hold the opinion (which I gathered you did by your assenting to that question of mine,) that looking broadly at these questions of combination in regard to wages, their only effect is to anticipate a rise in prosperous times, and to check a fall in bad times, you can hardly say that practically they have had much influence upon the course of trade? By the course of trade I mean, of course, the rate of wages in the country?—No; but then again with regard to those long periods of want which have taken place, I feel convinced that in 1844, and in 1837, the men would have had the same amount of time off supposing that there had been no strike. The privation by lower wages would have extended over a longer period because it would have been putting surplus labour into the market where the demand is limited; whenever more is put into the market, the consequence is that it is brought to that point that it makes a longer period of suffering.

16,348. You have been acquainted for a great many years with these matters, and looking on these questions of labour and capital broadly, are you not rather coming to the conclusion that there having been formerly, before the repeal of the combination laws, and also since the repeal of those laws, which some people think favoured the workmen rather at the expense of the capitalists, this state of war between these two parties, the time has come when it is possible there should be peace between them?—Yes.

16,349. Do you see any way in which these questions can be brought to a more peaceful issue than hitherto they have been?—Yes, only by adopting the principles that I mentioned on the last day here. First, by the employers coming down from treating the men simply as so much material in the market that they can deal with, and instead treating them like men; and secondly, by the adoption, as far as possible, of the principle of co-operation or limited partnership, giving the men a share in the concern, and to that I feel convinced these strikes are inevitably tending.

16,350. And putting questions of union aside, and union men being spokesmen (for some masters perhaps very naturally object to union officers coming to interfere between themselves and their men) do you think that if there was a regularly recognized system of the masters and men in a district meeting talking over these questions, there is that good sense on the part of the men that they would submit to a fall in wages when the circumstances of the trade had shown them, and experience had led them to believe, that such a fall was necessary?—I feel convinced that

if the workmen were polled to-morrow (there may be an exception where ignorance prevails), and I feel convinced of it as one that has taken part largely in working men's affairs, that there is not a rational, intelligent workman in the United Kingdom that will not go in for boards of arbitration to settle those disputes, and that the fault is not on the workmen's side in that matter.

16,351. We will take a case which rather shakes one's faith in the good results which one would hope would follow from such a system, I mean the case which Mr. Pickard has put before us to-day. Mr. Pickard, who is evidently a man most anxious for peace, thought that the men at Wigan lately were not justified in holding out, but counselled them to yield. But in spite of Mr. Pickard, an officer in whom they have great confidence, giving them that advice, they declined it, did they not?—But Mr. Pickard gave them this advice, to submit the matter between them and their employers to arbitration, and there was not a dissenting voice against that.

Mr. McDonald.

5 May 1868.

16,352. But after the masters had declined arbitration, they did not yield from a knowledge of the circumstances, but they still held out. That looks unreasonable, does it not, on their part?—It looks unreasonable so far.

16,353. It looks as if one might find them on these conciliation boards or arbitration boards not so reasonable as you expect, and as I hope?—My conviction is that the men are in favour of arbitration, and without hesitation I say that 12,000 of them agreed without a single dissenting voice to submit the matter to arbitration; and if a show of accepting arbitration had been made on the part of their employers, I am convinced that there never would have been a word about it—that was before the men came out at all.

16,353. Then your hope for the future rests in arbitration, conciliation, and co-operation?—Yes.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to Tuesday next at 11 o'clock.

1, Park Prospect, Westminster, Tuesday, 12th May 1868.

PRESENT:

The Right Hon. Sir WILLIAM ERLE.	JOHN ARTHUR ROEBUCK, Esq., Q.C., M.P.
LORD ELCHO, M.P.	FREDERIC HARRISON, Esq.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR WILLIAM ERLE IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. WILLIAM BROWN examined.

Mr. W. Brown

12 May 1868.

16,354. (*Chairman.*) I believe you have some statements which you wish to make to the Commission. You are a miners' agent, are you not?—I have been a working miner 25 years, and our family has worked for Fentons 70 years. I was in a strike in 1844, I had nothing to do with it as the miners' agent, but was simply on strike. We were out 17 weeks; we had no union pay except 7½*d.* during the whole of the time. That strike was against the men, and they had to go in, I believe, on worse terms than those on which they came out.

16,355. (*Lord Elcho.*) Do you mean that you received then 7½*d.* a day?—No, 7½*d.* the whole of the time.

16,356. (*Chairman.*) You had no union pay?—We had no union pay, only 7½*d.* during the whole of the time. I got mine by three instalments of 2½*d.* at a time.

16,357. Did the union pay that?—The union paid it, at least I got it from the union board. I then went to work for Mr. Fenton after that, and we had no union whatever till 1858, when every man got 28 day's notice to leave, and there was no reason given for it.

16,358. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Will you be kind enough to tell us where Mr. Fenton's is?—Thorp Hall colliery near Leeds, about 2½ miles from Leeds. When we were working the last week in the four, it was thought expedient to send a deputation to Mr. Fenton to get to know the reason why we had got 28 days notice. He told us that he wished or that he proposed to reduce our wages about 6*d.* per day.

16,359. (*Chairman.*) On what amount?—Then it would be on 4*s.* 4½*d.* We used to get 3*s.* 4½*d.*, but after 1852 the coal trade was very good, and Mr. Fenton voluntarily without our asking advanced our wages three times, altogether a shilling a day, and it was 6*d.* a day, that was proposed to be taken off from 4*s.* 4½*d.* per day. I told Mr. Fenton that I thought that the reduction was uncalled for. Mr. Fenton made this reply, "William, if all the men of this colliery "were like you, and did the work as efficiently, "instead of reducing 6*d.* per day, I could raise every "man a shilling a day."

16,360. If they are paid by the quantity of coal raised, I want to know how the coal proprietor gains or loses by the muscular activity of any one miner more than another. That other would raise the same quantity of coal in a little longer time would he not?—There are some men who do not mind their work. Some men do not attend their work more than three days a week even when trade is good, and the men that do attend their work every day have to suffer with those who do not attend their work.

16,361. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Is not this what you mean, that there is an expenditure going on all the same?—Just the same.

16,362. And, therefore, if coal is not raised, the proprietor is put to expense, and does not get his remuneration by the coal that he expected?—Just the same expense is incurred as if the pits were working full time and every man attended to his duty.

16,363. (*Chairman.*) You mean that it is the same as in the case of a railway train, the cost of which is so much?—Just so. I thought that this was very hard; but Mr. Fenton said that he could not help himself, and he would be glad if he could. For the first three weeks I did everything I could to prevent the strike being prolonged. Then at the three weeks' end Mr. Fenton joined the Coalowners' Association, and instead of reducing our wages then 6*d.* a day, he was determined to reduce them 9*d.* He told me that he had become the chairman of the Coalowners Assotion which was held at the White Horse in Boar Lane, Leeds, and he was determined to enforce the reduction. Of course there was no alternative, as we thought, but prolonging the strike. I was living under Mr. Fenton at the time at Waterloo Houses. Of course I got seven days' notice to leave my house. My wife was confined at the time, and, notwithstanding that, I was obliged to leave at the time appointed. I chose that rather than have any difference with my employer. I had not the means to get my wife to Hunslet, where I then went to reside; but a kind

Mr. W. Brown.

12 May 1868.

friend that attended the same place of worship that I did had very kindly ordered a coach and sent for her and the little ones to Hunslet. I had no inclination to be on strike at all. In May I went and got work at Mr. Bower's, Pepper Lane Colliery, Hunslet. I worked there 10 weeks, and in the 10 weeks I had three notices to leave. I mean three different times in the 10 weeks.

16,364. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) From whom?—From the steward, and I suppose that he acted for Mr. Bower. Mr. Brookbanks was the steward at the time, and he used to call at my house occasionally, and the first time that I had notice, when I had two days to serve, he came and said, "Well, Brown, I have not heard "anything more about your leaving; I think it has "blown over. If I can manage it you shall stop on. "I am very much pleased with your work, and have "not heard anything more, and I should like to keep "you in my employ." When I had worked a day over the fortnight, he then came to me again, and, of course, he had had a great reprimand for not making me leave at the time. I worked that fortnight out, but still I was under notice. He had not heard anything, and I went on another fortnight. He was determined to keep me if he could. When I had worked 10 weeks, Mr. Brookbanks came to me the last day and said, "Well, William, I am very sorry to tell "you that this is the last day on which you will have "to work here this time." I said, "Well, it is hard "work. I had got 28 days to leave Mr. Fenton. I "honestly served my notice. I have a wife and five "children, and try to keep them respectably, and I "think it is hard that I have to leave because I am "Mr. Fenton's man, when I have a notice to show "that he has discharged me." Mr. Bower was giving a great dinner to some five or six hundred men at his glassworks, and he sent me a ticket. I was the leading singer at his place of worship. After the dinner he called me on the platform and said, "Well, "Brown, I am exceedingly sorry at what has taken "place to-day." I said, "You feel it hard." He said, "I do." I said, "Hard as it is you can do it." He said, "Well, it is the Association which compels me to "do it. Whether right or wrong I am a member of the "Association, and I do not discharge you from choice, "but am obliged to it." After that I was obliged to "return to the men on strike. We were then getting 7*s.* a week each, and a shilling a week for each child.

16,635. (*Lord Elcho.*) Is Mr. Bower alive now?—Yes.

16,366. What is he?—He is a coal owner, one of the largest that we have in Yorkshire.

16,367. I assume that every man in trade is pursuing his monied interests unless the contrary is shown. I do not see how Mr. Bower had a monied interest in getting you to go off the work?—He had no monied interest at all. I beg to say that Mr. Bower and I after that were on the very best of terms, because I know that Mr. Bower did not discharge us from choice and I will explain it as I go along.

16,368. (*Lord Elcho.*) You were a knobstick in the eyes of the Coalowners' Association?—Yes, I was a perfect knobstick in the eyes of the Coalowners' Association. If you will allow me to digress a moment, I will tell you how it was. Mr. Bower is a very large coal owner: the Pepper Lane colliery was to sell in the year 1858, just a little before I commenced working there, and he did not enter that colliery into the association, and he made this his excuse, that the Pepper Lane colliery was Mrs. Bower's colliery, and that she would not join the Coalowner's Association, and he thought that by this means he could keep the Pepper Lane colliery going on and I could go and work there. But they would not have it; they said that Mr. Bower's name was on the picks, and the carts, and on everything, and they could not see how it was Mrs. Bower's colliery.

16,369. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Was this action directed against you at this time alone or were there others? There were 21 of us. Mr. Bower came to me once himself, and he said, "Now Brown, you are aware that I have purchased the Pepper Lane colliery," and I said, "Yes, I understand so." He said, "I am going "to work it on a larger scale; I understand that you "are out of work," and I said, "Yes." He said, "Can you get me 19 or 20 good men to drive some headings in the Pepper Lane pit; and I chose some of the best we had, and the result was that there were 19 men turned off besides myself for being obnoxious. We drove a good deal of the hardest work that some men either cannot or do not feel disposed to drive. After that I returned to the men on strike as I said before. I did not like 7*s.* a week and a shilling a week for each child. In fact, I did not like to live out of other men's money. I then took to teaching singing, and a little while after that the Town Hall was opened at Leeds. Her Majesty and Prince Albert came down, I was engaged to sing there for four days. I had a pound a day, and 12*s.* 6*d.* for an extra concert on the Saturday night. My salary was just due at the chapel at the time. I attended two concerts at Scarborough, and I put the money together which amounted to somewhere near 10*l.*, and then I began in a little business myself, and I withdrew from the strike again, and never had any more pay from the strike fund.

16,370. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What business was it you began?—I began in the potatoe trade and fruit, and all that sort of thing. I took a shop next to Mr. Bower's glueworks, and I was going to say that it was a respectable shop. Mr. Bower did not think it beneath him to send for provisions or anything that they wanted from my shop. There was not the least ill-feeling between him and me. I did not think the least of his turning me off; in fact, I knew that he was compelled to do so. I will mention another circumstance and then go on with my story.

16,371. (*Lord Elcho.*) What chapel is it that you just referred to?—The New Connexion chapel: I had 10*l.* a year as singer there. When the strike was over in 1858 I then went to work at Mr. Fenton's again. I did not wish to get my living by singing or trade, or anything of this sort. It was a precarious living, and I felt that I would rather have something to depend on. I continued working from 1858 up to the 10th of March 1863. The coal trade was then very bad. I had a distance of two miles to walk, and I went many a week three mornings in succession and never earned a penny. I then began a little business again for myself. My living depended on the coal miners at Methley and other places. When I had just got nicely going again there were notices issued at Messrs. Briggs's, Mr. Bower's, Pope and Pearson's, Lock and Warrington's, and Wood and Rayner's, for 15 per cent. reduction. That was in 1863. The notice terminated on the 10th of July. I had been a miner previously, and as I was going round with my provisions to sell, the men asked me my advice; at least they asked me what I thought about the reduction. I said, "Well, "now you have a little trade in the district, and trade "is very bad, other employers in other counties would "be glad to get the little that you have. I should "send a deputation to every master in the district "and see if they will not agree to let you work at "7½ per cent. reduction. I think that they have "asked a little to bate on." They sent a deputation to every master as I advised them, and they agreed to go to work at 7½ per cent. reduction. I thought then that the district was going on comfortably, as it had done heretofore, but when they had worked a single day Mr. Bower was determined to introduce the riddles. The men then asked me my opinion about that matter. They said it was very dangerous. Several men had had their legs broken with falls from the roof, and I know that riddling and shovelling together made a great deal more noise than shovelling alone. I said, "You can take your own course about "it; I am not a miner, and you can do as you "please." The men served their 14 days' notice, and they resisted the riddles.

16,372. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Can you explain a little more completely what was the danger in the use of the riddles or the objection to it?—I only know this from hearsay, as I have never been on Mr. Bower's pit at Allerton. I understand that above the coal

before it gets to the rock top there are about two feet of bind that is very loose. I know one man that got killed, and several that got their legs broken. It is a bind that is apt to fall, and the men considered that it was not safe to riddle.

16,373. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) It agitates the air, I suppose? — The men said that with shovelling and riddling it caused a deal more noise at the time, and it was very often cracking, and especially when they were getting near borrowing, and the men considered that there was danger with the riddles.

16,374. They could not hear the cracks?—They could not hear the cracks. Supposing that we had a puncheon set here, and that the top was very merly, as we call it, that is, not sound, of course we should have to listen very minutely, or else it might come down, because the top really would not stand wooding.

16,375. (*Lord Elcho.*) What warning does it give you when it comes down?—It is not like a rock-top which will give warning hours before it falls. In this case it comes as suddenly as possible,

16,376. But what warning does it give you?—The puncheons will not fasten where it is so merly, and even the striking of a riddle will make a puncheon come down directly; in fact, you might almost take it with your hands, when if it was allowed to stay there it would remain a certain time. This statement was made to Mr. Bower, and he abandoned the riddles, and the riddles have never been in the colliery up to this time.

16,377. (*Chairman.*) What good does the coalowners get by the riddles? Is it that the small coals are riddled out?—Well, when trade is very bad the coalowners find a difficulty in getting rid of it, and sometimes they find a great difficulty in getting rid of the slack. Mr. Bower abandoned the riddles; but I may say that because Mr. Bower's men refused to riddle, though they had agreed at the other four collieries to work at 7½ per cent. reduction. The other four colliery proprietors all locked their men out, thus causing 1,500 men and boys to be locked out in one day. Hundreds of them were not union men, nor ever had been, but no matter they locked them all out. Of course, when all the miners were locked out I was as good as locked out. I could do no business among them, and I attended several of their meetings. I asked gentlemen that I was acquainted with to go to Mr. Bower to get the riddles abandoned, hoping that when the riddles were abandoned, seeing that they had locked out on Mr. Bower's account, the lock-out would be at an end, and the men would resume work again. But after Mr. Bower's men went to work, Briggs & Co., Pope and Pearson, and Lock and Warrington were determined if possible to supplant all their old hands, and introduce men from Staffordshire, Derbyshire, and other places. Mr. Briggs ejected, I believe, every man out of the Junction Row, and every man that was locked out was ejected out of the Common Row. This caused a great deal of suffering.

16,378. Can you tell us what interest he had in doing this?—No, I never could see it; I considered it at the time nothing at all but spite.

16,379. You have lived long enough in the world perhaps, to know that when commercial interests are at stake, people will not lose money for spite?—But sometimes men of capital will spend a good deal of money to try to beat a poor man.

16,380. That is the meaning of it as far as your knowledge of human nature goes?—Yes, I think that is the meaning of it. It terminated in favour of the men, instead of the men being pulled down 7½ per cent. at Messrs. Briggs. I have been told that when they went in to work they went in at 10 per cent. better than they came out, besides the 7½ per cent.

16,381. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) When they went back was the state of trade altered much for the better?—Of course the season of the year would alter the state of trade. It was the season of July when the lock-out took place, and it was in October when they went in again, and of course after the strike they would have all their wharfs empty. I do not know whether this would be relevant to the question or not, but there was a riot that took place at Messrs. Briggs's, they wished to make me into the aider and abettor of the riot, and they served me with a warrant and took me to Wakefield and locked me up three days and three nights. I was examined before the magistrates. Of course the coalowners were not prepared to go on with the trial on the Monday. I got bail and went home until Thursday, then I was taken before the magistrates. I was eight hours there that day and was committed to York for conspiracy and intimidation and I cannot tell what. I thought that I had done then until the assizes came on. However Pope and Pearson had something against me; I had to go on the Monday following and had to spend eight hours there again, and was committed for conspiracy and intimidation and other things again.

16,382. (*Mr. Harrison.*) What was the result at the assizes?—When the assizes came on my trial lasted two days or pretty nearly. For the first indictment (that was for the riot), I was acquitted, Mr. Justice Byles was the judge. For the second indictment he wished them to read over their depositions or the evidence before he went on with the trial, and when they had read what they had against me he considered that there was nothing to convict me, and I was acquitted altogether. I expected to go on with my work as I had done in business, but I had no stabling in connection with the house I resided in. Charles Day and I were pretty good friends, and he allowed me to put my pony into his stable for 8*d.* a week rent. Mr. Bower was the owner of the inn that Charles Day kept, and I do not know how it was that we had got so far out then, but Mr. Bower told Charles Day that if he did not make me take my pony out of that stable he would give him notice to leave the house.

16,383. (*Chairman.*) Do you know that Mr. Bower did do that?—Day told me so. Then I was obliged to sell my pony and cart and everything in connexion with my business. I could not get a stable, and this was a serious sacrifice to me, for all my things were new when I bought them, and I lost 13*l.* that day, which I considered was a little fortune for a poor man like me.

16,384. Was the pony wanted by you as a greengrocer?—Yes, I went six or seven miles from home with my cart. The miners then were very desirous that I should become their agent, and at their repeated request I agreed to become miners' agent.

16,385. With regard to all this that led to the trial at York, I presume that having the fatal gift of eloquence, you had poured out some dangerous ideas, as people thought? You were a gifted man capable of leading the minds of a large body, and they thought that you had led them towards dangerous courses, and so the prosecution came. I take that to be the meaning of it?—On the very night that the riot took place I was addressing a meeting at a place called Newton-in-the-Willows, about six miles from Whitwood, and I do not know that I had ever been more in earnest than I had the afternoon previous in advising the men to keep quiet. And I am sorry to bring this out which I am going to state, but I am obliged to do it. On the Common Row (it is a roadside, there is a garden on this side and a brook runs down at the end of the garden, and a gentleman, I do not know his name, allowed us to have our meeting in a field), I am sorry to say that that afternoon there were barrels of ale placed, and there were new hands and they were challenging us to fight, and every provocation was given that could be given to the men that were locked out.

16,386. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What does "miners' agent" mean?—I was engaged to do this: to take a copy of the association rules in my hand, get up meetings in various places (a schoolroom if we could get one, if we could not get a schoolroom a lodge room adjoining a publichouse), just lay before the men the rules of the association, and explain to them to the best of my ability the benefits that would accrue to them from

Mr. W. Brown.

12 May 1868.

being in the association; for I was convinced from past experience that the men could not act individually, that there was no other way if the men intended to be in a position to defend their rights, but to be combined together. Then of course we gave 10*s.* a week at that time for accidents and 5*l.* for deaths, and this I reckoned was a very good thing for miners. That was my work. I had nothing else to do. I was appointed by a committee, and wherever they told me to go I was obliged to go, and I acknowledge that if I could get 50, or 60, or 100 men to join the association on one night I did it. I was engaged to do it. It was my duty to do it and I did it.

16,387. (*Lord Elcho.*) What salary did you receive?—4*s.* a day, and 6*d.* a day expenses, and third-class railway fare when the journey exceeded five miles.

16,388. (*Chairman.*) What did the committee consist of?—The committee were four or five or nine men selected from various pits.

16,389. What district was this in?—The Leeds and Methely district.

16,390. (*Lord Elcho.*) Were you the sole agent?—Yes, for nearly two years.

16,391. How many men belonged to the union when you began?—Above 2,000.

16,392. Are you still agent for that union?—I am not agent at all now.

16,393. When did you cease to be so?—At the back end of last April.

16,394. Had the numbers increased greatly before that time?—Yes, in the West Yorkshire district the numbers got up to nearly 4,000 before I left them.

16,395. Under your agency?—Under my agency.

16,396. (*Chairman.*) I understand fully that you enlightened the men, as you believed, as to their power of resisting wrongful oppression, if they combined for the purpose. That I take it was fully explained to them; but I was going to ask if you gave powerful descriptions of what you supposed to be an unjust oppression. Did you try to do that?—This was principally what I dealt in. I tried to teach the men or persuade the men to do their duty, because it is my belief that if miners would do their duty they would not have much difficulty in getting their rights. That is my opinion.

16,397. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) But what do you mean by "doing their duty?"—The first thing is to have a good substantial association, then a good understanding one with another; and when the coal proprietors want to make any difference either in the working in the mine or in the way of proposing a reduction of wages, if there is a good organization and they select a deputation to wait on the master, the men can go without fear to the master, and not as if they were going individually; for I am sorry to say that it is as much as a man's bread is worth to go to his master in many cases, but when the men feel that they have a a little power at their back, they can speak more plainly and they are not afraid of advantage being taken of them.

16,398. (*Chairman.*) Then if they have got a sensible leader, some good comes from that combination, you think?—Yes. I will just name here four circumstances that have come under my own notice. In 1863 Captain Sparks, of Darlington, and his men were likely to have a dispute. The men at Newton-in-the-Willows, near Pontefract, had not a man that they could send as a deputation. I am sorry to say that there were not above two men that could read their own names except with difficulty, and they asked Captain Sparks if he would allow me to go along with the deputation, and he said he would. I went to Darlington along with the deputation. I found Captain Sparks a reasonable gentleman. Of course he had been misled by his agent. I heard what the men had to say and what he had to say. Then he asked me if my name was Brown; I said, "Yes." He said, "What do you think of this affair?" I said, "Well, the men in some things have been unreasonable, but I fear you have been misinformed. I think "you have been very unreasonable." He asked me why. I told him that they had 6*s.* a dozen or a score, and the men had their own putters or drawers (we called them hurriers), and if a man was 400 yards from the pit's bottom he had only 6*s.* a score just the same as a man 200 yards from it. This was against the men, and I explained it to him; and he said, "I "see that clearly, and it shall be put an end to;" and he gave the men 7½ per cent. advance throughout the pit and altered the mode of payment for putting, and he said that he was extremely obliged to me for giving him the statements I had. He said, "I assure you, "that you have prevented a strike in my colliery, for "I had made up my mind to set it down before I "should go any further." I have been at Captain Sparks's at Darlington, since then, that was on another occasion. At the Pontefract Main Colliery (it is also called Waterloo Colliery), near Leeds, Thomas Pickersgill is the general agent, all the under viewers and deputies and so on are under him; and for 16 or 17 years that I worked at Waterloo Colliery Thomas Pickersgill was my master. He had heard I was a miners' agent. He sent a letter and asked me to go over. He told me that the men seemed very much disturbed about something. He said, "You and I "always did agree when you worked at Waterloo, "and for anything I know we are friends yet." I said, "Just the same, as far as I am concerned." He said, "I wish something could be done." I said, "What is the matter?" We agreed that I should go with a deputation to the Pontefract Main Colliery, and Mr. Pickersgill agreed that he and I should sit and hear what the stewards and the men had to say, and when we had done that we found that in many cases the men were in the right. There were several grievances they complained of. Those things were put right. The grievances were amicably settled, and I believe the men have gone on well since. That was three years since. We were going to have a social tea in the Temperance Hall at Spitalfields, near Leeds, and he gave us 1*l.* towards the expenses. Now I will mention another case. There was a disturbance at Balaklava Colliery, about 4½ miles from Leeds. I met Mr. Whitehead Derbyshire, an underviewer at Balaklava Colliery, and asked him if something could not be done, and another gentleman that was the salesman for the same firm. He said, "Well, Brown, we have "a deal of trade, and I am sure something ought to "be done." We went into an hotel and in 25 minutes or half an hour we agreed, and the men went to work next morning. There has been very little dispute at that place since. I may say, that wherever I have been allowed to go with a deputation I have never failed in getting a settlement without a strike.

16,399. Were these deputations that you went with men you had known before, men of sound mind and fair feeling, or men you had met by chance?—Some of them were men I had known two or three years before, and some of them were strangers to me. The next that I was engaged on was a strike that took place at Allerton Bywater colliery. On the 4th of July I went to see Mr. Carter. Two of the miners came to me at my residence at Hunslet and asked me to go as a deputation to Mr. Carter. I objected to go at the outset. They asked me why. I said, "I never "like to go and thrust myself ostensibly into a colliery "office, for I am sorry to say from some misunder-"standing that many of the stewards look upon me as "their enemy, but if Mr. Carter will send down a note "to say that he will agree for me to go as a deputation "I have no objection to do so." He sent two men to say that he would be glad to see me along with the deputation on the Monday morning (that was the 4th of July). When we got down to the colliery office I saw Mr. Carter, and he began to tell me that the men were complaining, and he thought that there was no occasion for them to do so. I said, "Well, I am only "an agent; I wish to have a deputation of the men "here and then we can hear both sides, and we can "judge accordingly." I went to the men and the men objected to send a deputation. This led me to be rather suspicious. I may say that the men blamed me very much, in fact some abused me, and they

threatened to throw stones at me, and some threatened at the lodge room to throw me out of the window, saying that I was their agent and must do what they wanted. I said, "I have a right to speak as far as "my conscience dictates to me, but as soon as ever "you want to overstep the bounds of right, I am no "more your agent." I then went to Mr. Carter again. The deputation did not go with me. He asked me why. Of course I did not like to find fault with the men more than I could help, but I said, "The "grievance that exists between you seems to be "rather a great one; there is a great space between "you; if you will meet a little I will meet a little;" though I had no power from the association, and Mr. Carter at that time advanced the men somewhere about 10*d.* a-day on the 4th of July. He frankly told me when I came out of the office that if anyone had told him that morning he would have given the men so much he would not have believed it, but he said, "Brown, you have overcome me. I hope we shall work "comfortably on." I found him to be a decent man, and I saw that he wanted the colliery to work, and I am sure I did, and I believe that some of the men who do not care whether they work or not were not so very particular about striking. I soon found that out, and was determined that it should be prevented if possible.

16,400. Did they go to work at 10*d.* a day extra?—They went to work and have worked without any dispute ever since. I told Mr. Carter at that time, "Now whether I am the agent in this district or not, "if you will just communicate with me when any "grievance arises, I will try to put it right or else "send for a deputation of your men." He wanted to reduce their wages 7½ per cent. since Christmas, and he very wisely sent for a deputation of his men and told them that trade was very bad, and that in order to keep his trade he would be obliged to reduce them. The men agreed to it. They never stopped an hour and they are going on comfortably now, working nearly full time. I believe that was the last I had to do with in Yorkshire. On the 4th of July 1866 I went on to be the agent up to October 22nd. I had addressed several meetings in Derbyshire during that summer from July up to October, and the Derbyshire men gave me an invitation to go into Derbyshire. On the 10th of November the Derbyshire miners sent a delegate to our conference which was held in Newcastle in the year 1865. He went back and told them how the conference was conducted.

16,401. (*Lord Elcho.*) Was that the conference of the General Miners' Association?—The General Miners' Association.

16,402. Embracing Scotland as well?—Yes, part of Scotland; and the Derbyshire miners made a subscription among themselves and sent a person of the name of Joseph Edwards to that conference. He went back again and told them the state of affairs and took the resolutions and so on that were passed, and they thought it was a very good thing, and agreed to commence an association. They commenced an association on December the 23d, 1865, at Eckington, George Inn, Southgate. The president was William Ball; treasurer, John Hatfield; secretary, John Catchpole; agent, Joseph Edwards. Joseph Edwards and I got rather intimate at the Newcastle conference, and he sent me three very pressing invitations to go into Derbyshire to hold a meeting. On Easter eve, in 1866, I went to speak at a meeting at a place called Woodhouse, near Handsworth, Sheffield. On the Monday following we held another miners' meeting at the Corn Exchange, Chesterfield. When that meeting was over I said, "Now Joseph, it is time I should "return to Yorkshire, or my employers will give me "a blowing up." He said, "I should like you to "go to Cinder Hill, I promised them faithfully that I "would take you over there." I said, "Well, I have "never been to Cinder Hill, and our men object to "my going away because I have plenty of work at "home." He said, "Well I never dare go to Cinder "Hill again if you do not go;" so I agreed to go, and we went and held a meeting on Easter Tuesday 1866 in Napoleon Square. We had a very large meeting; of course they got a cart for me to stand in. I do not know whether there had ever been a meeting there before, but the friends seemed to be rather curious about it. However, when that meeting was over they went and had another in Old Basford.

16,403. (*Mr. Harrison.*) What did you say when you addressed the meeting?—I told them that I had had an invitation from their agent Joseph Edwards to just come over and speak at the meeting, and I said, "You will think I daresay that I am a curious fellow, "but if you will just come to the meeting you can "hear what I have to say, and of course if it suits "you you can heed, and if not of course you can let "it alone." They had not much union there then. I explained to them the rules of the association. There were many women there, and I told them that it was every woman's duty to advise her husband to be in the association. I considered that an institution that allowed 10*s.* for accidents and 5*l.* for deaths was an institution that ought to be encouraged, and of course the men and the women agreed to it and we went and held another meeting. After that meeting at Old Basford I went home. When I had been at home three days I received two or three letters from other parties to go to Cinder Hill again.

16,404. (*Lord Elcho.*) Were your expenses paid?—The Derbyshire men paid my expenses when I went into Derbyshire.

16,405. Not your own union?—Those who invited me paid. They paid me third class fare and 5*s.* 6*d.* a day, and first one friend and then another asked me to go and spend the evening and stop the night with them. Two or three days after I had been at Old Basford I had two or three very pressing invitations to go again. I durst not go without bringing it before our own committee, and I told them that the men complained very much. Some of them said that they were getting 120 lbs. to the cwt. and confiscations without limit.

16,406. When you were first invited to Derbyshire did you bring that invitation before the committee?—Yes, I had always to acquaint them with it; but I may say this, that Saturday was my own night—we never held any meeting on the Saturday night without it were a social tea meeting or gathering. I could go where I had a mind on the Saturday, but was obliged to be back again to my appointment on the Monday. This was Easter, and the men at Methley had agreed to have no meetings in the Easter week, and I had a day or two of leisure, but I durst not go into Derbyshire without bringing it before our committee. I read over those letters inviting me to go into Derbyshire to the committee. They asked me what the state of Derbyshire was. I said I had been to Cinder Hill, and I said I did not wonder at the men coming into Yorkshire, seeing that they were getting 120 lbs. to the cwt., 27 cwt., or 29 cwt. to the ton (they reckoned it equal with 29 cwt.), and they said that they had check weighmen, but they were of no more use on the pit bank than dolls; there was no organisation at their back, and the masters were determined to have what weight they demanded.

16,407. (*Chairman.*) 120 lbs. to the hundredweight is the local hundredweight, I suppose?—I do not know what is the local hundredweight. I do not know what is a hundredweight in Derbyshire, but I know that 112 lbs. is in Yorkshire.

16,408. Do you take it that if a man, capable of managing for himself, makes his contract, his weight is limited by his contract?—I say that if a man makes a contract (and I have said it repeatedly to the Derbyshire men) to get one hundred hundredweights to the ton, you are under obligations to get them, and you must abide by it without you give a proper notice for it to be altered.

16,409. (*Mr. Harrison.*) What was the kind of confiscation they were complaining of; to what extent was it carried?—The confiscation was taking away a man's tubs altogether.

16,410. (*Chairman.*) They did not take away a

Mr. W. Brown.

12 May 1868.

man's tubs that were filled according to the understanding of the usage of the colliery? They took away certain tubs, you mean?—I will first tell you the facts of the case. If we can understand it here it is more than the judge could at the county court at Nottingham; but I understand that the tubs there weigh when filled about 15 hundredweight, and the coal comes out in lumps four times as big, some of them, as this box here (*pointing to a box*), and there are two men that have to watch the tubs, and they have picks, and keep chipping dirt off, or anything that they think will be an impediment to the sale of the coal, and if there be any slack or small left in the tub bottom the men have to lose it, and it is impossible to have this chipping without slack being left in the tub, and the men were just left at the mercy of those at the top whether they had a tub all day or not.

16,411. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you mean to say that the practice was this, that if at the top of the pit's mouth they found slack in the tub the man was not paid for it at all?—He was not paid for it at all.

16,412. (*Chairman.*) I understand you to say that a man with a pick picks off the slack and dirt, and if he pricks that off there must be so much lost when it comes to be weighed?—The tub is weighed before it gets to the men that have to chip it, but then they have somebody to look after it after it is weighed, and if there be any dirt in the tub bottom after it is chipped and emptied, it is left simply with those that are at the top under the masters—the agents, or the persons appointed to look after the working of the top—whether the men get it or not.

16,413. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you mean to say it is this, that the tub comes up the full weight. The tub is emptied of these large masses of coal, there remains in the tub a small portion of slack or small coal, and the man who has sent up that tub is paid nothing for it?—Paid nothing for it in many instances; it is left to the mercy of the man who has to decide it.

16,414. (*Chairman.*) There is a ratio, I suppose?—I beg to say that when the men got united, and they had a little money, in one fortnight there were 200 tons of coal taken from the men. The masters' man pronounced them to be good and fit for sale. The check weighman had his sheets and made out the notes for the men, and the sheets tallied with the weighman for the masters, and when they got their wages on the Saturday afternoon or Saturday night, it was found one fortnight that they were 200 tons short. The men were determined that they would not stand it; they went and got legal advice about it, and they were told, "Well, you have nothing better than to get the wage." They knew what agreement they had made, and of course they summoned Mr. North to the county court for the balance of the money stopped for the 200 tons. When they got to the county court (Mr. Shaw was the barrister for them, and Mr. Cave for Mr. North), and when the case was laid before the judge he said, Well he did not know what the bargain had been between the men and the master, but he alleged that there was small in the bottom of the tub, and the men had agreed to send them up clear of dirt. Of course the gentleman said he could not see how in the world 15 cwt. of coal could be dressed, and yet there be no slack in the tub. I saw that the men had been taken aback at the time.

16,415. 200 tons had been stopped out of how many?—I think six or eight stalls had the 200 tons taken off. There were some stalls that had 20 tons short in a fortnight; two men in a stall.

16,416. (*Mr. Harrison.*) How much could two men in a stall send up in the fortnight?—I understand that two men take the stall and they have holers and loaders, and the stall men are responsible for the coal, and they have to pay the loaders so much a day, and the holers so much a stint, whether they get anything out of it or not. It might be 20 tons of 100 or 150, I cannot say how many tons come out of a stall, but I think about that.

16,417. It would be 10 per cent. you think that was stopped?—I think more than that.

16,418. I suppose that when you went into Derbyshire you in substance told them that if they would set up a union there as you had done in Yorkshire, the union would guarantee them against confiscation?—Not in those words, I said that if they had a good substantial association, such as they had in Yorkshire, they would guarantee the men fair wages. The judge could not decide the case, and it was left over for another month, and the men sent for me to know what I thought about it. I said, "You are working "nicely now; see Mr. North and Mr. Barber, and try "if you cannot come to something like an agreement." However, Mr. North agreed to pay the whole of the tonnage that he had stopped, and one half of the expences that the men had incurred. After I commenced being agent in Derbyshire (that was on the 22d of October, if I remember rightly), the first dispute that occurred in Derbyshire was at Bennerly Colliery, the owner of which was Mr. Parker. I did not know anything about the men striking in anyway whatever, and I was very desirous to get to the root of it, and I got a friend of mine to see Mr. Parker personally and ask him if he would allow me to go with a deputation to him, for I really did not want to begin to have any disturbance. He agreed that I should, we met at Ilkeston, and I think that there were nine in the deputation. When we had shaken hands and so on, he said, "Now, Brown, what do you think of this affair?" I said, "I do not understand it, sir, we will hear what the men have to say." And the men laid their statement down, and I found that the men were wrong in every sense of the word, and I considered that Mr. Parker was ill-treated. He seemed a man not very wealthy, and they thought that because they had joined the association they could trample him under the association. I said that the association never intended to do that. When the men were right it would defend them, and when in the wrong it would censure them, I said. I went back to the committee and told them that there was no sense at all in the steps they had taken, and of course the men did not then have any more pay. I told Mr. Parker that he was at liberty to go and discharge any that he liked. I detested it as much as anybody, because I saw that he was an ill-treated gentleman.

16,419. (*Chairman.*) Is it your experience that if the coalowner appears to be defenceless and poor, there are men ready to set their foot upon his neck?—I am sorry to say that I think there are hundreds of men who, if they think their employer has not a good amount of money (they want their wage whether they work for it or not), and is not wealthy enough to resist them, will take both him and the pit.

16,420. You gave judgment, if I may use my own language, against the men in that case?—Against the men.

16,421. Did they acquiesce in it, or think that it was unjust?—There were many men that said that they would never speak to me any more. They said if that was my agency, they would pay no more to a fellow like me. I find that I have made a little mistake here. The Hucknall Colliery was before Bennerly. The men at Hucknall Colliery (I think it is in Nottinghamshire), thought that when they had paid three or four times to the association, they ought to be having something, and they laid a curious statement before the delegates at a place called Hill Top, and they stopped without giving any notice at all. I can assure you that I felt curious on their account, because I knew that if the master knew anything about the Masters and Servant Act, he could put every man of them in prison. I asked them to get me a copy of the colliery byelaws, and they got me a copy, and I met them at Bulwell Forest. I said, "Now it is not me that is going to speak this morning, "but your own rules. There is a rule that says distinctly that there must be 28 days' notice given on "your part before an advance takes place, or a "reduction, or you leave work, and the master must "do the same to you. You have given no notice at "all, and the master is lenient to you, or he would

" have taken you before the magistrates. Whatever " you do go to your work, and if you have any " grievances, send a deputation to your master and " lay those grievances before him, and then if you " determine to strike and think that you are ill-dealt " with, when you have served your notice you will be " at liberty." The men went to work ; they gave a month's notice, and when the notice was up, on the Monday before the notice expired, I am sure I worked two hours at the delegate meeting to oppose that strike. Nothing would do but they would come out. I said, " Well, I will never advocate it. I do not believe in it," and I may say that the men were out 16 weeks before I ever went near the Hucknall men at all.

16,422. If a considerable number of men act much against their interest, there is almost always a servant of evil at the bottom of it spreading mischief I suppose ? Did you find out in this case who was the centre of mischief ?—I did. The case was misrepresented in every sense of the word. The Hucknall men were making very fair wages. Of course they were working 12 hours a day, which I considered was the evil ; but still I thought that if the men had given a little time and remonstrated with their employer, they might have done a good deal better with him than come out on strike.

16,423. What was the motive of the man that misrepresented and misled them ? Was it vanity, or money, or what ?—It could not be for money, because he was not a miner's agent, and never has been. There are some men that like to be popular for the sake of being popular, to make themselves large. I think it has been for that as much as anything.

16,424. You must have had great insight into the minds of a number of men whom you have swayed ; and vanity, you think, is a considerable power ?—I think it was with several of the men. The men were out 16 weeks. I never went to advocate the strike. I was often asked by the committee to do so, but I said, " No ; when you plan me to go to Hucknall to " tell those men that they are right, I will play that " day and go my wage short," and did not go. When they had been out 16 weeks Mr. Walker called the men together in the National School at Hucknall, and I saw it in the paper the day after, the " Nottingham Express," that he said this : " Now, you will see, " men, that the very delegate that has led you into " the error is just the man to leave you in the lurch." Of course I considered that his remarks applied to me, for I was generally the man that they shot at, and I did just go over to Hucknall to say that I had not led them into the error. I had a large meeting then, for perhaps the men thought that I was going to sympathize with them. I said, " I am just of the same " opinion as I was 16 weeks ago. You were in the " wrong then, and you are in the wrong now." I never did believe in the Hucknall strike. It was wrong then, I thought, and I believe to-day that it was wrong. The next affair that took place in Derbyshire was at Staveley. On the 3rd of September they were determined to have a demonstration meeting at Chesterfield. Mr. Catchpole, the secretary that wrote the minutes I have in my hand, sent me a letter to Hunslet to ask me if I would address that meeting. I sent back to say that I could not, as I was engaged to be at Barnsley the same day, and my name was on the bills. He then sent another letter, and said that Barnsley would be able to get on without me, that Mr. Macdonald, Mr. Holmes, and others would be there, and they would be able to manage. I wrote and said no doubt they would be able to get on without me, but I had much rather go to Barnsley. I should mention here that I have sold a few books among the miners. He then wrote a letter back to this effect : " I suppose you think that because you " are more respected in the Barnsley district you will " sell a few more books among the colliers there than " in the Staveley district, and that is the reason that " you cannot come." I could not stand that, and I wrote to John Normansell to know whether I could go, and he said I could take my own course, and rather than make myself enemies if I could do any good there they would give me up at Barnsley that day. After those three letters I agreed to go and address the meeting. It was held at Chesterfield on the 3rd of September. I think they said that there were 900 Staveley men that joined the association that day.

16,425. (*Mr. Harrison.*) What was the substance of your speech at Chesterfield ?—The substance of my speech at Chesterfield was simply this, I had the rules of the association in my hand. I explained the rules of the association. The men told me how they had been treated.

16,426. What was their complaint ?—Their complaint was that they had no weight at all, that they got the coals by lump.

16,427. Do you mean that the tubs were simply measured out by sight, not weight ?—They had a check weigh-man on the pit bank, and this was what the men said to me ; respectable men, I mean. When a man professes to be a local preacher among the Wesleyan body or Free Church, or any other institution, I consider that I ought to rely on his word, and one of them said to me, " I can assure you, Brown, that I " have lads that have to start off at half past 4 in the " morning, and do not get back till half past 7 at night, " and they have very little for it, and our tons are no " tons at all, and when we complain of it they tell us " that we get them below what we ought to."

16,428. Was each tub weighed as it came to the top ?—Yes, I believe every tub was said to be weighed when it came to the top.

16,429. But the men considered that it was not fairly weighed ?—They said that the check weigh-man had no power on the bank, but only to stand and see them weighed. He was not allowed to touch the tub or the beam, and had nothing at all to do with the machine.

16,430. The substance of it was that they considered that the coal was not fairly weighed ?—They told me deliberately that the men were cheated in their weight.

16,431. Was there a system of confiscation there ? —Yes ; they told me that there were scores of tons a fortnight taken off. Of course I do not believe all that I hear in those cases, but I may say that when I addressed the meeting, and I had those things given into my hand in a note, I denounced them with all the power that I could muster, and if there were any of the agents there I said before them, " Now I have been informed that this is the state of things at Staveley."

16,432. Did the men complain of the ventilation or inspection ?—No. I said, " If there is any agent here " I have been informed that this is the state of things " at Staveley, or if the masters themselves are here, " I have been informed that such and such things " exist, and if I have been misinformed, I beg that " you will put me right." But nobody ever came to put me right About 900 men joined the association that day.

16,433. (*Chairman.*) Some of the witnesses spoke of violence breaking out as the result of some of your words—was that so ?—No ; the only thing like violence that ever happened at Staveley was when they got their non-union meeting up on the free labour society. The Staveley company gave a bullock or two and 10 or 12 barrels of ale, and one poor lad got drunk and broke his leg, and that is the only thing that has ever happened at Staveley that I know of. The men joined the association, and it was given out at the close of the meeting that 900 had joined the association. Well, the next thing that I heard was this. When I got home I got a letter to Hunslet stating that they had locked a lot of men out for being at the meeting, or at least given them a month's notice, and they locked out at Staveley I think up to about 300. Of course they kept asking me my opinion about it. I had no power. I was not an agent there, only as I went over occasionally. They had their own council meeting and delegate meeting, and then they had a committee

Mr. W. Brown.
12 May 1868.

besides. When they asked me my opinion I said, "Well now, the Staveley Company are a powerful "company, they tell me that they are worth a million "of money. Just show then that you can have an "association without injuring the masters, and if "they be determined to lock out, you would be able "very likely to keep as many men as they can spare "this coming winter, and then I really think that "when the winter is over, and you do not offer any "resistance they will begin to see that you do not "mean fight and will permit the men to go to work." However, the men were determined to strike and resist it. I said, "Well now, if you strike you are "done. You cannot support your men. The "Staveley Company is wealthy and will beat you "with money and nothing else." In spite of all that I could do, when I went into the place I was lodging at they had got 500 or 600 notices printed, and they were filling them up, and I said, "Lads, you are done, "and if you will take my advice you will shove the "notices into the fire this minute." I said, "Keep "on the defensive and then you will be right, but if "you begin to resist them you are almost sure to "be defeated." Such was the case. The strike and lock-out was carried on in the first week of January, and Catchpole's cousin came to me at North Whittington and said, "What do you think to things now?" I said, "Just the same as I thought two months ago. "You may carry the strike on and make it cost "4,000*l.* more, but it will end in the same result."

16,434. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Who found the funds in that case?—There was a levy on the association.

16,435. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Had the men help from the association?—The men got 4*s.* a week and 6*d.* a week for each child for several weeks.

16,436. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Were all the men locked out?—No; when the Stavely Company began to lock out there would be 7,000 men in association in Derbyshire.

16,437. Were you an officer of that association?—No.

16,438. None of the proceedings were conducted officially by you in that strike?—No; except getting up a social meeting.

16,439. None of the money went through your hands to pay it?—No, not at that time. I never touched a penny of money before the 3d of April in 1867. In fact I always had an objection to having to do with the miners' money. I never did like it.

16,440. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Will you be kind enough to tell me what this means? All our doings are public, and therefore I do not think that I do wrong by reading this to you. It is in the evidence of Mr. Arthur Higginson. The question is No. 12,418, and it is put by the chairman: "Then delegates came down into "that district, such as have been described before?" And the answer is: "Yes, shortly after the Staveley "business was over, and the strike at Hucknall "colliery; the same men employed in that district "as delegates came into ours. I have here some "balance sheets sent to me showing the amounts "they received in the Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Miners' Association, and the same men named "here, with some few exceptions, are the men who "have been troubling our district since. In that "union they give each member a book of this description (*handing in a book*) when he joins the union, "and the first date is January 1866. They did not "come into our district till February 1867. I produce that simply to show that it is a branch of the "same association; that these men who receive that "money are dependent for their livelihood upon continued agitation in some district or other. These are "fortnightly balance sheets. This is the balance "sheet for January 31st 1867 (*producing the same*), "in which I find these payments to agents: William "Ball, 3*l.* 19*s.* 1½*d.*; R. Bunting, 4*l.* 13*s.* 0*d.*; H. "Clark, 4*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.*; William Brown, 6*l.* 16*s.* 7½*d.*" Now that states that you received money at that time from that miners' association?—Yes; but that is after I engaged with the Derbyshire miners. I was coming to that. When I say that I received no money I had nothing to do with it officially. I only received a day's wage if I went to serve them a day, and railway fare, and so forth.

16,441. (*Mr. Harrison.*) How came you to go down into Derbyshire?—As I said before, it was because I had repeated invitations, and when I agreed to go to Derbyshire of course I had to bring it before the West Yorkshire district committee.

16,442. (*Chairman.*) Were the invitations from men of the working classes, or from ministers of religion?—The secretary, John Catchpole, was a check-weigh man at that time. He could not write for me without the committee ordering him to do so. He always wrote to me officially when he wrote, and the committee is chosen by the various men of the lodges themselves, and that was the reason that I went into Derbyshire.

16,443. Was the moving power in your knowledge a minister of religion?—No, he was not a minister of religion. I say that the reason that I ever engaged with the Derbyshire men at all was this. From the reports that were given to me, and the statements that were made to me every day, and many a time on a day, I considered that the men were very ill-treated in many respects. In fact to prove some things I put myself many a time to inconvenience. They said that they had to leave their homes at 5 o'clock in the morning and they did not get back till such and such times at night. I really thought that it was too inhuman to be true, but I got up myself in the morning and watched them go to work, and took care to be in the same road at night and saw the same boys come home at a quarter-past seven again.

16,444. (*Lord Elcho.*) What age would those boys be?—Twelve or 13 they might be. In fact I had had statements made to me that boys were working under 10 years of age, but I thought that this could not be true, because the inspector and other people ought to have looked after those things. I do not know that ever I saw any boy come home at that time or go at that time which I have mentioned, that I should consider to be under 10 or even 11, but I have thought that they were under 12.

16,445. The boys had been employed 15 hours?—Yes, and some of them are in Derbyshire now even. They have three or four miles to walk to their work, and they have by some of their rules to begin drawing coal at the pits at 6 o'clock in the morning, and as it will take 200 men half an hour to go down, they have to be at the pit at half-past five.

16,446. You do not mean that they are 15 hours under ground, but from the time that they leave home to the time that they get bock?—Many of them are 13 hours under ground, but 15 hours from home.

16,447. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Can you tell me the circumstances that compel them to live three or four miles from the pit?—Yes, Derbyshire is a coal field that has been very much developed lately, they sink new pits, and of course the masters have not houses to accommodate their men, and when farmers and stockingers, and such like people that live in villages hear that more men are wanted in the pit and that they can make more money there they go to the pit, and there are men in Derbyshire now walking four miles every morning and night.

16,448. Can you tell me the name of the colliery where these things happen of men being down in the pit 12 hours?—I have the byelaws here of the Gresley Wood Colliery, and the first rule is: "That every "person employed in and about these collieries shall, "previously to entering on service, sign a contract to "obey, fulfil, and observe their rules, byelaws, and "conditions; and that each workman shall give or "receive 14 days' notice before leaving his work, "except in case of fraud, or for disobedience to the "orders of the manager or under-viewer, or for misconduct, when he shall be discharged without such "notice." Then the second is: "That the pits com-"mence work at 6 o'clock in the morning and cease "at six in the evening for a full day, and at half-past

" 12 for half a day. Half an hour to be allowed for " breakfast, and an hour for dinner."

16,449. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Does that mean that the men go into the pit at that hour, or that the coal begins to be brought up at that hour?—That the coal begins to be drawn. Unfortunately I let Mr. Normansell have my copy of the rules for the Church Gresley colliery, but there are persons in the room that will be able to put me right if I make a mistake. At the Church Gresley colliery it distinctly says that they must be there in the morning to begin to draw coal at 6 o'clock, and to cease at 6 in the evening, and at 1 for half a day, and they have half an hour for breakfast; but when they are going to work a full day they stop at half-past 12 till half-past 1 for dinner, and the men tell me (I do not know whether it is true or not) that at this time of the year pits make more half days than anything else. They set their engines on at full work and they pull as many coals as ever they can from 6 till 1 o'clock, and they call that half a day. If the men work a full day they work 11 hours; if they work half a day they work 6½ hours; that is what they tell me, and if I had the byelaws themselves of the Church Gresley colliery here they would prove it. And this I may say, seeing that 6 and 6 make 12, and two half hours make one, I call it 13 hours a day, in addition to the extra speed that they have to work at, and I have denounced it with all my power as an injustice for them to work 11 hours for a full day and 6½ for half a day.

16,450. (*Lord Elcho.*) Is the wage for half a day exactly half of what it is for a full day?—I believe it is.

16,451. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Then they work eight hours in Yorkshire do they not?—They commence at 6 o'clock in the morning and stop at 11 o'clock for what we call drinking, and come out at 2. We work seven hours for a full day, and in Derbyshire they work six and a half hours for half a day.

16,452. (*Chairman.*) Perhaps you have found that there is nothing so satisfactory when you hear of a grievance as to go down unknown and just see that it is real?—The way that I have done is to ask men on whose word I could rely. I have come out with this when Mr. Eley has been at the meetings. I have said: "The men tell me that they have to work six and a " half hours for half a day; the men tell me that they " get 25 cwt. to the ton, 5 cwt. is reckoned for smudge " and other things; but if any smudge comes up the " tub is confiscated, and they get nothing for it; the " men tell me that, and if it is not so, I wish to be " put right." When the agents themselves have been at the meeting I have said that.

16,453. Who is Mr. Eley?—Mr. Eley is a colliery manager. I wish it to be distinctly understood that I do not say that those things really are so, but I say that I have been informed so over and over again.

16,454. And you have ssked the men whose interest it is to contradict you, and they have not done it?—I have asked the men who have been at the meetings. I have said: "I have been told such and such things; " if they are not true, you that are here come and " put me right."

16,455. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Was the next case the Church Gresley case?—The next case was Church Gresley. I was not at the delegate meeting at the time. I had an appointment somewhere else. I got to Chesterfield on the Tuesday. They had held this delegate meeting on the Monday, and the committee informed me that a deputation had been over from Church Gresley, with a view to see if they would take 100 members into the association, and they brought their entrance money, 2*s.* 6*d.* each, but they objected to take their money. The council said, "We consider " that we should not be right in taking your money. " We do not know how things are going to turn out." And then the men said, "We have so many grievances;" but the council thought that in a week's time they might be on the funds if they took them, and they refused to take their money. There was nothing more about it at that time (that would be at the back end of January) and then we went over into February 1867, and there was a dispute at Mr. North's, and I went over to Old Basford to see how things were going on at North's; and the committee there, some of them came from Swadlincote or Church Gresley, somewhere there, and they said, "We are likely to have a longish job here, Brown." I said, "I am sorry for it." They said, "We want you to go over to Swadlincote and see " if we cannot get men to pay a little and help us to " get over that difficulty." I told them that I was almost tired of going into fresh districts, and I was poorly at the time and did not feel inclined to come down. William Ward was there at that time. They agreed that William Ward and I should just go over to the men and get them to subscribe for the Cinder Hill men if we could. We went over and called a meeting to be held in the beerhouse room, but there was not room there and it was held on the Dely as it is called. I simply told the men that a number of men were out, and that when they came round I hoped that they would do their best to help them; that I considered the men right and the masters wrong and that their case deserved commiseration. We had no inclination to begin an association at Swadlincote, but the men wrote for some one to go over again. Of course I was the man that had to go. When we had addressed three meetings there the men commenced a lodge, and when it got out that 70 or 80 men had joined the association, the secretary and treasurer got notice to leave. There were 11 I think in the first batch. They asked my opinion and I said, "It is just what I expected, it " is another Derbyshire touch; you must be prepared " for the worst, it just rests with you. I do not want " to plunge you into any difficulties, but my opinion " is, that they mean it in order to put the union " down." They said, "Well, it is time there was a " union here, because they stop so much for an acci- " dent, they can stop it just when they like." And one man told me, "Out of our stall only last week we had 10 tubs taken off in one day." I asked them where it was gone to, and they said, "deadbrief." That was at Hall and Boardman's colliery, where Mr. Ely is the manager. I do not say that this was so, but the men told me so.

16,456. (*Chairman.*) What were the matters that the men told you that they had to complain of in this district, that satisfied you that there was some cause of complaint?—I had then a little more experience in the Derbyshire district than I had when I first went in, and I could see myself boys going before 5 o'clock in the morning.

16,457. How many hours did you find them at work?—In the pit from 12½ to 13 hours at Church Gresley Colliery, at Swadlincote Colliery, at Gresley Wood Colliery, at Granville Colliery, and all the collieries. I have been on the road and watched them myself. This statement is not from anybody else, but it is what I have seen myself.

16,458. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) The men work by the piece, do they not?—The stall men are by the piece, and the holers are by the stint, but the loaders are by the day, and the boys also.

16,459. And they do not get more for staying in the number of hours that you talk of?—They tell me not a penny more.

16,460. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Was the system there confiscation generally, and to what per centage did you understand it was carried?—I could not say to what per centage, and I could not say how far it went, because there are little things that exist in collieries that do not exist in other places. A good deal goes by favour. I do not single any place out in this, but suppose a man becomes a secretary belonging to an association, if they do not feel disposed to lock him out and discharge him they can confiscate his tubs, and then of course he is obliged to leave, and that is next door to locking him out.

16,461. Was there a check weighman at Church Gresley?—No, no check weighman has ever been allowed in the Church Gresley neighbourhood.

16,462. Have the men made an attempt to appoint

Mr. W. Brown.

12 May 1868.

one?—I am not prepared to say whether they have or not. Some men say they have and some say they have not. The masters say that they would not object to a check weighman, but I say before this Commission, that if I worked at a pit (and this is my own mind) and there was a check weighman placed on the pit bank, and it only took 2*d.* a week out of my wage to pay him my share, and there was no organisation, I would not pay it.

16,463. You consider that the check weighman is of no use without a union to support him?—Not in the least; he is partly under the masters, and if he wants to fetch a corve back he is obnoxious, and said to be obstructing the workmen, and all that sort of thing, and if there is no organisation at his back they can discharge him immediately and the man has no power at all; and not only is it the case that they can, but they do it.

16,464. (*Chairman.*) There are some of your fellow-creatures good and some bad in all places, are there not?—There are some good and some bad in all places. I do not say that every collier that goes into a pit should not have a tub confiscated, because there are men who, if there were not some rule, would send their coals out in such a state that they would not be fit to be seen. Still, it is not always those men that suffer most from confiscation.

16,465. I meant to convey that a general outpouring upon the iniquity of mankind in general, and the employers at Church Gresley in particular, does not impress me with anything like the effect than an individual instance does?—I am very sorry to say that as far as I could hear from the men that it was pretty general in the neighbourhood.

16,466. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Who are the proprietors of the Church Gresley Colliery?—Lord Chesterfield I think is the proprietor.

16,467. (*Mr. Harrison.*) The mine is leased, is it not, and is not worked by him?—I think he works his own, if I am not mistaken. I wish you could get to know and know fully the state of the case, because the men are of opinion that Lord Chesterfield knows nothing at all about a great number of those grievances.

16,468. What are the other grievances besides the confiscation and the hours?—There was confiscation and hours, and something else. I am extremely obliged that you have asked that question, because it brings something out that I should have forgotten. At first when I went to Swadlincote the men had their own timber to find, and men have told me that when they had worked a fortnight as hard as they could work for 11 days, when they have paid for the timber and every other thing, they have only had a very few shillings to take home, on account of there being so much timber broken. Then there is another objection which I raise to this system. Those men are only poor, and they are tempted sometimes, when they have their own timber to find, to do without a puncheon or two when they ought to be set up, and it is a serious temptation to them. I was informed when I got to Swadlincote that they had their own wood to find at Hall and Boardman's colliery.

16,469. (*Lord Elcho.*) Are you aware whether that subject, the men finding their own wood and props, has ever been brought before Parliament?—I do not know whether it has or has not.

16,470. You do not know that that has been brought before a Committee of the House, which has condemned the practice?—No, I am not aware of that. Then they locked out about a hundred men. Then it began to be rather a heavy burden, of course. I had made up my mind then, from hearing the grievances I had had stated to me, that I would do my best to establish an association there, and I really expected a good deal of opposition from the masters, because I knew that a great many of the employers in Derbyshire were against it, and I suppose that they would have communicated with the Church Gresley masters. Then this was put into my hand: "Miners' "Union League, Sandiacre, near Nottingham, March "21st, 1867. Dear sir,—Messrs. Hall and Boardman "(Swadlincote and Cadley Hill Collieries, Burton-on-"Trent) inform me that the miners' union is rapidly "extending in the Burton district, and they apprehend much difficulty from this source unless prompt "measures be immediately adopted. In conjunction "with the other coalowners in the district they have "determined to discharge every man who becomes in "any way connected with the union, and the men "whose names are given below, active members and "promoters of the same, are now under notice of "discharge from their works in consequence. It is "requested they may be *refused employment* at any "of the associated collieries, agreeably with the resolution of the general meeting, January 3d, 1867, "to which I beg particularly to direct your attention. "—I am, dear sir, yours most obediently, F. Peel." Now, I may say that I do not know that ever a wrong word or a hard word had escaped my lips, or a strong sentence. It is possible for a man to give vent to a strong sentence when he gets a little warm in a meeting, but I have been very careful up to this time. Therefore, when I saw this, of course I felt very indignant about it, and some of the men got work even on the highway after the notices had expired, and Mr. Eley, the gentleman that is in the room, interfered, and he was determined to have those men discharged from mending the highway, though they were locked out. They had joined the association, and when they got work, either at repairing the road or breaking stones, he was determined that he would have them discharged, and he succeeded. In addition to that, William Newbald and five or six other men got work in Staffordshire, and when they had just got their hands right and a little bit used to the work there was a note went after them, and he and the other five had to leave that place because they belonged to the masters in the Church Gresley district. That I considered was very hard.

16,471. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Can you tell us from what pit the men were discharged and from what quarter the notice came recommending their discharge?—I will begin with the highway. I heard that several men had been discharged from working on the highway and I said, "Well now, who do you think has been the instrument of this?" and they said, "Well, they tell me Mr. Eley." I said, "Surely not." But, however, I went to Mr. Adams, shoemaker, who is the overseer of the parish, and has to do with the highways as well, and is a large ratepayer, and I said, "Mr. Adams, is it true that Mr. Eley has interfered "with our men working on the highway?" and he said, "It is," and Mr. Adams is a respectable man.

16,472. (*Chairman.*) If you had said to him, "I "hear that some of the miners were out on strike, "got employment on the highway, and have been "put off by reason of the interference of Mr. Eley," that would be specific, but "interfered" is a wide word?—Well, through the instrumentality of Mr. Eley these men were forced off the highway. Mr. Eley is a road surveyor or was at that time; they told me so.

16,473. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Can you make the story of the men who were discharged from Staffordshire more specific?—William Newbald was one. Though I have been scores of times in Gresley I do not know 20 of the men's names, but I know William Newbald to be a very respectable man.

16,474. Where was he discharged from?—From some colliery in Staffordshire. I do not know the immediate colliery.

16,475. (*Lord Elcho.*) Did Mr. Adams distinctly tell you that Mr. Eley had been the means of getting these men discharged from their work on the road?—Mr. Adams distinctly told me that Mr. Eley had been the instrument of getting those men discharged from repairing the highway.

16,476. Did he tell you how he had got them discharged?—He did not tell me that.

16,477. Did he tell you that Mr. Eley was a road surveyor?—Yes.

16,478. (*Chairman.*) Was Newbald one that had been discharged?—He was a man that was locked out I think with a second or third batch of men.

16,479. Had he been on the highway?—No, he had not been on the highway.

16,480. (*Mr. Harrison.*) He told you that he had got his discharge from a colliery in Staffordshire?—Yes.

16,481. Under what circumstances?—He told me that he and other five men had been working at a certain colliery in Staffordshire, and they liked the work pretty well (and of course when a miner has been off two or three months he is not very fit to work in a mine till he has been at work two or three weeks) when they had got their hands nicely in, the steward went down and said, "I have received a note that you "are locked out at Gresley," and he said, "Under "those circumstances you will have to leave here." When Newbald came back I made it my business to see him, and he told me that the steward told him that a note had come from the neighbourhood of Church Gresley to say that they were locked out, and they were obliged to leave on that account.

16,482. (*Lord Elcho.*) Do you know the steward's name?—I do not know it. I could get to know it.

16,483. I suppose you are aware that there are trades unions which have black lists which they publish to prevent members of their union who have left their union or who have offended their union getting employment?—I am not aware that such a thing exists in our association.

16,484. I did not ask you that, but I suppose you are aware that amongst trades unions there are such things?—I have heard so.

16,485. That such lists have been produced at this table?—I think I have heard that.

16,486. To your knowledge do such lists exist among the miners' unions?—Not to my knowledge.

16,487. Can you speak positively?—I can speak positively, as far as the West and South Yorkshire districts are concerned, that no such lists do exist or ever did exist.

16,488. Did you ever hear of any anywhere else?—No.

16,489. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Have you ever seen any similar list of the Association of Coal Owners in your trade?—Yes, I have seen a printed list of every man's name employed in the colliery.

16,490. I mean have you seen a printed list of black sheep sent round for that purpose?—No, I have not seen a printed list of that sort, but there are so many ins and outs in trade. Suppose I was at the Church Gresley colliery under Mr. Eley, and Mr. Eley was making it, as we say in common terms, too hot for me, and I gave him 14 days' notice to leave, well I should get my clearance from Mr. Eley, and when I try to get a job at any other colliery I have to show my clearance, and that shows where I come from, and the manager there says, "Call in three or four days." Then he has time to write to Mr. Eley to know what sort of a fellow I am, and when I come back he says, "I am sorry for you," but I can do nothing for you.

16,491. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Is that all the direct evidence you have?—That is all the direct evidence I have, and it is simply my own opinion.

16,492. (*Mr. Harrison.*) That letter which you have referred to purported to contain the opinion of the masters, but it had no signature I suppose?—We could not ask the steward to give us the name as it was a private thing. Seeing that there has been a good deal said about my strong language and abusive language, I think I ought to let the chairman look at that note and the circular that I got printed to call a meeting of union men and non-union men. There is the envelope (*handing it in*).

16,493. Was it sent to you anonymously?—Yes. I wish to be distinctly understood when I say this. I know as to the feelings of many gentlemen towards me, that it is only for want of knowing me better that they have those feelings. I am only a very poor man, but I will give 10*l.* to any charitable institution if six respectable men can be got that will prove or give evidence to say that ever I provoked a strike or wanted to provoke a strike since my name was William Brown, and I wish the chairman to read a letter that I got from Messrs. Briggs and Company (*handing in the same*).

Mr. W. Brown.

12 May 1868.

16,494. (*Chairman.*) This is a sensible and kindly peace-making letter, and you show it to us on that account?—Yes.

16,495. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you wish to say anything about Mr. Briggs's system?—Well, I believe that the scheme in itself is very good, and I believe that if it were generally adopted it would be a good thing for the miners. When the scheme was first broached or mooted I went with Mr. Henry Briggs and his father to the Methley Church school and I spoke at a meeting on the question, and of course on the face of it it looked a very good scheme and I agreed with it in every sense of the word. When I got to Methley the next time I had to go down, several of the men came to me and seemed very much annoyed that I had taken that step, and I said, "Well, "I have looked at the prospectus and it looked to me "a good thing, and I had had some talk with Henry "Briggs and I was proposed to go. At last there "came round one man who had worked 14 or 15 years there and said, "Well, William, the scheme in "itself is good, but it has come from Mr. Briggs, "and he has dodged us so many times that I have no "faith in him. I believe in the scheme, but not in "the man, and to say the least if I were you I "would say nothing for it." I said, "Well, I will "say nothing against it," and I never did say anything for it or against it. It is possible that not saying anything for it the men might think that I was against it, but if I give you my opinion I think it is a good thing, and I wish that every colliery would adopt the same system.

16,496. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) I want to know some things connected with your early career which will throw light upon what followed. It seems (I have no doubt from your ability) that you very soon made yourself a prominent man among your class, and I want to know, when 21 of you were locked out and became obnoxious to the masters, what you had done previously to make yourselves obnoxious?—Are you now referring to Pepper Lane colliery?

16,497. To the early part of your evidence when you said, "21 of us were out and we were obnoxious"?—We were only obnoxious so far as going to work at the Pepper Lane colliery was concerned. When Mr. Bower bought the Pepper Lane colliery he came to me at my house and said, "You have heard that I "have purchased the Pepper Lane colliery, the col-"liery has not hitherto paid, but I am determined to "push the business. Now, can you get me 20 men "belonging to Mr. Fenton?" and I said, "Yes, I will try." That was on Friday, so I saw several of our men on the Saturday and I said, "Now Mr. Bower "wants 20 men, I shall make one myself, and I shall "want other 19. We will pick him 20 of the best "men we have." Of course I made one myself and I got other 19 and we went to work at Pepper Lane colliery. Of course the coal masters' association got to know that we were working at the Pepper Lane colliery; there is always somebody ready to let them know. When they got to know it we got notice to leave; we were only obnoxious so far as working against the coalowners' interests goes, as they thought, by working at the Pepper Lane colliery.

16,498. I want to know why Mr. Fenton followed you with that sort of vindictiveness, had you said anything at any meeting charging the owners with oppressive conduct, calling them cruel, or using hard words of any sort or kind, which I take it you are quite capable of doing. Had you done that before they followed you in that way?—No, I had not.

Mr. W. Brown.
12 May 1868.

16,499. What I wanted to know was simply this, whether you were goaded on to this or whether you began that language, because of late years I am informed that you have used some very hard words concerning the masters. I was asked to put this question to you, whether you did not use very strong language as regards the masters?—Are we speaking now about 1858?

16,500. I asked you as to 1858, whether you did or did not, because I wanted to know whether you began in the way which of late years you have pursued, or whether you were driven to it by unfair conduct towards yourself. Did you begin by using hard language towards the masters?—For the first three weeks we were out in 1858 I went to Mr. Fenton repeatedly and reasoned with him, and I used every means I possibly could to try and prevent a strike, and I had no inclination for a strike, and I got work at the Pepper Lane colliery; and when I and those with me went from there, I went to Sir Peter Fairbairn, the mayor of Leeds, and I took my notice with me, and I asked him if he would allow me to hold a meeting in the Court-house as I thought we were ill-used men, seeing that we had had notice to leave, and he said, "With pleasure; you can have the Court-house." He said that in any public grievance he would be glad to assist us in any way he could. I took my notice and read it to the audience assembled, and of course it was the general opinion that we were ill-used men.

16,501. Upon that occasion did you say bitter things about masters in general?—No.

16,502. (*Lord Elcho.*) When you left Mr. Fenton and went to this Pepper Lane colliery, did you subsequently return to Mr. Fenton?—Yes, and worked there five years after that.

16,503. Did Mr. Fenton object to your leaving his service to go to work at this Pepper Lane colliery?—He only objected because we resisted the reduction, and I said I did not want to be on strike, but would rather be working, and of course Mr. Brooksbank said he could find us work, and Mr. Bower wanted us to work there, and he thought that he could get out of it because he reckoned that it was Mrs. Bower's colliery, but he could not. After that, as I said, I went to concerts and such like, and then I went to work again in December 1858, and worked on till the 10th of March in 1863, and then I became a miners' agent, and was taken to Wakefield and to York and put to all this inconvenience, whereas never any one of my family received a summons in the world except me.

16,504. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Will you now direct your attention to 1867? Was there not in 1867 a certain degree of acrimony introduced into your language, and did you not in that year denounce the masters generally?—Well, I believe I did, because there was a circular issued, and the man signed himself Mr. Lightfoot, and I have been told that Mr. Eley has gone round with the man and said to the men, "Are you "going to keep up an idle man like Brown? He has "built a lot of houses and has got it all out of poor "colliers pence." The fact is that I had not a brick, and I wanted them to prove that I had those houses.

16,505. I merely want to bring out your state of mind, and I put questions to you for that purpose. Now, I want to know if you did not also in that same year tell the working men that they must have a share of the masters' capital?—No, not in that way. I said that the interests of labour and capital were identical, and I thought that when the coal trade was good and there was a brisk demand, and the profits were pretty large, the men had a right to share in the profits of a good trade, seeing that the masters always come on the men in the time of a bad trade. I have said as much as that. But I will tell you what I said too, and I think we ought to have both sides. I have told the men that if I were a colliery owner I should very likely be more tyrannical than some of the colliery owners were, because if a man would not work 11 days a fortnight for me if I had trade he should not work for me at all.

16,506. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Your policy is in favour of reducing the hours and working steadily?—Yes, I say this; that eight hours a day is plenty for any miner to work, and I am prepared to prove from practical experience that a man will get more coal in 12 months with eight hours a day than he will with 12 hours a day. I never worked more than seven hours a day since I became a man. And when I made rather a sweeping statement about the wages in the Town-hall, Mr. Fenton and the steward looked over the books to see what the wages were, and though the wages were only 4*s.* 4½*d.* on the average, my wages were 5*s.* 10½*d.* taking the whole year through.

16,507. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You being an active man could do more work than others?—I always took good care of myself, went to bed in good time and lived pretty well, and I consider that when a man has worked well for seven hours he will go to his work cheerfully the next morning, but if you keep a man in 12 or 13 hours he cannot go to work next morning.

16,508. (*Lord Elcho.*) When you speak of eight hours' work in the pit, does that mean eight hours only in the pit, or eight hours actual labour plus an hour for dinner?—I generally stopped three times for dinner when I worked in the pit. I always used to get a little refreshment every two hours, and I found it very beneficial to my health.

16,509. Then what do you think the proper number of hours for a man to work to do justice to himself and to his employers; do you mean eight hours in the pit, or eight hours' work plus the stoppages?—I mean from 6 in the morning to 2, including stoppages for drinking or snap, but I do not mean that they stand an hour in the pit doing nothing. I mean that they just sit down during refreshment and then go on again. All the three times I stopped would not be more than 20 minutes.

16,510. (*Mr. Roebuck*) I want you to answer me one or two questions. You remember that trial of yours at Yorkshire?—Yes.

16,511. Grave charges were brought against you, and you were acquitted?—Yes.

16,512. Did the judge address you or say anything to you on that occasion?—Yes, he just said this: "Brown, you are acquitted by the jury, and, as far as "I can see, very properly acquitted, but if you intend "to become public instructor I should think it safer "for you to instruct the men in their duty rather than "in their rights." That was all he said.

16,513. Did he not say anything to you to this effect, that you had escaped by "the skin of your teeth?"—No such thing.

16,514. Have you ever read any report of the case?—I had my trial printed, and every word that the judge said.

16,515. Would you be kind enough to let us have a copy of that?—I am very sorry that I have not one with me, but I will send you a dozen.

16,516. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Perhaps you could send us, not too many, but one or two of your printed speeches upon these occasions; I mean those that are fair reports?—Yes. I am sorry to say that as to some reporters I have had occasion to think that they have been tipped to make me say what I never did.

16,517. You mean that they have represented you as saying things that you did not say?—Just so. There are sentences that have been reported that I never uttered in my life. If you say that you consider such and such things as reported dishonest, I have actually seen it printed that I said "I considered that so and so was all true."

The witness withdrew.

Mr. ALEXANDER MACDONALD further examined.

Mr. A. Macdonald

12 May 1868.

16,518. (*Chairman.*) I believe that you wish to say something upon what has passed?—I wish to say this, that one of the complaints of the miners for the last 10 or 12 years, including the miners of Derbyshire, on two different occasions has been this system of the men paying for their own prop wood. We brought it prominently under a Committe of the House of Commons, which sat (as I have stated here before) three sessions, and that Committee have condemned it (and nine of that Committee were coalowners), and said that it was wrong. So that Mr. Brown has proved his case already by a Committee of the House of Commons, the largest portion of that Committee being coalowners. Another of the complaints that Mr. Brown has spoken of here to-day was of this juggle I may call it in the contract with regard to weighing. We brought that very prominently as well before the Committee, many complaints having come from Derbyshire, and petitions as well; and that Select Committee of the House of Commons have recommended to the House that a statutory law be passed to make it law that at all pit banks shall be standard weights, and that these weights shall be inspected by the inspector of the district, again proving that the practice that Mr. Brown denounced has met with the condemnation of the House of Commons. A committee consisting, in the largest portion, of coalowners, have condemned it equally with Mr. Brown. Again Mr. Brown denounced in Derbyshire (I have read his speeches), very strongly and not more strongly than I would have done, the present state of inspection and regulation of mines. The Committee of the House of Commons has also declared that the present system of inspection is inadequate and ought to be improved. Mr. Brown has denounced in strong language (I have read his speeches) the practice of working boys in the mines 12 and 14 and 15 hours a day. I simply say that I have done the same thing, and will do the same so long as such an abhorrent practice is continued, and I am glad to say that the Committee to which I have referred have also declared that those long hours should be put an end to by legislative interference. That is all I wish to state.

16,519. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Let me ask you one question. Have you ever found the House of Common averse to hearing, and averse to remedying a grievance complained of rationally and honestly before them?—I stated (and I was only sorry that you were not present the day on which I was examined in chief), but I will repeat it again, that I believe there is no legislative assembly, as far as my reading of the constitution of legislative assemblies goes, where a real grievance would be more readily heard than among many members of the House of Commons, and that as to our grievances we have complained of them long, and they have not been remedied so soon as we thought desirable, but possibly for the interests of all they were remedied at the proper time.

16,520. (*Lord Elcho.*) If the House of Commons were about to expire, and if you had to write its epitaph as regards that one class of whom you have spoken that epitaph would be of a laudatory character?—Yes. I believe that no other body of men would have passed so many measures for the safety and welfare of the working classes.

16,521. (*Mr. Harrison.*) But you say that they do not remedy your grievances?—They have remedied them.

16,522. Are you satisfied?—I am not satisfied.

16,523. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Did you ever know anybody who was satisfied?—Not with sublunary things.

16,524. (*Mr. Harrison.*) The House of Commons takes its time about it, you think?—Yes; and I have said that perhaps that is the best thing that could be when more than one interest is concerned.

16,525. (*Lord Elcho.*) You gave us in your evidence in chief, did you not, a list of the grievances which you consider still unredressed?—Yes.

16,526. And those grievances have been already inquired into by a Committee of the House of last session, and in the main their recommendations meet your view, do they not?—Yes, they do; not in every point, if they did I would be sorry to think that they were all attached to my view of the case.

16,527. (*Chairman.*) You think that the general's occupation will last longer for you?—It will not be profitable to me at all events.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. ALFRED HEWLETT further examined.

Mr. A. Hewlett.

16,528. (*Chairman.*) You wish to make some observations to the Commission?—I do.

16,529. Will you be kind enough to favour the Commission with them?—With reference to the evidence which I gave last time, and some remarks which were made upon it, I wish to make a rejoinder. I stated, and it might be thought, perhaps, a little harshly, that I considered that the miners' agents had encouraged the strike which has just now terminated in the Wigan district, and I propose to put in before the Commissioners the local papers which have been published during the strike. I have collected extracts from the papers here.

16,530. What purpose is effected by the extracts from the papers that you wish to put before us?—My statement was contradicted that the delegates or the agents had in any way encouraged the strike.

16,531. (*Lord Elcho.*) You say that your evidence has been contradicted; by whom?—By Mr. Pickard.

16,532. And when you refer to these mining agents, do you refer to Mr. Pickard?—I am speaking now specially of the strike at Wigan.

16,533. And specially of Mr. Pickard?—And of Mr. Macdonald also, because Mr. Macdonald attended the first meeting at Wigan, and I have here the report of Mr. Macdonald's speech.

16,534. (*Chairman.*) Will you state what specific fact was stated, and what reply you wish to make?—It was stated that the delegates and miners' agents did distinctly discourage the strike from the beginning. I stated that the public speeches were entirely at variance with that, and I propose, if the Commission will accept them, to put in the printed statements; and it was stated also that the paper which I put in last week, and from which I read, was an incorrect report. I have a transcript of the short-hand writers' notes, and the two local papers which entirely bear out the printed statements that I have put in.

15,535. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Perhaps you could direct us to some particular speech?—They are all marked in red ink. There is one point which I should like specially to answer. Mr. Pickard, in his evidence, stated that my under-viewer, Mr. Samuel Lancaster, prior to any acts of violence, was seen brandishing fire-arms in the streets. I have asked him particularly about that, and he gives it his distinct denial. He says, in a letter to me, that he never showed any fire-arms until he was mobbed in the streets of Wigan, and he says, in his letter to me, that if he had not done so he believes that he would not have been alive at this moment, and I believe it too. Mr. Pickard also said that, as regards the importation of foreign labour, persons were brought without any discretion, indeed with a great want of discretion, from other districts; that they were put into mines, and lamps put into their hands when they were utterly unfit to use them; that they were an unsteady race of men who were imported, and that they brought in greater habits of drunkenness, and so on. He referred especially to some Cornishmen brought to the Wigan district some two or three years ago when labour was scarce. I

Mr. A. Hewlett. 12 May 1868.

must say that some of those men are very sober, steady men, and some are still staying with us, and as far as habits of steadiness go they are a great deal more steady than some natives; and as to the question of lamps, we are very careful in teaching the men the proper use of their lamps. We have at our colliery something like 7,000 lamps used every day, and I am happy to say (not in a boasting spirit) that we rarely have any accident, and our rules specially direct the men how to use the lamps in case of danger; and I should say in regard to some of the remarks made by Mr. Pickard and also by Mr. Normansell, that we do not use the lamps because they are absolutely needed, we use them simply as a precautionary measure or safeguard. We use the lamp not because of the presence of fire-damp but to guard against the sudden outburst of gas. I think it necessary to make those explanations. I do not wish to trouble the Commission further.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. W. Eley. 12 May 1868.

Mr. William Eley further examined.

16,536. (*Chairman.*) I believe you wish to make a further statement to the Commission?—I wish to make a remark upon one or two statements of Mr. Brown that he has made to-day. The first reason he assigned why a union should be established in a neighbourhood was, according to his evidence, that men should more regularly attend the work. During the last 12 months, as a practical man who has been a miner for 30 years, my attention has been turned to that subject, and also to comparisons bearing between districts where there is no union and where there is a union. In this respect I find that in the four counties, Warwickshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, and Nottinghamshire, as far as my observation reaches, persons can manage to work six days a week or 12 days in the fortnight, but when I go into a union district I find it is a practice (and I take it from the evidence I have heard given here) that they play always one day after the pay-day, and so far I think without a union that they generally have a preference for men attending work more regularly than where a union exists.

16,537. Where the union is the labour is confined to five days in the week, is it?—Where the union is, from their statements at any rate, they work only 11 days in the fortnight, or they play one day after the pay-day. That we never do, nor has it been the practice of any colliery that I have been connected with.

16,538. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Is not the pay-day Saturday?—Yes.

16,539. They play on Sunday, do you mean?—On the Monday following. The next statement is in reference to the confiscation of tubs, and as Mr. Brown has been honourable enough to name Messrs. Hall and Boardman I will state that I am their manager, and I flatly deny that during the eight years I have been their manager there have been 10 tubs, or five, or three taken from any set of stallmen in the day. Mr. Brown's informant is one of the delegates and one of our men whom we discharged on account of his disaffection and causing a disturbance in our colliery, making it impracticable to carry it on. Mr. Plimsoll, I believe, was sent down at the direct request of some of these delegates to see if he could not settle matters amicably with the masters. He came to our office, and after ascertaining from him that he was not a paid agent (if he had been I should not have said anything to him, because we do not believe that they are beneficial to men or masters), I told him that I should be very glad if he would go down to our machine and examine the books there.

16,540. Is that Mr. Plimsoll of Sheffield?—Yes. He said that he was requested by the delegates to come down. I requested him to go to the machine and examine the books. Every tub is put down, and a tick is put over it if it is confiscated. I asked him to take that book and see how many tubs were confiscated, and I challenged him to find one a day, although at that one colliery we raised three tubs in two minutes. I stated that it did not average one a day during the year that had been confiscated. I was glad to hear that Mr. Brown had made one confession—that it was necessary that managers should have some control over whether it was dirt or coal sent up. Now, every practical collier knows that all coal should be dressed before it is put into the tub, and that if it is dressed after it is put into it it spoils a quantity. It is not the quantity of refuse that is in, but the quantity of slack that it spoils. And then from London, for instance, a customer would complain that such a truck of coal was valueless on account of the quantity of spoil mixed with it. One box of that small would destroy the five or six tons. There is a portion of spoil probably in each seam of coal which should be dressed off. In our seam there is a portion at the top which should be dressed off, and if any portion of it gets chipped into the tub it spoils all the coal. The reason why I have the tubs entered in the book is this, that I as manager should overlook and see what tubs have been confiscated, and if I see that more tubs than usual have been confiscated out of any one company, I immediately go and see the company, and the method I take is to stop the thing altogether. It is an unpleasant thing to confiscate tubs; it is not satisfactory to the master and unpleasant to the men, and I much prefer stopping the whole affair and not allowing them to send any up until they send it up in a saleable form.

16,541. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Did Mr. Plimsoll examine the books on that occasion?—I may say that he did, and I allowed him to ask any questions of the men without my being present; and he put this question when he came back, "Mr. Eley, will you vouch that all "the collieries in this district are carried on as syste- "matically and as fairly as yours?" The answer that I made to him was that unfortunately I have not so much time on hand as to be able to mind other people's business; that it took me all my time to mind our own collieries.

16,542. Do you know what he found to be the percentage?—I asked him if he had found one a day, and he said that he had not found it. Then in reference to the masters finding timber, or the men finding timber, I wish to inform this commission that that has been a matter that I have turned my attention to for two or three years, and I neither lean to one side nor the other, but I am testing the thing practically. I am working one-half of the colliery where the masters find timber, and the other where the men find it. I deduct from the men if I find timber a halfpenny a ton, that is to say, if I find timber on behalf of the master they have a halfpenny a ton less than if the men have to find it. I am testing the numbers of the accidents on the two systems, so that I shall be able to state it hereafter.

16,543. (*Lord Elcho.*) You have heard Mr. Macdonald state that this question was brought before a Committee of the House of Commons. Were you examined there?—No.

16,544. Are you aware that the decision of the committee was against the system of the men finding timber?—Yes, I am quite aware of what went on publicly, and I may state that there are collieries in the district where the masters find timber. In ours we are working one-half with the masters finding timber and the other half with the men in order to test which brings more accidents.

16,545. Would not it have been brought out before the Committee which system results in the fewest accidents?—I cannot say that; I think that if you treat it yourself you would easily test it.

16,546. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Would it make any real difference to you at the end of the year whether you found the timber or let the men find the timber. You would take it off the men's wages if you found the timber, and you would put it on their wages if they

found the timber?—Where the masters find the timber it will cost them a halfpenny a ton more.

16,547. You mean to say that the men, having no personal interest in the matter, are then more lavish in the use of it?—Yes; in fact if it took less trouble to fetch a fresh prop than to fetch an old one, they would do it, irrespective of any cost, if the masters found the timber. Still if there were any saving of life or limb by the masters finding the timber, I should be the last to object to it.

16,548. (*Lord Elcho.*) Still, if the House of Commons has gone into this question, and come to the conclusion that there would be a saving of life and limb by the masters finding the timber and not the men, and if, while your experiments are going on, it occasionally happens that accidents occur in the parts where the men find the timber, would you not be responsible after the recommendation of the House of Commons?—I have not heard it officially recommended, or by the inspector.

16,549. There has been no change of the law yet on the subject, only the recommendation of the House of Commons you mean?—If I found by this experiment that there was a cut of a finger more by the men finding timber I should at once abandon it; but until then I think the thing might be placed on its own merits.

16,550. You do not accept the decision of the House of Commons, but are going to test it yourself?—I am bound to accept the decision of the House of Commons if I have it before me in a legal manner. But Mr. Brown has stated that in Derbyshire the men found the timber. I contradict that, and say that it is not so universally.

16,551. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Did you commence your experiment since the decision of the House of Commons?—I commenced it 18 months ago. I cannot say the date of that decision.

16,552. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) During the 18 months during which you have been carrying on your experiments, have you come to any conclusion either *pro* or *con* as to the benefit or non-benefit of the men finding their own timber?—I have not seen at present that we have had more accidents with men finding the timber than we have had with masters finding the timber; in fact, we have had more accidents in that part where the masters find it at present; but I should not attribute that to the masters finding the timber, but merely to circumstances over which we have no control.

16,553. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Are there pits at which men are paid for their work whilst setting their props and taking them out?—Yes; they all are.

16,554. Are they with you?—Yes.

16,555. With you the coal hewers put in the props. You have not a special set of men for the props?—We have always timberers, or if not timberers the stall men must do it.

16,556. There are not a regular set of timber men for the purpose?—In every stall there is a person qualified to timber, and expected to attend to that part of the business. So that a pick man never sets any timber with us. Passing to another matter, there has been a printed notice read here in reference to men discharged from our place. I may say that any understanding between employers in any shape or in any form never was entered into until Mr. Brown and his co-delegates entered in Derbyshire, and when they commenced at Clay Cross it was perfectly understood from the speeches made by the delegates that they were to take us by house row, and first put Hucknall down, then Bennerly, and so on. Never till then was there an understanding between proprietors in any shape to interfere with the free flow of labour until that statement was made; and that was their mode of defence. When they intended to fix upon one and take us piecemeal and put us down colliery by colliery, the masters conferred together and thought that they must put a stop to that kind of thing, and consequently that arrangement was entered into. Mr. Brown has also stated something about a notice. I have been a manager in that district for 20 years, and I may say that I have never written a clearance paper in my life, and I have never required one during the whole time, neither will I be a party in any shape to either requiring or giving one as long as I am an employer of labour. I contend that there ought to be free labour independent of any combination, and if the combination amongst masters is to that effect it is equally injurious as the combination amongst men to cripple the masters. I will defy anyone to show that I have given a clearance paper or asked for one. But if I have found a man that had left any colliery without notice I should not employ him, certainly if I knew that it was so.

16,557. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) But supposing the case of a man leaving your colliery by a lock-out (I do not say that it has been so, but supposing the case), and he goes to another colliery and finds work, would you think it just and proper that you should pursue that man and ask the proprietor of that colliery to turn him out?—No, but if the proprietor asked me if I thought that he was one of the lock-outs I should be bound as an honest man to tell him so.

16,558. You would not request that master to turn him off the work?—No, because there would not be any necessity to do that. I should only tell him that he is a union man in our district, and a colliery proprietor in our district would not employ a union man if he knew it.

16,559. (*Lord Elcho.*) But would that master to whom that man goes, if a member of the Coal Owners' Association, and if he knew that he was locked out by another master be bound to turn him off?—No; there is no arrangement or binding whatever to that effect.

16,560. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Will you allow me to ask you if you have been at all in communication with Mr. Brown?—Not at all. I received an epistle from him, but I have always kept aloof from having anything to do with paid agents. He has just named my name, and said that I was present at one of his lectures. He took up my name and pointed me out as the greatest tyrant that ever existed in the district, and said that every man, woman, and child that wanted bread was tagged upon my coat, and vengeance would follow me. I do not know how peaceable that may sound. When you take colliers who are excitcable, if there has not been any outbreak I only put it down to their good sense. Vengeance would follow me, he said, but he would not hurt a hair of my head.

16,561. Do you mean to say that you heard Mr. Brown say that?—Yes, in one of his speeches. I have a word to say now upon the men in the road. It so happens that I am not a road surveyor.

16,562. Have you been?—In some past years I have.

16,563. During the time of this transaction were you?—In the time of this transaction I was not. The road surveyor is appointed by 16 parishes and they are thrown into a district. I mean that our roads are made by the new law, and they threw it into a district in which there are 16 parishes. I was way-warden for this Gresley parish, but the board appointed the surveyor.

16,564. (*Lord Elcho.*) Were you way warden at that time?—I was way warden at that time, and you gentlemen are no doubt aware that the powers of a way warden are nothing at all, he cannot discharge a man or place one on, he cannot set a contract, he has nothing to do with it, except with the board. But I do not wish to deny the real fact of the case; I never knew more than one man employed on the road, and this man was a very mischievous man, one who carried out Brown's teaching to the letter, and would not allow our men to pass up and down the road without annoyance, and I as a ratepayer, and our firm is a large ratepayer in that parish, did think that we ought to have men employed on the road that would allow our men to pass peaceably. Brown taught them to call us blacklegs, and then after they had worn that

Mr. W. Eley. 12 May 1868.

out, it was "funny eyes," and then it was to be "sneaks" and "snobs." This man was one of his sort and carried his teaching out to the letter, and I thought as a ratepayer I had a right to have a man employed that would allow men to pass peaceably on the road on either side of the question. I never knew but one man that was employed in that way, and that was one that made himself very conspicuous.

16,565. (*Chairman.*) Was he discharged because he was violating your right and insulting the passengers?—Yes, in a public point of view.

16,566. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Was he the only one?—I never knew more than one man who interfered, and I never knew more than one man connected with the union employed in that way.

16,567. Was this the only man that insulted the passers by?—I believe it was, I never noticed any other. I speak to facts as I saw them.

16,568. (*Chairman.*) Was he the man that Mr. Brown spoke of as the man for whom he had a strong feeling?—No, Newbold I know nothing of, I can only say that he was not our man and I had nothing to do with him, and I can only say that I never shall. Then as to speaking about the coal masters, Mr. Brown will bring to mind that at the third lecture which he gave at Swadlincote, before he knew any tyrannical acts of the masters, he called them "coal kings," and said they should be dethroned and lick the dust.

16,569. (*Lord Elcho.*) Did you hear that?—I heard him say that.

16,570. (*Chairman.*) Is there anything more that you wish to answer?—No.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. Higginson.

Mr. Arthur Higginson further examined.

16,571. (*Chairman.*) You are the secretary, I believe, for the Coal Owners' Association of Leicestershire and South Derbyshire?—Yes, honorary secretary.

16,572. And were you secretary at the time when these strikes were going on of which the last two witnesses have been speaking?—Yes.

16,573. Will you state what action the coal owners took, and on what principle they acted?—We acted simply and purely on the defensive. We determined to resist the introduction of the union into our district by every lawful means in our power. We took no action until after the arrival of the delegates in the district, and then we agreed amongst ourselves, as you have heard before, that we would not employ union men, simply on this ground, that as long as union men are employed in one colliery they pay towards the support of the men on strike at another colliery, and wear the master out in detail. We brought all our forces to bear upon them in a body, and so ended the matter satisfactorily. That was the only action that we took. I may say that the association, as regards strikes or anything of that sort, is virtually at an end.

16,574. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Did you send round a black list from one colliery to another pointing out certain names of men not to be employed?—If our men gave notice, or I gave notice to any man who joined the union, we sent a list to the other collieries that they were union men. It was optional with them to employ them or not as they liked.

16,575. (*Lord Elcho.*) Do you mean that there was no understanding?—Yes, there was an understanding that we would not employ them amongst ourselves.

16,576. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you doubt the accuracy of this circular which Mr. Brown read from?—No, I believe that is correct. I have looked for it but cannot find it.

15,577. That says, "It is requested they may be "refused employment at any of the associated col-"lieries, agreeably with the resolution of the general "meeting, January 3rd 1867," so that it was hardly optional with them?—I have looked for the minute and cannot find anything of it, but that is signed by Mr. Peel, who is secretary of the general association. I should explain that we have two associations in the district, the general association and a small association in our own valley, comprising the five collieries that exist there.

16,578. Is what that letter states accurate?—Yes, I dare say.

16,579. From thence you gather not only that there was a general association, but an agreement that they would not employ union men, that they would prevent it, and request others not to employ them?—That was an understanding that we would not employ union men as long as one colliery in the district was attacked by them. There is one statement in Mr. Normansell's evidence that I want to contradict; in the answer to question 16,319 as to taking the pitmen and putting them to work on the bank at the banksman's rate of wages. We have no rules of that sort at our pit, and if they are taken out in consequence of the non-attendance of the banksman we pay them pitmen's wages. Then also we have no timber found by the men in our colliery, I think.

16,580. Are you not able to say what the fact is?—I am not able to speak positively as to all the portions, but generally we find it. Something was said about the language used. I have never heard Mr. Brown speak, but the impression over the district is that he has used these exceedingly strong observations as regards coal-owners, and incited the men to a great degree.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to Tuesday next at 11 o'clock.

INDEX OF WITNESSES.

	Page
Brown, William	29
Eley, William	42
Hewlett, Alfred	41
Higginson, Arthur	44
Macdonald, Alexander	27, 41
Normansell, John	14
Pickard, William	1

LONDON:
Printed by George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode,
Printers to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty.
For Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

NINTH REPORT

OF

THE COMMISSIONERS

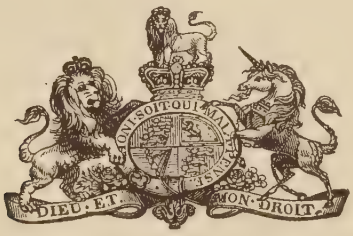
APPOINTED TO INQUIRE INTO THE

ORGANIZATION AND RULES OF TRADES UNIONS AND OTHER ASSOCIATIONS:

TOGETHER WITH

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.



LONDON:
PRINTED BY GEORGE EDWARD EYRE AND WILLIAM SPOTTISWOODE,
PRINTERS TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.
FOR HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE.

1868

CONTENTS.

	Page
COMMISSION - - - - - - - - - -	3
REPORT - - - - - - - - - - -	5
MINUTES OF EVIDENCE - - - - - - - -	7
INDEX OF WITNESSES - - - - - - - -	70

COMMISSION.

VICTORIA R.

Victoria, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith.

To Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Sir William Erle, Knight; Our right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin Thomas George Earl of Lichfield; Our trusty and well-beloved Francis Charteris, Esquire (commonly called Lord Elcho); Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Sir Edmund Walker Head, Baronet, Knight Commander of Our most Honourable Order of the Bath; Our trusty and well-beloved Sir Daniel Gooch, Baronet; Our trusty and well-beloved Herman Merivale, Esquire, Companion of Our most Honourable Order of the Bath; Our trusty and well-beloved James Booth, Esquire, Companion of Our most Honourable Order of the Bath; Our trusty and well-beloved John Arthur Roebuck, Esquire, one of Our Counsel learned in the Law; Our trusty and well-beloved Thomas Hughes, Esquire, and Frederic Harrison, Esquire, Barristers at Law; and Our trusty and well-beloved William Mathews, Esquire, greeting.

Whereas it has been represented unto Us that it is expedient that inquiry should be made into the several matters herein-after mentioned.

Now Know Ye, that We, reposing great trust and confidence in your ability and discretion, have nominated, constituted, and appointed, and do by these Presents nominate, constitute, and appoint, you, the said Sir William Erle, Thomas George Earl of Lichfield, Francis Charteris, Esquire (commonly called Lord Elcho), Sir Edmund Walker Head, Sir Daniel Gooch, Herman Merivale, James Booth, John Arthur Roebuck, Thomas Hughes, Frederic Harrison, and William Mathews, to be Our Commissioners for the purposes of the said inquiry.

And We do hereby enjoin you, or any Four of you, to inquire into and report on the Organization and Rules of Trades Unions and other Associations, whether of Workmen or Employers, and to inquire into and report on the effect produced by such Trades Unions and Associations on the Workmen and Employers respectively, and on the Relations between Workmen and Employers, and on the Trade and Industry of the Country; with power to investigate any recent acts of intimidation, outrage, or wrong alleged to have been promoted, encouraged, or connived at by such Trades Unions or other Associations, and also to suggest any improvements to be made in the law with respect to the matters aforesaid, or with respect to the relations between Workmen and their Employers, for the mutual benefit of both parties.

And for the better discovery of the truth in the premises, We do by these Presents give and grant unto you, or any Four of you, full power and authority to call before you, or any Four of you, such persons as you shall judge necessary, by whom you may be better informed of the truth in the premises, and to inquire of the premises and every part thereof by all other lawful ways and means whatsoever.

And Our further Will and Pleasure is that you, Our said Commissioners, do, with as little delay as may be consistent with a due discharge of the duties hereby imposed upon you, certify unto Us from time to time, under your hands and seals, your several proceedings in the premises.

And We do further will and command, and by these Presents ordain, that this Our Commission shall continue in full force and virtue, and that you, our said Commissioners, or any Four of you, shall and may from time to time proceed in the execution thereof, and of every matter or thing therein contained, although the same be not continued from time to time by adjournment.

And for your assistance in the execution of these Presents We do hereby authorize and empower you to appoint a Secretary to this Our Commission, to attend you, whose services and assistance We require you to use from time to time as occasion may require.

Given at Our Court at St. James, the Twelfth day of February 1867, in the Thirtieth Year of Our Reign.

By Her Majesty's Command.

S. H. WALPOLE.

NINTH REPORT.

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

We, Your Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into and report on the Organization and Rules of Trades Unions and other Associations, whether of Workmen or Employers, and to inquire into and report on the effects produced by such Trades Unions and Associations on the Workmen and Employers respectively, and on the Relations between Workmen and Employers, and on the Trade and Industry of the Country; with power to investigate any recent acts of intimidation, outrage, or wrong alleged to have been promoted, encouraged, or connived at by such Trades Unions or other Associations, and also to suggest any improvements to be made in the law with respect to the matters aforesaid, or with respect to the relations between Workmen and their Employers, for the mutual benefit of both parties, have held several meetings, and humbly beg leave to submit to Your Majesty the evidence given before us at our meetings held upon the 19th and 26th days of May, and the 9th day of June, 1868.

(Signed) W. ERLE, Chairman.
LICHFIELD.
ELCHO.
DANIEL GOOCH.
H. MERIVALE.
JAMES BOOTH.
J. A. ROEBUCK.
THOMAS HUGHES.
FREDERIC HARRISON.
WM. MATHEWS.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE THE

ROYAL COMMISSION

APPOINTED TO INQUIRE INTO

TRADES UNIONS AND OTHER ASSOCIATIONS.

1, Park Prospect, Westminster, Tuesday, 19th May 1868.

PRESENT:

The Right Hon. Sir WILLIAM ERLE.
The Right Hon. the EARL of LICHFIELD.
Sir DANIEL GOOCH, Bart., M.P.
JAMES BOOTH, Esq., C.B.
JOHN ARTHUR ROEBUCK, Esq., Q.C., M.P.
THOMAS HUGHES, Esq., M.P.
FREDERIC HARRISON, Esq.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR WILLIAM ERLE IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. CLIFFORD WIGRAM examined.

Mr. Clifford Wigram.

19 May 1868.

16,581. (*Chairman.*) I believe that you have a considerable shipbuilding yard on the Thames, opposite Greenwich, on the Isle of Dogs?—Yes. It is just below the Isle of Dogs, close to the East India Docks.

16,582. How many years has that been in the possession of you and your family?—I think my grandfather bought it somewhere before 1800.

16,583. And has it been an extensive yard, employing a large number of workmen at times?—Yes, at times.

16,584. To the extent of some thousands?–I should think that we never had above 1,000 or 1,200 men.

16,585. It is both for iron ships and for wooden ships, is it not?—Yes, at the present time.

16,586. The iron ships are of a later date?—Yes, since 1840, I think.

16,587. With regard to the terms existing between the employers and the workmen, have they been satisfactory during the whole of your time?—Yes, on the whole. We have little disputes now and then, but I think we generally manage to settle them satisfactorily to both parties.

16,588. You mean such as would be incidental to almost every business where a bargain has to be made, and persons of independence would stand out on each side for a little time?—Yes.

16,589. Have unions become established in your neighbourhood?—Yes, all the trades have a union. There is a shipwrights' union, a joiners' union, a blacksmiths' union, and a sawyers' union.

16,590. About how long ago was your attention drawn to the operation of unions among the working men?—I have known of them ever since I have been in business — since about 1849, the date, I think, when I went into the yard.

16,591. In the early part of that period what was the operation of the union—I mean was it chiefly in regard to benefit, or in regard to the rate of wages?—It always has been in operation with regard to wages. One of the earliest things of the sort that we always refer to is a great shipwrights' strike on the question of wages which took place in 1825.

16,592. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) That was before you were in that business?—That was long before I had anything to do with it.

16,593. (*Chairman.*) That is the line of information which we should be much obliged to you for, namely, the operation of the unions as bearing upon the rate of wages?—The shipwrights' strike, which was well known on the river by that term, was entirely on the question of wages; and at that time the rate book, as it is called, was established (I believe by a sort of compromise between the men and the employers), which is in operation at the present day.

16,594. What is the nature of that book?—It fixes the amount to be paid for different kinds of work.

16,595. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Could you give us a list of prices previous to the strike, and a list of prices after the strike?—No, I do not think that I could find anything previous to the strike.

16,596. Could you tell us what was the immediate cause of the strike; what did they ask?—I believe that the real strike was to establish this rate book.

16,597. Not a particular rate of wage, but a rate book?—All our work is done as we call it by job and task, and this is a book which gives the wages to be paid for the different kinds of work, principally in repairing ships.

16,598. Was the book desired for the purpose of making it sure what they were to receive, or was it established with a view to raising their wages?—I cannot say.

16,599. (*Mr. Booth.*) When you say that the same book is still in operation, do you mean that the same rates of wages are now being paid that were paid then?—Yes, I believe so.

16,600. Then there has not been generally a rise of wages between 1825 and now?—No.

16,601. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Is not the description of work very different now from what it was in 1825, inasmuch as they were wooden ships then, whereas they are iron now?—This book relates entirely to wooden ships, and almost entirely to what we call old work, namely, repairs of wooden ships.

16,602. (*Chairman.*) Will you explain a little more what is the meaning of "rate of wages"; was it paid by time or by the work done?—Paid by the work done.

16,603. For an old ship you would specify the work to be done; it would vary, I suppose, according to the history of the ship and the calamities that she had suffered?—The rates were this sort of thing. Taking out and putting in a plank of a certain thickness was paid so much a foot in length; taking out timber so much a foot cube.

16,604. All the parts of the ship being given, any accident which did damage to the ship must have damaged some one of those parts, and the repair of that part was to be paid for at a fixed rate, and the book contained that rate?—Yes.

16,605. Is there any interdependency between the shipwrights and the other workmen that work upon the ships? If a shipwright is paid so much is a joiner paid in proportion?—No, they are perfectly distinct bargains to be made with each.

16,606. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) But when the bargain with the joiner is made is there any reference made to the wages given to the shipwright?—No, none at all.

16,607. So that the rate given to the shipwright does not in any way affect the rate given to the other man?—No.

16,608. (*Chairman.*) Was there any element of calculation about the value which the ship builder would get paid? The shipbuilder charged what was

Mr. Clifford Wigram.

19 May 1868.

the fair price, and the fair price was a profit upon these wages probably?—Yes, he charges a per centage on the wages that he pays and the material that he supplies.

16,609. Did the same rate of shipwrights' wages prevail according to your knowledge in other shipbuilding places; was there any ratio between the Clyde and the Tyne, and the Mersey and the Thames?—I do not think that there was any ratio between them. I do not think that the rate of wages in one place was dependent on the rate of wages in the other in any way.

16,610. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Or affected the rate of wages in the other?—No. I do not think that it did; communication was so difficult in those days.

16,611. (*Chairman.*) If a ship came damaged into the Thames, and could have been repaired much cheaper in the Clyde, the transport from the Thames to the Clyde more than made up the gain in the cheapness of the repair, so that perhaps you were obliged to take the prices of the Thames for repair?—Yes, I suppose you were. The Clyde was hardly a repairing port in those days.

16,612. The access was not so easy in those days?—The access was not so easy.

16,613. Had this rate book anything to do as a guide in building ships?—No; that is always a distinct bargain with the men when you begin to build a ship.

16,614. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Have they any book for that?—No, none.

16,615. (*Chairman.*) And down to the present time has there been any book regulating the rate of wages in the shipbuilding yard when a new ship is to be built?—I am not aware of any.

16,616. What is the arrangement that the workmen make with the shipbuilders then?—In our yard we agree with them to do all the labour for a certain sum of money. We find the materials, and they do the labour.

16,617. (*Mr. Booth.*) You have a separate contract for different parts of the vessel, I suppose?—Sometimes for different parts, but sometimes one man and his mates engage to do the whole. That is an individual bargain for each job.

16,618. (*Chairman.*) For the building of each ship?—Yes.

16,619. At times I think that you have let the whole of the work to one shipwright for him to employ subordinate contractors under him for each department, have you not?—To employ equal workmen. They are not subordinate contractors; they are all equal.

16,620. But does not one shipwright contract with you for the whole of the labour, letting out the different departments to other persons at his will and pleasure?—One man is the spokesman, and his mates work with him, they being also shipwrights. Then he employs riveters, and labourers, and different other inferior workmen at a lower rate of wages than the shipwrights receive.

16,621. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You have perfect security in entering into a contract with one man on behalf of a gang of men in that way; you feel confident that he will carry out the bargain as a rule, do not you?—With the men we know we do. The great difficulty always is to define what work is to be done. If more work has to be done than was understood at the time of making the bargain, we generally have to pay for it.

16,622. (*Chairman.*) If I understood it rightly, there would be a superior workman making a contract for you, and doing so much work for so much money?—Yes.

16,623. And that actual work was done, the hammer was wielded, and so on, by a man employed by the day?—It is a very difficult system to explain. All the shipwrights work together and receive equally, but they employ labourers under them, to whom they pay a fixed rate.

16,624. (*Mr. Harrison.*) But I think that this is the chairman's point. The man with whom you deal and contract is not a contractor who does not labour himself, but is simply one of the other shipwrights and works himself amongst them?—He works himself just as the rest of the gang.

16,625. He merely comes forward and represents the body of men with whom he works?—He is the spokesman.

16,626. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Is your contract with the spokesman or with the whole gang?—With the whole gang through the spokesman.

16,627. (*Mr. Booth.*) Have you well understood specifications which are the same from time to time in different bargains?—Pretty well. It is generally agreed that the ship is to be similar to one previously built.

16,628. So that you could use the specification of the preceding one for the succeeding one to some extent?—Yes.

16,629. (*Chairman.*) The point I was directing my attention to was whether there were not two classes of workmen paid by you—in this sense, that one took a certain quantity of work to be done for which he was to be paid a certain sum, and that the other was to be employed under him by the day as a day labourer and paid so much, and that the day wages had no relation whatever to the sum paid by you to the shipwright?—That is the case.

16,630. A good deal of remark has been made sometimes about a middle man coming in between the actual labourer and the chief employer. As far as the system goes that is the system here, that there is a class of artisans who are all paid by you as shipwrights, and those artisans hire labourers by the day to complete the work they have to do?—Yes.

16,631. What has been the action of unions as regards you? Has your yard been troubled by the action of unions?—No, I do not think we have. I think that the unions have interfered much more with the workmen than they have with us.

16,632. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) In what way?—In this way—that the shipwrights' union require the shipwright whom I may bargain with to employ other shipwrights for a great deal of work which he could get done by labourers and inferior workmen.

16,633. But does not that compel him to ask you a larger sum for his contract?—We are very peculiarly situated. We some five or six years ago offered the wooden shipwrights the privilege of building iron ships on condition that they would do it at the same price for us that we could get it done by boiler-makers and iron shipbuilders; and if the wooden shipwrights will not work for me on those terms I have got the other body to fall back upon; so that I do not see that it has increased the price of the ships to me.

16,634. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You get your contract taken at the lowest price you can, I suppose?—Yes.

16,635. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Yes, but I want to know whether the price would not be lower if those men were not compelled to employ costly material, that is to say, costly labour?—I do not think it would, because I have it in my power to fall back upon the other price if I thought it for my advantage to do so.

16,636. And that you think controls the price because you have that means of getting out of the power of the men who are under the dominion of the union?—Yes, because I have that means of getting out of the power of the men who are under the dominion of the shipwrights' union.

16,637. (*Chairman.*) Is the shipwrights' union the most important among the artisans who go to complete any ship?—They are the most important in our yard, because we do not employ the boiler-makers.

16,638. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Let me ask you this question. If the shipwrights, for example, were to refuse to work, would they turn out of work a certain number of men who are not shipwrights? In the coal trade for instance, if certain men will not work others cannot work, so that 10 men striking may throw 100 out of work. Now is it at all a similar case in your shipyard?—To a very slight extent. If the shipwrights will not work, it is no use my employing sawyers and other people to prepare the material for them.

16,639. Then it does come to what I say, that a certain number of other men are thrown out of work if the shipwrights refuse to work?—Yes.

16,640. Have you any notion of the proportion that

would be so thrown out of work?—No, I could not say the proportion at all.

16,641. (*Chairman.*) In your yard I think there has been no strike. You have had no experience of a strike have you?—I have had no experience of strikes.

16,642. (*Mr. Booth.*) I think you said that the shipwrights contracting with you were sometimes interfered with by the union, rather than that you were interfered with by the union?—Yes.

16,643. Supposing that they were not so interfered with, could they do your work at a cheaper rate for themselves than they can being so interfered with?—I do not think that they would do it at a cheaper rate, but they would put more money into their own pocket.

16,644. Then in fact they could afford to take your contract on terms more favourable to you, if they were sure not to be interfered with?—Yes, but they would look at the question in the other way, "Mr. Wigram "can only get his work done at a certain rate. Why "are we to work for less than that? We will put the "extra price into our own pocket."

16,645. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) To whose pocket does it go now; to the other shipwrights, the body of shipwrights?—Yes.

16,646. Then the body of shipwrights are not injured at all by this interference of the union?—No, not at present. I understand (it comes to me unofficially) that the union are wanting to make further regulations, which I think will throw the ironwork out of the shipwrights' hands into the boiler-makers', and that will injure them.

16,647. (*Chairman.*) Do the boiler-makers work at a less wage? Do they in practice receive a less wage than the shipwrights?—I think they do.

16,648. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) I think then the only effect that I can gather from the interference of the shipwrights' union is that they deprive a certain lower class of workmen of a field for selling their labour which they would otherwise have?—Yes.

16,649. Therefore if any injury is done it is done to the inferior class of workmen?—Yes.

16,650. (*Mr. Harrison.*) The man with whom you contract is not a simple contractor, who can go forward and hire other labourers and put the difference which he makes out of his contract into his own pocket, but you are practically dealing with a body of men who take a certain piece of work and divide the profit equally amongst them all, so that I do not see that there is any option, for if they took their contract at a lower price they would have less to divide among themselves. Is not that so?—Yes.

16,651. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) But I understand you to say that if there were not this powerful union, you would make the contract with certain of the shipwrights who under that contract would employ inferior artizans at a cheaper price than they do now?—They certainly would do that. If it were not for the action of the union they could get a great amount of the work done by a lower class of men, and they would have a larger profit to divide among themselves.

16,652. (*Chairman.*) Supposing we take the "Cleopatra." You say to a man, "What will you put in the sides for?" He answers 575*l.*, or whatever the contract may be. If that were with one individual, he could get the quantity of planks put in the sides of that ship by workmen who would be content with wages of a less rate than that which he as a shipwright of the first order was receiving?—Yes. One of the best instances I can give you is, I think, in the riveting. According to the present regulations the shipwrights' union require all the riveting to be done by shipwrights who divide with the others, and expect to get 7*s.* or 7*s.* 6*d.* a day, whereas the regular class of riveters are perfectly content with about 4*s.* 6*d.*; so that there is just that difference of about 3*s.* a day, which has to be divided among the shipwrights instead of the lower sum being paid to the inferior class of men, and the balance to the men who had taken the job.

16,653. (*Mr. Booth.*) The short effect is that the union causes that portion of the work to cost more to somebody?—Yes.

16,654. (*Mr. Harrison.*) But can you get the work for your ships done cheaper than you do when you make these contracts?—No, I do not think I could.

16,655. Whom do these men employ in the way you describe?—Labourers of different denominations, "helpers" is the technical name for them.

16,656. Then you suggest that they might employ an inferior class of men to do another class of work?—I think that they might employ more helpers and fewer artisans.

16,657. (*Mr. Booth.*) And in that way they could do it cheaper for themselves?—Yes.

16,658. (*Chairman.*) Have you seen the action of the unions in other yards? Attention was drawn to cases where, it was said, unions had excluded working men from work that they could have taken if they had not belonged to a union. Do you know anything of that?—No. I have had two or three representations from men whom we have employed, saying that they cannot get work in other yards because the members of the boiler-makers' union will not work with them in consequence of their having worked with our shipwrights.

16,659. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Let me put this general question to you. It has been stated that one effect of the unions has been to drive trade out of the river Thames. Now do you, as a person employed in that trade, believe in the truth of that assertion?—No, I do not.

16,660. (*Chairman.*) As far as your personal experience goes, have the unions at all impeded the outlay of capital in your yard; have you had orders which you could have executed, and which the unions have hindered you from taking?—No, I do not think that we have.

16,661. There is a stillness of work in the Isle of Dogs now, is there not?—There is a stagnation of work generally, but I do not attribute that to the action of unions.

16,662. It is the over investment of capital you think?—I think that the talk that has been made about it, and the general impression that unionism does drive work from the Thames has acted prejudicially, and people have gone elsewhere from that impression.

16,663. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) So that in fact the effect has been produced by the people who talked about the union and not by the union themselves?—Yes, I think so.

16,664. And you think that the stagnation of trade has arisen from commercial causes in no way attributable to the action of unions?—I cannot say that entirely. There is certainly much more mobility of wage in the out-ports than there is in the Thames. Wages fall very much more rapidly in Scotland and the North than they do in the South, but whether that is the action of a union or not I cannot say.

16,665. (*Mr. Booth.*) That is favourable, is it not, to shipbuilding at times when that operation is not attended with much profit?—Certainly it is because if wages fall they can take a ship cheaper.

16,666. And if they fall more easily than they do in the Thames, where unions prevail, then in times when shipbuilding is not very profitable the shipbuilder in other ports has the advantage?—Decidedly he has.

16,667. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) How do you account for the slackness of trade in the shipbuilding in the Thames?—From the fact that there is no employment for shipping.

16,668. But there are plenty of ships being built in other places, in the Clyde for instance, are there not?—I have no personal knowledge of that. I cannot answer for what quantity of work is being done in the out-ports.

16,669. Do you know what is the difference in the cost of building a ship in the Clyde and in the Thames at the present moment?—No, I do not. But there is

Mr. Clifford Wigram.

19 May 1868.

a very curious circumstance with reference to shipbuilding, and that is this. Of five Indian transports that were finished last year two were built in the Thames, one at Liverpool, one by Mr. Palmer, and one in Scotland, and over a job about 150,000*l.* I do not think that the cost of those ships varied 5000*l.*; they were remarkably close.

6,670. That was last year, you say?—They were finished last year. It was at the end of about a year and a half's work.

16,671. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Were they iron ships?—Iron ships, and precisely similar to each other.

16,672. What was the cost of one of them?—They were about 150,000*l.* each.

16,673. So that the whole difference was 5,000*l.* on 150,000*l.*?—Somewhere about that. I have not seen the books, but from what the different shipbuilders have told me I am sure that there was a very slight difference. There was not 10 per cent. difference.

16,674. (*Chairman.*) It was last year you say that the contract was finished?—Yes, the contract was finished last August.

16,675. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Those ships were built before the want of employment was so severely felt at the east end?—The winter before last was quite as bad if not worse than last winter.

16,676. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Have you any idea of the number of men of the class of shipbuilders that were out of employment in the East end?—No, none. I did not look into that.

16,677. Were there any out from your yard, for instance, last year?—Yes, we were employing hardly anybody.

16,678. When you say that, you for the most part employ about 1,500 men, you have told us?—That is when we are very full. I look more to our rate of wages. I should think that our rate of wages is generally for the yard about 800*l.* a week, and we must have dropped down to about 200*l.*

16,679. And how long did that last?—It has lasted up to the present time.

16,680. And there is no appearance of improvement?—No, none at present.

16,681. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Is not the cost of material for iron ships greater in the Thames than it is in the Clyde?—Not for the same quality; not to any appreciable amount.

16,682. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) The iron that makes a ship is made, I suppose, in some of the inland towns, is it not?—The greater part of it is made in Staffordshire or Durham.

16683. And therefore the only difference could be the difference of transit from Staffordshire or Durham to Sunderland, and Staffordshire or Durham to London?—Yes.

16,684. What would that difference be?—The freight from Durham to London, I think, is about 7*s.* a ton.

16,685. And what would it be from Durham to Sunderland?—I do not know at all.

16,686. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) But the cost of the material on the Clyde would be much less because the iron is made on the spot almost, is it not?—Yes, but 7*s.* on about 10*l.* or 11*l.* is no very great difference; it is *a* difference.

16,687. That would be about the difference, would it?—I should think that would be the outside of it.

16,688. (*Mr. Harrison.*) It was stated very continually in various places both during the distress of last winter and during the distress of the winter before, that considerable bodies of shipwrights were out of employment because they were refusing work that was offered to them. That was not true, was it, to your knowledge?—Not to my knowledge certainly.

16,689. And as far as you know there was no strike, nothing that could be called a strike, arising out of the question of wages?—I do not think that there was an instance of work being *bonâ fide* offered to them at a reduced price, or that there was any man who would really come forward and say, "Here is a ship to build, if you will take it for so much money."

16,690. And in point of fact, the contracts which the shipwright enters into are contracts for a gross sum, which are settled by the ordinary rules of the market, and the shipwrights are not paid in any case daily wages by the employers?—Not in our yard. I cannot answer positively for others.

16,691. It is not the custom of the trade to pay daily wages?—No, job work is the custom of the trade.

16,692. So that each ship and portion of a ship is contracted for, as the occasion may arise, at the cheapest rate that men can be found to do it at?—Yes.

16,693. (*Chairman.*) In your knowledge are there yards worked by companies, and yards worked by private individuals, upon different principles from yours in your own neighbourhood?—There are various shipbuilding companies. There is one most noteable one—the Thames Shipbuilding Company.

16,694. Do they employ their artisans on the same terms as you, as far as you know?—I cannot give you any information on that matter that is to be relied on.

16,695. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Those companies are limited liability companies, are they not?—That one is. There was another, but that has ceased to exist now, the Millwall Company.

16,696. Do you find any difficulty, from the action of the union, in conversing with your men—any interference with your intercourse with them?—None whatever.

16,697. They have full access to you?—I am about the yard two or three times a day, and always willing to see any one of them.

16,698. So that if there were any grievance they would tell you of it?—And they do very often.

16,699. So that, in fact, there is perfect liberty of intercourse between you and your men?—Yes.

16,700. It is not at all interfered with by any dominant power outside?—No, not at all. And ever since we have had the yard we have made it a constant rule to pay the men direct from the counting-house, and not through a foreman. They are paid through a cash clerk.

16,701. On what day do you pay your wages, on Saturday?—On Friday afternoon.

16,702. (*Chairman.*) Although you have differences in the way of bargaining, as between man and man, have you been on terms of mutual goodwill and mutual respect, if I may say so, as workmen and masters?—On our part certainly, and I believe it is so with the workmen.

16,703. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) I understood you to say that the regulations of the shipwrights' union have in your opinion unnecessarily increased the cost of building ships on the Thames, am I right in that?—No, I do not think that, but I think that they prevent a gang who take a ship from us from making as high profits out of it as they could.

16,704. I understood you to say that if it were not for these regulations they could make use of cheaper labour?—Yes.

16,705. Then is it not the case that those regulations you refer to considerably increase the cost of the building of those ships?—Well, I think that if they could employ cheaper labour they would put the difference in their own pockets. You see that there are two bodies of men. I may employ A or B. B is the old class of boiler-makers, we will call them, and they can do the work at a certain rate. The shipwrights (A) say "We can do the work for less, but we will not, and why "should we? We will put the difference into our own "pockets," and I do not find fault with them for that.

16,706. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You cannot get it done cheaper?—I cannot get it done cheaper.

16,707. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Does the same regulation exist in the Clyde, do you know?—I do not know.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. Joseph D'Aguilar Samuda, M.P., examined.

16,708. (*Chairman.*) You have a yard on the Thames, near to Mr. Wigram's, have you not?—Yes.

16,709. When your yard is in full employ, about how many men would you have to pay daily?—About 1,500.

16,710. You are proprietor of the yard, I believe?—I am.

16,711. How long have you been proprietor?—I have been in business for 35 years. I have been engaged wholly in shipbuilding for the last 17 years. The previous part was partly spent in shipbuilding, and mostly in engine making, but in the last 17 years I have been wholly engaged in iron shipbuilding. I would observe that my experience of what takes place in my establishment is so totally different from that which takes place in Mr. Wigram's that probably it would tend to your convenience if you would allow me to give you a short statement of the way in which we carry on everything. I am now engaged wholly in iron shipbuilding, and have been so since 1851. In our establishment the ironwork is done by boiler makers, and what we term "iron men." The woodwork is done by shipwrights and by joiners. They are totally distinct trades, and have nothing whatever to do with one another, all working under different foremen. In our establishment every man is rated at a fixed daily amount when he comes to work, and the general practice is that work, instead of being done by day work, is done wherever it is possible by piecework. To enable this to be carried out, different jobs are let to small gangs of men, sometimes larger gangs, but generally speaking moderate-sized gangs, and whilst the men are performing this work for a given price, they are allowed to draw the money which their wages would represent at the day rate; that is to say, if a man is rated at 6*s.* a day, and he has worked for six days in one week, and not come to the end of his job, he would receive 36*s.* on account. When the job is terminated, and it is ascertained how much money has been earned, the balance is handed over to the men who have been working upon the job, and the profit remains their own.

16,712. How do you stamp upon a man, when he appears before you in the yard, 6*s.* a day till you have tried him?—It is a very important point, and one that touches the question of unions most closely. When I began business 35 years ago we always took note of a man's working when he was first engaged, and formed as accurate a judgment as we could at the end of the first week as to what we thought that man was worth. We then rated that man accordingly, that is to say, we fixed his wages at what we thought he was worth, 30*s.* a week, or 32*s.* a week, as we thought he was worth. The man was either content to accept that price, or he would remonstrate and say that he thought that we should find him worth more. We then used to say, "You shall work another week, and we will judge at the end of that subsequent week." And if at the end of the subsequent week we found that he was worth 36*s.* a week, we then fixed his wages at 36*s.* a week, and we gave him in addition the wages of the earlier time while we were paying him on account. But we exercised our own right and our own judgment in fixing the men's wage, and this took place for many years. But gradually and by degrees the men have become the parties who have fixed the wages, and the masters have been ignored in the matter altogether, and now we have no power whatever in fixing men's wages in all those departments in which they belong to unions; we must submit to pay them that which they consider or which their unions fix upon as the price, and they, in fact, are the masters of the situation and not ourselves. Now that has caused a gradual rise in the rate of wages, and I think that I am stating the facts about correctly when I say that in the 35 years that I have been in business wages have risen from 25 to 30 per cent., and that 15 per cent. of that has taken place within the last seven or eight years.

16,713. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you include shipwrights in that?—Well, I take them as a whole. In the case of the shipwrights it has not been so great—it has been something in the case of the shipwrights, but not so great.

16,714. Has the minimum rate as allowed by the rules of the shipwrights' union risen to that extent within that period?—No, not to that extent. In 1866 the painters required and obtained from us (asking for it as a whole, and through the medium of their unions,) a rise of from 30*s* to 33*s.* a week.

16,715. That coincided with a general rise that the painters' wages had throughout the whole of London, did it not?—Yes. I understood it to be so. The fitters equally in the same way throughout the whole town got a general rise of from about 35*s.* to 38*s.* a week. With regard to the joiners, previous to 1854 we had only two or three men rated at 6*s.* a day, the general rate of wages with them being 5*s.* 6*d.* a day, but they then obtained a uniform rate of 6*s.* a day. These are day work prices, you understand.

16,716. The rise of the wages of the joiners coincided with a movement in the wages of joiners for all building operations, did it not?—I do not think that it did quite—it might have been influenced by that, but I do not think that it exactly coincided with it.

16,717. There was a rise in the joiners' wages throughout London in all building operations, was there not?—Yes.

16,718. And the joiners and painters whom you employ are not necessarily confined to the shipbuilding trade, I suppose?—No, they are not, but each man, generally speaking, selects his own specialty, and as long as he can obtain work in that specialty he prefers to do it. To the shipwrights we have always paid 6*s.* 6*d.* and 7*s.* a day till about 1862, and up to that time the greater number appear to have been rated at 6*s.* 6*d.* a day, and they were rated according to value of service in the way which I have described before.

16,719. Could you say how long they had been rated previous to 1862 at 6*s.* 6*d.*?—My experience of shipwrights only goes back to 1851.

16,720. But it had been so for eleven years?—Yes.

16,721. As a matter of fact it had remained at that 6*s.* 6*d.* for a whole generation in the trade, had it not?—Mr. Wigram would be a much better authority than myself on that point. I think that he only paid them 6*s.*, but I will not be sure. Then at that time we were called upon to abandon altogether the payment to them according to value of service, and 7*s.* was then fixed upon as the minimum rate. That represented the day wages that we paid the men.

16,722. Has there been any rise since that?—No, the tendency has been rather to fall than to rise since the bad times.

16,723. Then in the shipwrights' trade there has been one rise from 1851 to 1862 of from 6*s.* 6*d.* to 7*s.*, and since that time it has been rather sinking?—Yes. The way in which I came to the conclusion as to the general rise which had taken place was this, I had taken out first the per-centage of men out of the whole number that were working in the establishment who in 1865 (I take that as the year of the greatest employment and success) were receiving wages above 40*s.* per week, and I found that the average was about 14 or 15 per cent. But in 1837 no men were receiving 40*s.* a week (I of course exclude foremen). But then, if I take the actual sum of money which the men have received at the end of the week for profits as well as wage, that is to say the money which they had earned by their piece work, in addition to their day work, the number rises to 30 per cent. that have received above 40*s.* a week; and the total amount paid each week taken throughout the entire year averages for men, boys, and helpers, 31*s.* per man per week; whilst in 1832 to 1835 (when I began business), it averaged only about 23*s.* to 24*s.* per man per week.

16,724. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) That includes boys, you

Mr. J. D. Samuda, M.P.

19 May 1868.

say?—It includes everybody, boys, helpers, and mechanics of all sorts.

16,725. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Have you compared those with the simultaneous rise for instance in the building trade?—No, I have not. I have not the means of knowing exactly what it was in the building trade; I have not looked into that. I have given you the rate that the men earned by their day work, but I have a paper showing also what they earned by their piece work, and I find that when the joiners obtained 6*s.* per day as their day wages, the average sum of money which they were receiving for day wages, and for piece work balances, together came in 1858 to about 7*s.* 4*d.*, and rose in 1862 to 8*s.* 9*d.* I find that the shipwrights from 7*s.* came to 7*s.* 9*d.* The painters were not in the habit of working piece work. And the iron men varied very considerably, and their wages ranged from 6*s.* up to 10*s.* 4*d.*

16,726. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Did those rises all occur at the same time?—No. Just before you came into the room I gave the times when they did take place; they varied from 1854 to 1866.

16,727. But you prefaced this statement by saying that when the joiners obtained 6*s.* a day, then the other men went up too, did you not?—No; when the joiners were getting 6*s.* a day for day wages, they were getting from 8*s.* 6*d.* to 8*s.* 9*d.* on piece work profits as well as their day wages. Then I have here a paper sent to me from various firms, and arranged by myself, which represents the comparative wages that were paid at the same time in the different large shipbuilding ports of the kingdom. Perhaps it would be the most convenient course for you if I gave you the result. It comes to this, that supposing the price in London to be taken at 100, Birkenhead would be 92, Newcastle 82, and Glasgow 76—24 per cent. difference between Glasgow and London. This table was arrived at by obtaining particulars from the great establishments in various parts of the kingdom, which I will read over to you—Napiers of Glasgow, Denny Brothers of Dunbarton, Palmer of Newcastle, Laird Brothers of Birkenhead, and then in London the Thames Ship Building Company, Samuda, the Millwall Company, Dudgeon's, Green's, Wigram's, and Fletcher's. That is the general result of the whole.

16,728. (*Chairman.*) Did they produce at 76 per cent. as good an article in Glasgow as was produced in London at 100?—I am not inclined to agree to that; I think that there is a great misapprehension as to that. In some cases I believe that you can get a cheaper ship produced in the north than you can get in London, because the specialty of the north is devoted to building vessels of that particular description, but if they are called upon to produce that which is the peculiar specialty of London to produce—the highest class of work, my experience has never shown me that it could be produced cheaper in the North than it could be in London. Then, notwithstanding the lower rate of wage in the North, more money appears to me to be absorbed to enable you to arrive at anything like the same result. Mr. Wigram gave you one instance, I can give you another.

16,729. He did not give an instance of the same article costing 100 against the same nominal article costing 76, did he?—No; and I have a strong opinion in my own mind, and I think that the operation would be perfect if it were apart from unions, that the labour would collect itself in the different parts precisely of the nature best suited to the article that was produced in those parts, and that where the better article was produced, and the better workmanship was required, the better description of workmen would come away from those districts where there was less demand for that particular description of labour, and locate themselves where there was a better demand at a higher price. We always found it so formerly.

16,730. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) That 100 per cent. that you have given us has nothing to do with the cost of the article?—No, nothing to do with the cost of the articles, but the amount paid for the labour of the men.

16,731. Assuming that the amount of work done in each case was the same, how much does the labour form of the whole cost of the ship?—It will vary with the different characters of the ships, but it might range from 20 to 35 per cent. of the whole cost.

16,732. (*Mr. Hughes.*) But in no cases more than that?—In no cases more.

16,733. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What makes up the other portion?—The materials.

16,734. And your profit?—And of course the profit.

16,735. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) In that classification do you include engine builders, or are those rates of wages restricted to shipbuilders?—No; they include also vice-men and turners.

16,736. And putting the engines in?—No, they do not include that, but they include the mechanical operations of vice-men and turners to the extent (and it is a very large extent in first-class ships) of the production of the fittings for those ships.

16,737. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You have not observed that the difference in the rates of wages in the shipbuilding trade, as between London and other towns in England, is greater than the difference which we know obtains in various other trades between London and other towns, have you? Do you make the proportion to be greater?—Lately it has been very much increased, and it has taken place in this way. At the time to which the wages in the paper before me refer, shipwrights' wages were 7*s.* a day in London, and they were also 7*s.* at Birkenhead, they were 5*s.* 6*d.* at Newcastle, and they were 5*s.* at Glasgow; but just before the bad times came, as I am informed, they attempted a rise in Glasgow that was unsuccessful.

16,738. (*Mr. Booth.*) What do you call the "bad times"?—I date the bad times from the failure of Overend and Gurney in 1866, which was a tremendous shock to all commercial credit.

16,739. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You date the bad times from May 1866?—Yes, May 1866; that was a turning point with a great many establishments. Then the men returned to the masters at Glasgow, or were desirous to do so, at the old prices, but I understand that in consequence of the bad times the masters required them to reduce their prices, and therefore we had a very great deal of difference, an unnatural difference, set up between Glasgow and London; whilst the men in London would not reduce their wages below 7*s.*, the men in Glasgow were working generally I am informed for 4*s.* 6*d.*, and the difference was too great; I drew a different conclusion from that which Mr. Wigram came to, and I cannot help thinking that that has had some considerable influence in disturbing the proportion of the work on the Thames and the work on the Clyde very considerably, but I do not think that that is by any means the only thing that is disturbing it, and I think that a good deal of misapprehension exists on that point. I believe that both in the Clyde and in London there exists an enormous quantity of what I should call unsound trading, and I believe that that is greatly at the bottom of the difficulty that we are in. The support which the establishments have received from cheap banks and from financial companies has induced many of them to go on taking work at prices which they could not produce it for, and those that have continued to obtain the support have continued to take the work, and those who have either failed to continue to obtain that support, or have hesitated to accept the support when they found that it was not yielding a profit to them, have been without work. I believe that unsound trading is as great a disturbing cause at work as the difference in the price of wages.

16,740. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Then you think that there has been even in these last two years considerable overproduction?—I am sure of it, but then bad trading has made persons take work at prices at which there was no profit at all, and I do not confine my remarks to the two last years.

16,741. They have taken work when there was no healthy demand?—I do not say that, I think that there might have been an extremely healthy demand. I do not believe that they made the articles, generally speaking, upon stock, but I believe that they have supplied ships under the great competition that existed at a price below that at which they could produce them.

16,742. (*Mr. Harrison.*) They have lost money?—They have lost money.

16,743. With respect to the wages, before we leave that point, I have before me the official statement of the joiners' society throughout the country, which gives the average rates of wages, and we may roughly take this as correct. I think in 1867 the wages in London and the suburbs are given, (and so they were in 1866,) as 37*s.* a week. Now at the same date the wages at Newcastle are 28*s.*, at Birkenhead 31*s.*, at Liverpool 31*s.*, at Hull 28*s.*, and at Plymouth 27*s.* That is a difference on the average as great as that which you observed in the shipbuilding trade, is it not?—Those are house joiners, but still there is not a great deal of difference in those figures compared with what I have, because the joiners I have down in London at 36*s.* a week, and the joiners at Birkenhead I have at 30*s.* to 35*s.* At Newcastle I have them at 4*s.* 8*d.* a day, and that would be 28*s.*; and the return made to me for Glasgow would be 4*s.* 8*d.* to 4*s.* 10*d.* a day, which would also make about 28*s.* 6*d.*

16,744. That in fact bears out the accuracy of the returns that you have obtained?—Yes.

16,745. The inference that I ask you to draw, but in which I think you are not prepared to agree with, is this, that the difference in wages with respect to the men engaged in the shipbuilding trade as between London and other towns in the kingdom, agrees in the main with the difference in the wages in other trades?—That may be so, but that I do not know. I do not at all contest the statement, for I know nothing of that.

16,746. Then we are not to draw any special inference with regard to the shipbuilding trade from those rates of wages or the action of unions in that trade, or do you draw any special inference?—I cannot tell whether the unions have acted more favourably or more unfavourably in other trades, and I do not know that it is of great consequence that I should give you that, because mine would only be an opinion which you could form yourself. But these that I am giving are facts which may be useful to the Commission. What I mean to say is this, that with regard to the effect produced upon the trades by means of the union, my experience goes to this, that it does exercise a very material influence upon the trades, and whether the labour is free to adjust itself or whether the labour is adjusted by the unions, and I am of opinion that up to the present time, and judging from the way in which wages have been caused to rise, that influence has been very decided, and has had this particular effect, that it has worked very considerably to the advantage of the workmen and very disadvantageously to capital. But I am not prepared to state that because it has done that it will continue to do so. On the contrary I believe that the only reason why it has done so is because the system aimed at by the unions of a universal rise in wages has not been fully developed, and when it shall have been fully developed that the parties who will have to suffer most will be the workmen, more than capital even. And I look upon it in this way, taking the shipbuilding trade, for instance. Taking the period since I began business as a shipbuilder in 1851, every single establishment that was in existence as an iron shipbuilding establishment on the Thames at the time that I began business in 1851, with the exception of my own, has either failed or discontinued to work as a shipbuilding establisnment.

16,747. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Green's have not failed, have they?—Green and Wigram were not iron shipbuilders then; they have only just taken to building iron ships. But every single establishment that was in activity or in existence as an iron shipbuilding yard on the Thames when I began to build in 1851, and several that have started since, have either broken down, failed, or given up because they could not make money. Yet, notwithstanding that this has taken place, such an impression existed that profit was being made to a large extent by all these establishments, that the workmen did not hesitate to demand, and did obtain, a rise in wages to the extent of 15 per cent. during this time, under the belief that these were all healthy and that they were profitable undertakings, and that they the workmen were not getting their fair share of the profits out of the undertakings; and yet every one of these establishments which have contributed this additional money to the workmen, although they had very excellent wages before, have, after having done so, finished by terminating their own existence. This has been the fate of London. It has not to the same extent been the fate of those other places which you have referred to as having the advantage of working with labour considerably cheaper than London, though all these districts have suffered very much in the same way; but it stands to reason that if a full development of this thing takes place, and if on the capital being driven from London an equal demand is made first in one outport and then in another for a rise in wages, an equal result must obtain, and when you have perfectly matured the entire arrangement of that for which unions are formed, namely, the object of raising the wages of the workmen, you must have destroyed the only source from which they can draw any wages at all. It appears to me perfectly clear that must be the result.

16,748. (*Chairman.*) At 7*s.* a day wages (if I may take that as an example for shipwrights), the employers investing their capital at that rate have disappeared and the trade has gone, if I understand you?—Fourteen have gone; in fact every one has gone that was in existence then as a shipbuilder but myself.

16,749. And taking the fact that at Glasgow they employ the same workmen at 4*s.* or 4*s.* 6*d.* a day, has active trade continued at Glasgow?—The same extent of destruction to the capital has certainly not taken place. Now, making a calculation of the amount of labour which those establishments that I have referred to that have disappeared must have employed, they cannot have employed less than 4,000 heads of families (which represents 20,000 persons supported by the industry) during the time that they have been at work. They cannot have paid less than five millions of money in wages. They have failed and had deficiencies of certainly over one million (I think nearly one and a half), and as one million represents one-fifth or a little more than 15 per cent. upon the amount, it does certainly appear a curious coincidence that if that 15 per cent. had not been added to the wages it would have gone a very great way towards preventing the catastrophe which has taken place.

16,750. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Perhaps you will tell us now what has been the result upon the workingmen?—The result upon the working men now, but only now, is beginning to be very disastrous. The result has been for many years, that in addition to having the best wages in the kingdom, and I believe in Europe, up to the time of their forcing this advance upon these establishments, they had gone on thriving to an extent that had caused them to congregate in too large numbers to be supported on the Thames; but now the tide has turned, and the great mania for the support of all shipping that had been fostered, as I say, by these cheap banks, financial undertakings, and limited liability companies, has ceased, we have a most deplorable state of things, a most heart-rending state of things in the East of London that can possibly be imagined. In my own establishment where I have for six years never had less than 1,200, and where the number has varied from that up to 2,000, I have not 200 men at work now, and I believe that I represent only a fair sample of what most of the other establishments are experiencing.

Mr. J. D. Samuda, M.P.

19 May 1868.

16,751. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Can you show us that the rate of wages which the shiprights and other men engaged in the shipbuilding trade in London have obtained, as compared with other towns in England, is greater than the rise which has been obtained and exists in other trades?—No, I know nothing about other trades. I am confining my argument entirely to my own.

16,752. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Do you know whether or not there are in those other trades trades unions?—I know that there are trades unions in other trades.

16,753. Would not that account for the rise in those other trades?—No doubt it would.

16,754. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You employ joiners. You have just been giving us the rates of wages of the joiners and painters. Now those joiners and painters are capable of obtaining employment in house building in the Metropolis are they not?—Yes.

16,755. The rates of wages for the carpenters and the joiners, and the painters, in house building, have risen, as we know, within the last few years in London?—Yes.

16,756. Well, do you expect that the painters and the joiners whom you employ in your shipping yard are to work for you at lower rates of wages than what they could obtain in house building in the same town?—Certainly not.

16,757. Then what is the force of the argument which charges the joiners and the painters, amongst others, with driving a special trade out of this city?—I will show you. There is this enormous difference. If we in shipbuilding were exactly in the same position which people are in house building, it would take a longer time before the catastrophe would take place. Formerly the catastrophe would not have taken place at all, the workmen would have had it entirely their own way, and for this reason: As ships were a necessity for people to have, and as we were the only market in the world to make them, people who required ships would have to submit to the increased prices. But people who require houses cannot go to France to get them made, and therefore they must employ carpenters and bricklayers in London to make them, and it takes a longer time, therefore, before you can get a catastrophe in the trade. But to speak of myself, my greatest customers used to be, 10 years ago, even five years ago, France, Russia, Prussia, Egypt, and Turkey. I have had as much as 700,000*l.* worth of orders for those different Governments in my yard at one time; but at the present moment France is competing with me and taking away my Prussian orders, she is also taking away from me my Egyptian orders, and at this present moment there is in France no less than 380,000*l.* worth of work going on for two of those very Governments who have been my own customers for 15 years. They are now taking that work away from me.

16,758. Do you expect that a joiner who can work for Mr. Kelk and Mr. Trollope, and can get 37*s.* as the standard rate of wages, is to work for you at 35*s.* a week, because you are placed under special disadvantages in the market?—I have not the slightest objection to the joiners getting 50*s.* a week from me if they can.

16,759. But do you expect them to work for you at less than they can get elsewhere?—No, I neither expect it nor do I want it, but what I am attempting to prove to you, and what is clear in my own mind is that since the repeal of the combination laws (which I think were properly repealed) there has taken place a state of things which the men have not realized, which is this, that they have the power of fixing wages instead of myself. But that power involves the necessity of doing that at their own peril. If they fix wages at a price that I cannot afford to pay, and I cannot induce my customers to purchase work at prices which will enable me to pay it, it naturally follows that I cannot find any means or funds from which I can employ these men, and that these men must therefore be thrown out of employment altogether, because my capital must cease to be productive. If they raise the price of the article which I have to produce more than it is worth in the market of the world, I cannot go on producing.

16,760. (*Mr. Booth.*) That is a matter which you understand and they do not?—Exactly so. That is their great mistake, but those who lead them boast of it. You see in newspapers that they think when they are able, by means of their combination, and by spending a small sum of money, say 200*l.* or 300*l.*, in supporting a strike, which they can very well do, to affect the wages to the extent of many thousands, then they think they have done a great deal of good to themselves. But I maintain that it cannot be a permanent good to themselves unless it is equally a good to me. I freely admit that labour, like every other commodity, has a marketable value; that it has a right to insist on this payment, and that if from any combination of capital it be refused, it is just and proper, and it is also certain, that it ought successfully to resist such opposition, and get for itself its normal value. But, on the other hand, if labour by combination has so fortified itself that it can temporarily get an advantage over capital, it would be the most unfortunate circumstance that could possibly happen to the operatives if they succeeded in obtaining terms beyond those which its value represented in the market of the world. It never can maintain one shilling beyond this value, and the only effect which combination and consequent ability to enforce for a time any beyond this can have, will be the certain destruction of the industry on which the demand is made, by causing a migration of capital from the oppressed and overridden branch of industry to other branches—it may be to other countries.

16,761. Is it the result of your argument that shipbuilding cannot be carried on profitably on the Thames?—No, it is not the result of my argument, because I have carried it on on the Thames profitably myself, but it is this, that it can only be carried on as a specialty—it can only be carried on where the character and experience of the head of the establishment enter largely into the production that is made, and are paid for in the price of that production by the purchaser. And yet the workmen imagine that that forms no value, that it is merely represented by the labour; and this is what I do maintain, that if you had to represent nothing but labour, without reference to the character of the engineering production that comes in, then it could not be carried on, because the difference is so great between London and the North.

16,762. (*Mr Roebuck.*) Will you allow me to ask you whether you anticipate, as to other trades in which these high wages have obtained, that their's will be the fate which you say has befallen the shipping trade?—Where the difference is very great between one town and the other, it will have the effect of driving it out from the one town to the other.

16,763. You talk of the disastrous effects (and I have no doubt correctly) upon the shipping in the Thames. Do you suppose that the same disastrous effects will follow in regard to the building of houses in London?—No, because you cannot do without houses. You must pay higher rents, as you do, in fact.

16,764. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Are you aware whether for the houses building in Grosvenor Place the internal fittings have not come from Germany?—I understand that has been introduced, and is going on now.

16,765. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you expect that the joiners upon your employ in your yard will be content with wages lower than the current rate of wages in this town?—Certainly not, I do not expect that they will be content with that for one moment, and as I said before I conceive that they have a perfect power of fixing their wages at whatever they like; that resistance on my part has now ceased, because it is impossible to take place. In 1851, when the unions were not in such great force as they are now, we opposed the workmen when they wanted to impose

upon us what we thought unreasonable conditions on which to employ labour. We fought a great battle, and that battle lasted for three or four months, and it resulted in the workmen having to give in, after having spent all their funds. But they exercised such an amount of courage, and they went through such an amount of endurance, that I do not hesitate to say that it was one of the most painful things a man could experience to be successful in such an undertaking; and if it is any satisfaction to the workmen, I am sure that very few, except on the direst necessity, would engage in such a struggle again. I was one of the committee engaged in carrying on that fight. It went all over the kingdom. We were then able to beat them. On previous occasions we had had very sharp contests, with various results. Sometimes they had beaten us, and sometimes we had beaten them. But of this I am quite convinced that all those contests which did take place, and that amount of resistance that was always offered by capital was really, although the men never understood it so, the safety-valve of labour, and that labour would long before this have come to a very dreadful state of prostration if it had not been kept in check by those very contests.

16,766. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Do you believe that the prostration has now taken place, and that you have arrived at that point in the Thames for example?—I do not myself believe that the Thames is at all in a worse position for doing the highest class work than any other place.

16,767. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Is it not the fact that a Thames-built vessel can still be insured in the marine insurance office at less terms than other ships?—I think that it ought to be so, but I do not know that it is.

16,768. Is it not the fact that the Thames-built ships command better freights?—I believe so, but I am not sure.

16,769. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) As to these establishments that have gone, having been destroyed by this terrible storm, did they produce this fine article?—As a general rule they have produced it.

16,770. Then, if at the present time the Thames can afford to produce that article, why could they not afford it then?—The answer to that is, that success in shipbuilding is not dependant on one but on many circumstances, and is only ensured by great experience and thorough business knowledge. The material goes out of your yard in a totally different form from that in which it comes into it, and of a totally different value, every cubic foot of wood probably going out of your yard worth at least three times that at which it comes into it, from being shaped and cut away, and it requires a very admirable accountant, with great knowledge of business in all its different phases, to ascertain whether you are making money or whether you are not making money, until you have gone a very considerable distance on the road of doing either one or the other. And where it has taken place (as it has in most of these instances I think) that they have ascertained that they have been losing money, it has generally been at a time when they have gone so far they have not had the opportunity of receding, and their necessity of existence was to keep on in the hope of retrieving themselves, and that I believe to be the history of their destruction. In fact, I said when first I came into the chair, and I cannot impress it upon your minds too strongly, that I believe that quite as much of the unsatisfactory state of shipbuilding throughout this country is due to unsound trading on the part of the masters as to excessive demands on the part of the men.

16,771. (*Mr. Hughes.*) With respect to excessive demands, I understand you to say that the rise of 15 per cent. on the wages has been, in your belief, the cause of the failure of very many of the shipbuilders on the Thames?—No; I say that that has contributed towards it, and that it is a curious fact that if you take an estimate of the rise in wages paid, and the amount of money that they were deficient at the time they failed, it does appear that one very nearly corresponded to the other. That was what I said.

Mr. J. D. Samuda, M.P.

19 May 1868.

16,772. Then the whole amount of value of labour in shipbuilding being according to your evidence from 20 to 35 per cent. (we will say an average of 30 per cent.) 15 per cent. upon 30 per cent. of the whole cost you think has made that difference?—I did not say that it made all the difference, but that the one cause made probably as much difference as the other. But to follow your figures, I would put this to you. If you had wages in Scotland at 4*s.* 6*d.* a day, whilst you had them in London at 7*s.* a day (which was the case until lately, though it is just and proper to the shipwrights to say that they have reduced them within these last three or four weeks, and that now they are content to take 6*s.* a day), that is to say, if you take the difference which existed at the time that all this distress was taking place in London, whilst work was flourishing in Scotland, you find that you have a difference then of something like 2*s.* 6*d.* out of 7*s.* or about 35 per cent. between the wages in London and the wages in Scotland.

16,773. But my point is that this increase of 15 per cent. on wages, which in your belief has been one of the chief causes of the breaking down of the London trade, is simply, when one comes to reduce it, a question of less than 5 per cent. on the whole cost, or something like that?—Yes, and 6 per cent. represents very nearly the profit a manufacturer is satisfied with; 7 to 8 per cent. is quite the outside average profit; but that is not the right way to put it. It is true that 15 per cent. is what has taken place within the last six years in London, but the difference between London and the outports is considerably more, and is specially applicable to all ordinary work that London had to obtain in competition with the outports.

16,774. I fancied that the old wages of the shipwrights were not less than those they get now?—The shipwrights do not form so large a portion of the result as the general character of the wages. And then again, even the difference in the rate as quoted by you does not represent the total difference that exists in truth, because men were content formerly with a very much smaller amount of profit by their piecework balances than they have received lately, and that would go to swell the amount again.

16,775. Then, in fact, you believe that the rise has been 30 per cent. on the average wages of all the trades engaged in shipbuilding?—I am sure that it has been 30 per cent. since I have been in business. But it is not proper to put it entirely to shipbuilding, because my early career was in engine building.

16,776–7. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Now, to bring it to bear on our inquiry, in what way do you suppose that the unions have mischievously interfered to produce this rise of wages; would you point out the *modus operandi*?—The way they do it is this, they meet together and determine that no man shall work under a certain price. They no longer leave the masters free to fix the wages of the man at that which they find his labour is worth to them, but they say, "Good men or "bad men, you shall insist upon having 6*s.* in the case "of joiners and 7*s.* in the case of shipwrights." Then the master has just this choice placed before him, "You must either take these men and let them work "at the price we ask you, or you must give up taking "contracts, because if you think that you can turn "those men out of your yard, and that you are free "to take any other men who would be disposed to "offer themselves to you, you cannot; those other men "will not be allowed to offer themselves to you, the "unions would prevent it."

16,778. What do you mean by "not be allowed"?—We are not acquainted with the particular means that they use for keeping them away, but that is the result.

16,779. (*Mr Harrison.*) What unions do you speak of, because it is a very wide term?—It is a very wide term, and I do not profess to know the different unions. If you want me to give you evidence which will be of service by being *bonâ fide* evidence, I shall

Mr. J. D. Samuda, M.P.

19 May 1868.

be glad to be of use to you by giving that evidence; but if you think that I shall put myself through the eye of a needle by answering minute questions such as you are putting now, I shall decline to do so, and I do not think it right to ask the question.

16,780. We know that it is illegal to obstruct men from going to their work, and if you are going to speak of acts of illegality I think we are entitled to know what are the bodies of men that have so acted within your knowledge?—I tell you as a positive fact that when men offer to work for me at a certain rate I am informed by my foreman and others that it is of no use my putting these men away, for no other men will take their place. I say, speaking to you in this room, that that is an obstruction put by the workmen in my way, and it is the fixing of wages in their own particular way, and the practical effect upon me is that they become the masters and I become the servant to that extent.

16,781. Have the shipwrights done that?—The shipwrights and the joiners have both done it.

16,782. On what occasions?—On many occasions, when, as I tell you, I find it perfectly impossible to go on any longer attempting to put men on upon a scale of wages regulated by myself. One of the occasions in which that existed was the very one I cited to you at starting. In 1866 the painters came to me and said "We must be raised from 30*s.* to 33*s.* a week." Now I cannot tell you that the painters' union told them to do that.

16,783. You brought a general charge, and you say that men to your knowledge, and men whom you would have employed, have been obstructed?—I did not say so.

16,784. I understood you to say so?—Then you misunderstood me.

16,785. I understand you to say, generally speaking, that unions have prevented men from taking employment with you. Am I right in that?—I have told you already that you are wrong.

16,786. Will you inform me and the Commission to what obstruction you allude?—The answer which I gave to Mr. Roebuck was this, that formerly I, as the master, used to fix the price at which I would put the men on, and I fixed that price, having regard in my own mind to the value of the individual man; but that lately, since the unions have been in full force, an alteration altogether had taken place with reference to that mode of engaging men, and I was obliged to submit to a way of engaging men at the price that they themselves in their own unions regulated that they would take. I must take those men or leave them alone, because if I did not take those men no other men were allowed to come to my yard to take their places.

16,787. Who are the men who have prevented others from coming to your yard, or on what occasions have they done so?—I do not profess to be in the secrets of the unions, or to know how they do these things, but I tell you that they are done, and that I am a sufferer by their doing so.

16,788. On what occasion have you been a sufferer?—On every occasion which I have pointed out to you since the men have deprived me of the power which I possessed and exercised of fixing the rate of those men's wages according to the ability they display. I have no more power of doing it now than you have.

16,789. You tell me that men whom you desired to employ in your works have not been allowed to work for you?—No, I did not say that.

16,790. (*Chairman.*) Does not your evidence come to this: "Since the unions have been in action, I "do not know how it has been brought about, but if "I turn off the men in my employ other men are not "allowed to come"?—At any lower wages.

16,791. "How it is brought about I do not know," you say?—I did not pretend to say that I did not know how it was brought about, but I do not know the machinery.

16,792. (*Mr. Harrison.*) What do you say as to obstruction?—I say exactly this, that since the unions have been in existence I am reduced and compelled to accept the rate of wages which they think fit to elect for themselves that the men should take, or to have no men at all, because, practically, if I were to dismiss those men I should not be able to engage any other men on better terms.

16,793. Do you mean to say that other men would be prevented from taking work?—I think I cannot put it clearer. If you wish to attempt to force me to say that I am in the secrets of the unions, and that I know how those things are done, I will not say that I am. I do not know how these things are done, but I do know that they are done.

16,794. I gather from you that in your experience men have not been allowed to work for you; what trades do you refer to?—Both shipwrights and joiners.

16,795. You refer to cases where shipwrights have had a dispute with you?—No, I have had no dispute with any of them. You are putting words into my mouth which I never used.

16,796. I am asking you if I rightly understand you?—No, you do not.

16,797. You say that within your experience shipwrights whom you might have employed have not been allowed to work for you—is that right?—I never said anything of the sort.

16,798. Then it is not within your experience that shipwrights whom you would have employed have been prevented from working for you at any rate of wages you might offer them?—I never said that either.

16,799. (*Chairman.*) "The men have demanded a "rise of wages up to 7*s.*, and I am obliged to give it "because this, I believe, would be the sequence of "events. If I said I will turn you off and open my "yard to other men, other men would not come, "and I attribute that sequence of events to the "action of unions, but I have no knowledge of the "action of unions. Time was when men would have "come to fill the places of others; now, things are "different." Is that the effect of your evidence?—Yes.

16,800. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) There is another point of view that I wanted to bring before you with regard to these men, that had to do with what might be considered an exorbitant wage. Supposing that they were turned off, could they find work elsewhere?—At the present moment no one can find work.

16,801. I mean on these occasions when you yielded, do you suppose that if you had turned them off they would have found work?—I will tell you exactly how that takes place. I am unable to give it to you except in this way. On all these occasions which I have mentioned to you, the painters for instance go to one establishment, and they say to this establishment, "Things are dearer, "provisions have risen in price, we cannot live at the "price that we are getting, you are very busy" (and they know that this establishment is very much pressed to do its work by a certain time), "give us "33*s.* instead of 30*s.*," and the establishment thus pressed, unable to resist it, feeling that they will be left in the lurch if they do resist it, yield, and give it them. Then, having got the advance from the Thames Shipbuilding Company, say, they come to me and get it from me, and then they take us in detail, and go to Mr. Wigram and get it from him, and so on, and that is the way it is done.

16,802. Supposing in the first place when they had made the application, no matter to whom, that that person had said "No, I will not give it, go," would those men, if they had gone, have found work elsewhere?—I believe that those men then would have caused a general strike in London, and would have been supported by the rest of the unions all over the kingdom.

16,803. You do not suppose that the probability was that they would have got the same wages from other establishments if they had been turned off yours?—The fact was that they were not getting it at that time, but it is just possible that if the necessities of

my neighbour had been greater than my own he might have yielded when I might have resisted. And we have exercised an amount of private judgment in either resisting or yielding in former times, but now we have abandoned all such attempts because it is futile; we know that the men are much more powerful than ourselves with these ramifications of unions over the whole kingdom; we cannot resist them except by taking no more work.

16,804. Is there no combination amongst yourselves?—There is no combination among the masters.

16,805. In fact the masters are not as loyal to one another as the men are?—I do not think that they could be; I have never known any practical combination among the masters since 1851, and in 1851 I was one of the committee for carrying out that contest, and the difficulties that existed in maintaining a combination among the masters, even in those stipulated circumstances, were something enormous, because there were so many masters whose necessities were so great that they could not act to the extent of resisting demands that they thought unjust. It was only men who were thoroughly independent, and who did not care for shutting up their establishments and closing their works altogether for an indefinite period, that could stand the difficulty and face the insolvency that was brought upon weaker houses by resisting the unjust demands of the workmen.

16,806. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Did you adopt that course of closing your works at the time?—I did; all the engineers did at that time. It was the great lock-out of 1851.

16,807. You said, did you not, that some masters could not adopt that course?—They all did it for a time, but after it had been in force for some time we found that some of the weaker masters were incapable of carrying it on any longer, and the committee recommended that where their necessities were such that they could not keep their establishments shut any longer, they should be authorized to open their establishments and take back their old men; and in some few cases this was done.

16,808. Did you stand out longer than the rest?—Not longer than the rest of the principal masters, we all stood out together about four or five months, till the men had withdrawn their demands.

16,809. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Since then you have had no dispute with the men, have you?—Since then I have never had any dispute with the men.

16,810. When men have come to you and said "We want a rise," have you always admitted it since that time?—When they have come and asked for it seriously we have been compelled to give it to them.

16,811. Without a fight?—Yes.

16,812. You must have thought it just?—No, on the contrary, there are some workmen I see sitting in this room who know that I said to them at the time, "I will give you this wage because I cannot help it; "but mark what I say, the day will come when you "will find that your having demanded this wage will "not be a penalty to me, but it will be destruction to "yourselves." I felt that it was as regards the interests of the men that they were making the greatest possible mistake, and I believe so still, and I think it is most important that they should have those facts brought prominently before them.

16,813. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) You were asked just now if a joiner could be expected to take 35*s.* from you when he could get 37*s.* from a builder in London. Are we to understand that the joiners formerly employed in building in your yard are now employed in building houses in London?—I do not think, as a general rule, that the joiners employed in my yard ever change to building houses, because I think they can earn more money in shipbuilding, inasmuch as they do not carry piece work to the same extent in building houses; but there is nothing to prevent them from building houses.

16,814. As a fact, there are many joiners out of employment in your district, are there not?—Great numbers.

16,815. (*Chairman.*) Would you allow me to ask this question—have the large mass of shipwrights and joiners, and persons employed in that way, disappeared from the Isle of Dogs?—To some extent, but not the whole.

16,816. I meant to say, have you any ratio of the houses occupied and the houses unoccupied? Is it not the case that street after street is occupied by housekeepers paid to keep the house?—Unfortunately a great many men have left their houses and come upon the parish.

16,817. And a great many houses are unoccupied?—They could not pay their rent. With regard to the observations that Mr. Hughes was making about the comparative building on the Thames and other places, and the failure of the houses that I referred to, I pointed out, or endeavoured to do so, that the Thames was only profitably employed, as a general rule, in the highest class of work; but I ought to have pointed out also that from the facilities given to undertake large operations, a number of establishments were started on a large scale, which had not grown to that large scale by experience, and that the consequence was that the only description of work which they could get was not that work for which London is specially adapted, but such work only as they could obtain in competition with the rest of England, and that, therefore, their failure became more rapid and more complete because they were competing for work which they were incapable of obtaining a paying price for. And, therefore, it would be more correct to compare their amount of loss on the cost of their production of this inferior work with the cost of production of the different outports that they were competing with, and that would make the difference greater.

16,818. So far as that cause acts it is the fault of the persons who so came in and assumed to be masters?—Yes; no doubt of that.

16,819. That cannot be laid at the door of the men?—I am not attempting to do that.

16,820. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Were the persons who acted in this unwise way the masters of establishments which existed when you first entered the business?—They were not, but I ought to have said that there was not one of those that exist now that existed when I came there. Others that have started since have failed. I alluded specially and more particularly to the Millwall Iron Company. That came after me some time, but it was a notable instance of that description. They had no knowledge which had grown up with experience, or which gave that character to their work that could entitle them to be consulted by customers in the same way as myself and other persons who have been a number of years engaged in these operations.

16,821. That state of things was brought about by their getting support from Overend and Gurney and all these financial companies?—Yes, there was another that grew up in exactly the same way of the name of Ash. That firm was only in existence two years. During that time it built a large number of vessels. It was not known when it came into existence, and they had to compete by nothing but competition prices of the most ruinous description with other persons all over the kingdom, and when they failed, this curious circumstance was exhibited, that if they had got their labour for nothing they could not have existed; the amount of money they were deficient was equal to the whole amount of money they had paid for wages from the day they went into business to the day they stopped.

16,822. That is of course wholly unconnected with this inquiry. I mean that it cannot be laid at the door of the trades unions?—I quite assent to the view that that was from reckless speculation, but that exercised a very injurious effect upon the rest of the trade existing there.

16,823. (*Mr. Hughes.*) The raising wages or the reckless speculation do you mean?—The reckless speculation.

Mr. J. D. Samuda, M.P.

19 May 1868.

16,824. Reckless speculation ruins all trade, but a rise of wages I do not believe does. However, that matter we have done with. You say that a great many of the workpeople have received relief since the East End distress; but you do not know of any instances in which the trade union men have had to take relief, do you?—No, I do not; I think as a general rule the shipwrights did not any of them take parish relief, but that they were supported by their unions. The iron men were less able to support themselves, and I think that they had to accept it largely. An immense number were those who are called the helpers, who are really not artisans at all, but who suffered by being thrown out of work, for you cannot employ them unless you are employing the other men.

16,825. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) As respects the state of trade there now, are there as many shipbuilding establishments existing on the Thames as when you began business?—I am not prepared to answer positively, but I should think not.

16,826. Then whatever may have been the cause, you are of opinion that a great deal of the shipbuilding business has left the Thames?—There is no doubt about that.

16,827. You were here I think when I put that very question to Mr. Wigram, and he said that he did not think it had left the Thames?—Well, I know at the present moment reports are made to me that in Scotland they are doing a great deal of business, and in the whole experience of my career I have never known so little doing as there is now on the Thames. I quite agree with Mr. Wigram to this extent, that I do not think it is a permanent leaving of the Thames. I think that the particular description of work which the Thames is calculated to perform is not being required at this present moment, or rather not being applied for at this present moment, and that the peculiar description of work which is generally supplied from the out-ports is being applied for in large quantities.

16,828. Then the cause of there not being the usual quantity of work in the Thames is that there is not a demand, not that the prices here of wages are so high?—No, because as I tell you my own impression is that notwithstanding the present price of wages the best description of work can be performed on the Thames as advantageously as it can be performed elsewhere.

16,829. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Within the last two years you have not been offered work which has been refused on a question of price by the men, and which you have not in consequence had done at all?—No.

16,830. (*Mr. Hughes.*) With respect to the distress of which you were speaking just now, you said that the great body of the people who were in such distress were people called helpers and not artisans?—Helpers principally, I think.

16,831. I suppose that they were the persons who were principally helped by the Mansion House Relief Committee that was formed?—I should think that the helpers and the iron men were the principal recipients of that relief.

16,832. You were on the committee, were you not?—Yes.

16,833. There was a story that made a great sensation at the time, of the stoppage of the relief by that committee (to the helpers, I suppose,) in consequence, it was said, of a strike at Messrs. Pontifex's?—There was a consideration of the suspension of the relief, whether they should give the relief or not, that was in consequence of a strike at Messrs. Pontifex's.

16,834. There was an undoubted strike of the joiners at Messrs. Pontifex's, was there?—Undoubtedly.

16,835. (*Mr. Harrison.*) What were the circumstances as they came to your knowledge?—The circumstances as they came to my knowledge were that a certain number of men had been put on by Messrs. Pontifex, I think to rebuild some factory that had been burned. These men had worked for Messrs. Pontifex for some time in making this repair at a wage which I do not recollect, but which, for the sake of argument, I will say was 33*s.* a week.

16,836. Were they joiners?—Joiners. Mr. Pontifex then reached that point in his work that induced him to send for his bricklayer to bring in some other men connected with the building trades to do the other portion of the work; and when these other men came in to do the other portion of the work, the men who had been previously satisfied with what they were receiving, applied to Mr. Pontifex to change their wages from that which they had taken to that which they said was given by the building trade generally.

16,837. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Were these other men joiners?—No. Their own men (who were joiners) who had been previously working on the building, and had been satisfied with the wages which they had been receiving up to the time of the other men (bricklayers, I think,) coming on the premises, seem then to have been moved, either by the other men who came there, or by a sense of disinclination to work in conjunction with other men at lower wages than those sanctioned by their different societies, to make an application to Messrs. Pontifex for two things. One was to raise their wages, and the other was to do away with a certain portion of the time that they had previously worked on the Saturday, and Messrs. Pontifex resisted this, and the men all struck.

16,838. All, or the joiners, do you mean?—I mean the joiners; all the other men that were brought were brought on by the contractor who was taking the contract job.

16,839. (*Mr. Harrison.*) It was the result of a mistake between the men and the foremen, was it not, that the strike happened?—It did not appear to be in the least the result of a mistake, but a preconcerted thing determined on by the men, and it was put in such a form that it satisfied me at the committee that there was no mistake at all about it, and that the men had a perfect knowledge of what they were doing, and did it with the full intention of leaving Messrs. Pontifex in the lurch.

16,840. How long did that strike last?—I do not know; we did not, on a consideration of the matter, allow that strike to prevent our distributing charity to the district as usual, but it did appear to us a monstrous thing that those men should deliberately have thrown themselves out of work in the way they did.

16,841. But they did not come on the fund?—No, they did not come on the fund, but they added to the distress of the neighbourhood.

16,842. (*Mr. Booth.*) Did they cause other persons to come upon the fund?—It was stated so, but I am not sure whether the fact was so.

16,843. It did not come within your own knowledge?—No.

16,844. (*Mr. Harrison.*) The publicity given to that affair by the letter of Messrs. Pontifex, and the discussion in the committee, did materially tend to stop the flow of money from the public to the fund, did it not?—I have not a doubt that it did.

16,845. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Is that fund still going on?—No, it is stopped. The effect of that fund, after having tided over the very worst period of the distress, was found to be most injurious in many respects, quite pauperising the neighbourhood, and reducing persons to a state of dependence which when better times were returning they could scarcely arise out of.

16,846. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Then the shipwrights had nothing whatever to do with that strike?—Nothing.

16,847. They had a great deal of the odium at the time, if I remember rightly?—No, I think not.

16,848. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Was there not a case where a ship might have been built if the shipwrights would have agreed to some reduction of wages at Limehouse?—I heard it said so. There was a public meeting called, and there certainly was an offer made by Mr. Bullivant to build a ship if the men would agree to accept the terms offered, which were not agreed to; but I think, in justice to the men, it

ought to be stated that neither the party who was going to give the work, nor the men who were going to take it, understood enough of it to be in a position to make satisfactory arrangements—I believe that to be the case.

16,849. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Do you employ engineers?—Yes, to some extent, not very many.

16,850. Have you had difficulty with the engineers?—No.

16,851. You say that the shipwrights had no relief from the parish during this late distress. I suppose that the same remark applies to the engineers?—I am not so sure about that.

16,852. (*Chairman.*) What is the distinction between the engineers and the boiler-makers?—The engineer is a man who works with a file and a hammer and at a lathe. A boiler-maker is a man who works iron hot, rivetting up boilers, or ships, bends angle iron, or anything of that description.

16,853. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Do you think that any of the engineers have applied for parish relief?—I am afraid that some of them have been obliged to do so, but that would only be an opinion.

16,854. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Did your committee relieve any of them?—We do not know—we gave 500*l.* to this committee and 200*l.* to that for various localities.

16,855. Then your personal knowledge was small; you did not see the people yourself?—In the character of a committee-man I did not see them, but in the character of a person going through the neighbourhood I could not fail to see them, and I also knew a great many of our oldest hands who were in great distress.

16,856. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) What is the rate of the ordinary day labourer, the lowest class of labourer, at your works?—About a guinea a week.

16,857. (*Mr. Hughes.*) In the docks they only get 18*s.*, I believe?—They do not get that, only 9*s.* I think, or very little more. I think they are rated at 14*s.*, but having regard to the intermittent nature of the work they obtain, it was stated before our committee, as a very great misfortune, that the earnings in the docks were on the average under 9*s.* per man, and as the payment that was authorized by the Poplar Union was 8*s.* 10*d.* per man when he had four or five children, it could scarcely be expected that the exceptional amount of distress would be got rid of, because so many people preferred taking the 8*s.* 10*d.* and doing nothing, to taking the 9*s.* and working at the docks.

16,858. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Was 9*s.* a week the actual amount?—So it was stated at our committee, and one of the men on our committee I understood was engaged at the docks.

16,859. (*Mr. Hughes.*) It would be a good thing if wages were raised there?—Yes, indeed it would.

16,860. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Surely that was in consequence of their being very irregularly employed?—Yes; the rate they were employed at was, I think, 14*s.* a week, but the number of hours they were employed only enabled them, taking the loss of time in getting ships into berth and out of berth and other drawbacks into account, to earn 9*s.* a week.

16,861. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Your labourers are paid by the week?—Yes; it is about 20*s.* or 21*s.* a week. To give it accurately, I had 217 labourers, and the average rate of wages to the 217, the money actually paid, was at the rate of 22*s.* 7*d.* per week. They were rated at various prices, from 18*s.* up to 27*s.*; 27*s.* would be for a superior description of men—drillers and men of that sort; and the lowest at 18*s.* would be men passing from the gradation of boys into men. Taking their general character, the largest number of all are at 21*s.* and the next at 24*s.*

16,862. In your list of the payment of your skilled mechanics, is there not a variation of that kind from a certain sum up to another sum, as well as with the labourers?—Not in each class of the mechanics, but there is in the mechanics taken as a whole.

16,863. You pay very skilful mechanics higher than you do your ordinary mechanics?—Yes; then those are men whom we look upon as under foremen, leading hands, and so on. Now take the case of shipwrights—until very lately 7*s.* was the minimum, you may say that no man got less; the mass of them, generally speaking, got 7*s.* a day. Then there were a number of leading hands who would be the leaders in each particular job who would get 8*s.*

16,864. Trade societies never interfered with your paying men higher wages?—No; then with regard to the boiler-makers in the same way the platers would get 6*s.* we will say as a minimum, but when we have found men worth considerably more than that wage we have raised them even to 9*s.* a day.

16,865. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Can you tell me how much those dock labourers get by the hour when they are employed?—I will not be sure, but I think it is 4*d.* I do not think that under any circumstances they could earn more than 14*s.* a week.

16,866. (*Mr. Hughes.*) When you say that you have no more power of fixing the rate of wages than I have in your works, you only mean that you have no power to get them below a certain amount, but you may raise them as high as you please?—Yes.

(*Mr. Applegarth.*) I wish to read, with the permission of the Commissioners, a statement made by the men respecting what happened at the Mansion House Committee respecting the so-called strike at Messrs. Pontifex.

(*Mr. Samuda.*) Before I leave I may say that I can tell you at once what the statement is that is about to be read. The only thing that I should have to say at the end would be that that statement was put before the Lord Mayor at the Mansion House Committee, and that an inquiry from Messrs. Pontifex gave it quite a different complexion, and led us to believe that that was quite wrong.

(*Mr. Applegarth.*) I just desire to say that when this strike as it was called took place at Messrs. Pontifex's, two of the members of our society were concerned in that strike, and they waited upon me to advise them how act, because they had been charged with being concerned in a strike (it was no strike at all, but really a lock-out), and they wanted to know what they should do. They said that they did not care what they did as far as they were concerned, but they were distressed for the other men who were not provided for. There were 30 men who were concerned in the matter, and 28 of those men were non-union men. They said that the committee at the Mansion House had cut off their relief on account of the strike, and they said, "Even supposing that we "were on strike, it would be an act of gross injus- "tice to a starving population to cut off relief from "them on that account; can you advise us what to "do?" I said, "Yes, put the facts in writing and I "will endeavour to go with you to the Mansion "House and see if they cannot be laid before the "Lord Mayor." And one of the men sat down and wrote a statement which all the rest indorsed.

16,867. (*Mr. Hughes to Mr. Applegarth.*) Do you mean that it was merely the union men that endorsed it?—No, but non-union men as well. That statement was read over to them, and they signed this document and the others endorsed it afterwards. Only 14 went to the Mansion House. As to the statement laid before the Lord Mayor, the account in the newspaper is as follows: "The statement is signed by 14 of the "men, and is to the effect that about three weeks ago "Messrs. Pontifex and Wood engaged carpenters to "replace the roofs of some buildings recently de- "stroyed by fire. Additional men were occasionally "set on till they numbered about 30. About a fort- "night ago some bricklayers commenced work on the "same works for a contractor, who took the brickwork "of these buildings. The bricklayers were paid 8*d.* "per hour, and the labourers, we believe, received 5*d.* "per hour. Both bricklayers and labourers left work "at 1 p.m. on Saturday. The carpenters had some "of them worked two Saturdays, and the others one "Saturday till 4 o'clock; but this was done be- "cause they were employed making some large 'vat'

Mr. J. D. Samuda, M.P.

19 May 1868.

" or 'back.' Then it was that the carpenters asked " that they might leave at 1 o'clock on Saturday, " as they would have done if they had been employed by " any of the great builders. They saw Mr. Pontifex, " and he said he would leave it with the foreman. They " saw the foreman, and he said, 'Do as you like, my " boys.' They stopped work on the following Saturday " at 1 o'clock. On the Monday they were not allowed " to resume work, and after being kept from 9 o'clock " till half-past 11, were paid the two days' wages which " it was customary to keep in hand; but before doing " so a deduction of 1*s.* 11*d.*, or 11½*d.* per hour for the " two hours they did not work on the Saturday previous " was made, while, if they had worked those two hours, " they would have received only 6*d.* per hour. Only " two of the 30 men were members of a trade union, " and there was no intention of striking to obtain the " Saturday half-holiday." This was the statement signed by the men, and put in at the Mansion House, and the men declared then and there that they had no intention to strike for the Saturday half-holiday, but the foreman, who was on friendly terms with them, said, "Do as you like, my boys," and they thought that that meant that they could choose for themselves, and they left off work at 1 o'clock, the same as the other men, and when it was put to them whether they would strike or not for it, they said, "No, certainly not;" and when they were asked to resume work on the old terms they said, "Yes, decidedly." The men declared that it was a misunderstanding, and I, for my part, believe the men.

16,868. Did they go back to the work?—No, because when the men went on the Monday morning they would not have them. Some of the newspapers had it that it was the shipwrights or ship-joiners that were engaged in the dispute, and I think that Mr. Pontifex had to correct it in the press, and say that they were not shipbuilders at all, but men engaged in his chemical manufactory or lead works.

16,869. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Mr. Pontifex put in an answer to the case of the men, did he not, in which he contradicted, after inquiry, the statement of the men?—Yes. The men all declared after that, unanimously, that their statement was correct, and he knew very little about it, because he was seldom on the works, and they had treated with the foreman.

16,870. (*Chairman.*) If the foreman was the good-tempered man that you describe, who was the person who excluded them from the works?—He did it by order of Mr. Pontifex.

16,871. When he said to them, "Do as you like" about the Saturday half-holiday, that might mean "and if you do you will catch it," might it not?—Yes, it might; but the men naturally put another construction upon it. The foreman kept a public-house, and the men were in the habit of going and having a glass at that house now and then, and were on friendly terms with him. Mr. Pontifex had been appealed to in the first place, and said, "I will leave it to my foreman;" and the foreman, who was a man almost like one of themselves, said, "Do as you like," and it was on that that they went away.

16,872. (*Mr. Harrison.*) It was on the Saturday that the men ceased to work, and on Monday morning they presented themselves at the works and found that they were locked out, and the next day a letter of Mr. Pontifex appeared in "The Times," and then the relief was stopped?—Yes.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. J. Dudgeon.

Mr. JOHN DUDGEON examined.

16,873. (*Chairman.*) You are a civil engineer, I think?—Yes. I am more correctly a mechanical engineer, and an iron shipbuilder.

16,874. Where is your place of business for shipbuilding?—In Millwall.

16,875. Is it a private concern of your own?—It is a private concern of my own.

16,876. When your works were in full work, about how many men had you in your employ?—We take 1865 as being our best year within these half-dozen years. In that year I employed about 850 men in the shipbuilding yard, now I employ about 175. If you will permit me I may as well state also the number of workmen that I employed at my engine works in Millwall. At the same period, namely in 1865, I employed 650 men in the engine establishment.

16,877. (*Mr. Hughes.*) And how many do you employ now in the engine establishment?—I think my last report was about 225 or 230.

16,878. (*Chairman.*) Are they engaged in making engines, or engineers in the sense just explained to us?—The 850 men were entirely employed in the construction of iron ships, and the 650 men were entirely employed in the production of marine engines, the machinery for those vessels.

16,879. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) You have a specialty in your works, I think, twin screws?—Yes, we have a specialty, but still we are employed as marine engineers generally, as people who make steam engines for steamers, that being our special trade.

16,880. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Are you a London man?—No, a Scotchman.

16,881. (*Chairman.*) How long have you been located on the Thames?—I commenced engine-making about 12 years ago, and shipbuilding about five or six years ago.

16,882. Have the unions among the artisans had any effect upon the business that you carry on?—Yes, the unions amongst artisans have had the effect of annoying us a good deal at periods during the time that I speak of.

16,883. In what way have they annoyed you?—I should like my evidence to be divided as it were into two points, the difference between the two businesses that we carry on making the character of the people whom we employ in the shipbuilding department different from those employed in the engineering department, and as the engineering department has been put first I think it might be well to take that as a starting point. And if we do that I should say that we have in the case of the shipbuilding department met with a considerable amount of annoyance from the conduct of our workmen during the period that I have been in business.

16,884. (*Mr. Hughes.*) In shipbuilding you have met with annoyance?—Yes.

16,885. And have you in engineering?—In engineering to a less degree.

16,886. (*Chairman.*) "Annoyance" is a general term; what is the specific form of annoyance you can quote to us; had the men a strike, for instance?—When I use the word "annoyance" we have not had anything in our experience that amounted to what may be called a serious difficulty with our men. Anything that has occurred between us and our men has been more in the shape of an annoyance than it has been a really standard injury to our day labour in the way of carrying on our business.

16,887. As long as you commercially prosper, I suppose that you do not regard the manner in which the men behave or speak; "annoyance" is a more serious thing than being upon unpleasant terms with your workmen, I presume?—I mean this, that our workmen not acting regularly, putting us into the position of not being able to produce our work so regularly as we expected to be able to do, have caused us annoyance, although it has not come to the point of becoming so serious an evil as would induce us to come forward and say that our business had suffered materially through our workmen having acted in any given way towards us to an extent that would seriously interfere with our carrying on our business.

16,888. Can you give us a specific fact with time, and place, and men. Have you any expensive apparatus, for instance, in your works which you have been carrying on on a given day and the men have come to you and said, "We will take a holiday," knowing that you would have that day wasted. I want specification

of one example for a type?—The annoyance that we have been subjected to has never extended to more than a small section of our men doing what is technically termed "striking," that is to say, marching out of our gates without giving us any notice and leaving us to get on as best we could. But that has never happened in our case with the whole of our men, it has only been in very partial instances indeed.

16,889. And then when a section has walked out, has it so happened that a number of other sections have been interdependently bound up with them, so that if one goes all are stopped?—To a certain extent that is the case. But in our concern it immediately became of paramount importance that we should give in to our men, or accede to their wishes in order to prevent the evil proceeding further, and that we have been compelled to do.

16,890. If they have raised a question between them and you have not acceded to their terms, I could understand their walking out. But we have had instances of reckless men who say, for instance, "We will take a holiday to day," without any consideration of the master's interests; have you found that?—I do not think that exists with us to any great extent. There are always two sides to a question, and I invariably found in our case that the men were not entirely to blame; that there is a degree of animosity or spirit of opposition that arises between the people whom we employ as our managers or conductors of work and the workmen, and I have found that it would not be fair to put the blame of these partial *emeutes* entirely at the door of the workmen, because in all the cases that have been brought before me, I have been invariably able to induce the men to go back to work again, perhaps at the sacrifice of certain personal convenience of mine, and at the sacrifice also of the convenience of the people for whom I was working. But still the impression that I wish to convey is that these things in my opinion have not arisen solely because the men were wrong. I believe that if the men themselves knew the position that they hold with respect to the labour that they are doing, and if the people who had the immediate charge of them were also to know as well, a good many of the annoyances that I have been subject to in my business might have been avoided.

16,891. I understand that you are the principal?—Yes.

16,892. And these men who as you consider have not acted with perfect judgment are men that you have had to select to have power over the men?—Yes.

16,893. And the result of an examination both of the workmen and them has led you to the conclusion that men of greater discretion would have prevented unpleasantness arising?—Yes.

16,894. That has happened several times, has it?—Yes; in point of fact, the evil that exists as far as I have been concerned in the matter, is not one that is to be entirely ascribed to the workmen.

16,895. Would you allow me to ask you with respect to the man that you employed as manager and who perhaps was of an uncompromising manner towards the men, whether he was a man zealous for your duty or a man pursuing a bye motive?—Most decidedly zealous for the interest of his employer, taking the interest of his employer from his point of view.

16,896. For the most part the workmen fully appreciate, do they not, the motives with which those who employ them act? There are ill-tempered managers and ill-conducted managers, and there are also men that are strenuous in their efforts to do what is right?—Yes, we must always bear in mind that the workman is not in the position to take even an ordinarily common view of matters. From the nature of his position, and the nature of his education, up to the point that we find him, a working man, we cannot expect him to take a dispassionate view of what may be considered to be his own line of interest, because if he were able to do so, and the higher class men whom we employ to superintend his operations are not able exactly to do so, it would be inverting the matter altogether.

16,897. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) But do you find that in this ignorant state of mind of the working man there comes in an influence from outside that perverts his mind and turns him wrong in his determination?—That is the truth of the whole matter. That is really one of the reasons why the working man does these things without thinking carefully and dispassionately of what the consequences are.

16,898. Then I understand that what you mean when you say that blame is not entirely to be thrown upon the working man is, that it is partly to be thrown upon his advisers?—Yes, it is not entirely to be borne by the working man, but by his advisers, and partly to be ascribed also to the inefficient nature of all friendly undertakings when the people whom the employers employ are frequently asked more than they ought to do at the moment. Therefore, I am inclined not to throw the whole blame of the inconveniences that arise from the state of things that we have just passed through upon the shoulders of the working man.

16,899. But then the annoyance is created and part of the evil arises from the ignorance of the working man, and part from the influence of his advisers, and a part I suppose from the persons whom you appoint to deal with the working man?—Precisely so.

16,900. In that three-fold division, to whom should you say that the greater part of the responsibility attached of the annoyance caused to you?—The greater part of the responsibility attaches upon the advisers of the men to this extent, that the men acting under the impression that whatever they do as a body they will be held comparatively harmless from results, acquire confidence to quarrel as it were with the legitimate men employed by me, and whom they employ, as it were, by another authority. The thing may be put in that light—that my people represent the employers upon the one side, and that the men represent the authorities under whom they act upon the other, and that, therefore, the ultimate blame of things not being properly done must fall back upon the advisers of the men on the one side and upon the employer who employs the other men on the opposite side.

16,901. How long have you been in business?—I have been in business about 12 years.

16,902. Have you found any great change in that time in your relations with your working men?—Well, no; I stand in about the same position to-day that I did, we may say, 10 years ago.

16,903. Then, in reality, what is called the increased power of the trades unions has not affected you at all?—Personally I do not think that it has affected me (it has affected me to a certain extent) to an extent that would make it the cause of my stating that my business had suffered in such a way, because I could not get working men to perform the labour that I wanted them to perform.

16,904. And in these partial strikes that have taken place in your establishment, have you found any difficulty created or exasperated by the interference of the trade union authorities?—Directly, I think that I may say, no; at least, to the greatest extent that I can recollect. Our pattern makers refused to do something or another, sufficient for me to be called in to decide the question, and when I called these men before me, I asked them the reason why they would not do what we wanted them to do? Something or another that was evidently an advantage to themselves; we did not propose to them to reduce their wages or anything in that way. The men said, "We "each and all of us have been in your employ from "the day that we were boys, or nearly so; we would "agree to that at once, but we dare not do it, because "our unions will not allow us."

16,905. To that extent then unionism has interfered with your management of your business?—Yes; to that extent certainly, but still not to an extent to be a

Mr. J. Dudgeon.

19 May 1868.

vital interference. It was still a thing that I could arrange with the men without having recourse to authority.

16,906. Have you found in the range of your experience any great change in the habits and manners of the working men; have they improved of late years?—My impression is, that if we could dissociate the very inferior class of labour that we employ, we will say in shipbuilding, and if we could take the superior type of workman that we employ, such as our engineers, the habits of a body like them have improved of late years. They have improved certainly very much from what they were in my day when I was a working engineer myself.

16,907. Among the lower classes of your workmen (I do not use the word invidiously) are there any large number, or any number, of Irishmen?—We employ a good number of Irishmen; but still they are a small amount compared to the intelligent labourers that we employ.

16,908. Then the number of Irishmen employed does not affect the character of your workmen generally?—No.

16,909. So that you could not draw any conclusion as to their character separate from the others?—I should rather say that in my establishment the Irish part of it was the most docile part.

16,910. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) They are principally labourers, are they not?—Yes, principally labourers.

16,911. (*Chairman.*) Would the remarks you have made about shipbuilding apply as to the effects of the trades unions upon the engineering department?—Yes, I may as well at once state the only objection that I have to trades unions with reference to the superior classes of workmen that we employ. The character of the men has not deteriorated, I can positively say, through their being trade unionists. That is one point that I concede, but this injudicious mode of endeavouring to establish a forced rate of wages, or a scale of wages, for each man who belongs to the union is, in my opinion, the only thing almost for which we can complain of trades unions with respect to our superior workmen.

16,912. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Do you mean by that that they compel an equal wage for an unequal capacity?—Yes, that is the meaning.

16,913. And you think that the tendency of the trade union regulations?—Yes, we find that is the tendency. We employ a man, and he must be paid the general rate of wage, or he is immediately withdrawn from our employ.

16,914. In your experience have you found that that has led to a deterioration of the skill of the artisans?—No, I do not think that it has led to that directly. There are two sides to that question. There is an advantage arising from all the men that you employ as skilled men, as men who have not only to labour with their hands but who have also to use their brains as intelligent constructors, being on good terms amongst themselves. I think that our business has gained positively by the men being all friendly with each other during their work. Where the men are all agreed, and where the spirit of acting properly is carried out amongst them, as I am happy to say it is carried out amongst my men there, I think that the employer has an advantage as well as the employed. I think that the skill then becomes more a common fund than if you had an establishment where you had two influences continually at work, one influence tending to pull one way, and another influence tending to pull the other.

16,915. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Then this agreement in your shops between all the men employed you attribute partially, at any rate, to unionism?—I attribute it partially to unionism, because the men are all friendly to each other, and seem more inclined to help one another.

16,916. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Does it not tend to keep the intelligent men down to the level of the unintelligent men?—That is the opposite side of the picture. When you establish this system, although you may do it without injury to the actual work that you carry on, you are doing a positive injury to the really rising men who ought to become the chief men. If you increase the wages of all the men that enter your establishment to a maximum, as the trades unions would like you to do, then you do away with the wholesome element of competition. Then instead of your first-class men getting, we will say, 38*s.* or 39*s.* a week, and your inferior men getting 32*s.* or 34*s.*, if the trade union system were carried out you would then have the whole of these men coming in at 36*s.* a week, which is about the maximum wage that the engineer has ever been entitled to in London. You get them all coming in at that point, and then you destroy the power of the employer to advance the very superior man, because he must always keep him back to the lowest possible range that he can pay him in order to make up for the amount paid to inferior men; and you do away with the motive for the inferior man's either exercising his energy physically, or attempting to acquire that extra skill that is required in our business; and when you do away with the motive of course you do not get the results.

16,917. Taking the interests of the working classes, which from your long connexion with them you are desirous of promoting, into account, do you think that in their interest it is desirable that they should be reduced to a dead level of mediocrity without the power of rising beyond that, as compared with free trade in labour, by which a man of intelligence can rise and would rise and does rise to better wages? Do you not believe that the working man himself is sadly prejudiced by that dead level system?—I believe that the working man himself is really the greatest sufferer of all.

16,918. Greater even than the master?—Even than the master. I believe that the working man is the greatest sufferer of all. I have no objection to take my own life as an instance of that. I began life as a man making horse-shoes, and I gradually rose, simply because it was always a necessity with me to strive to obtain an excellence that somebody else had, and it is only by a system of that sort that, in a business like mine which has to exist by the superior intelligence of the people who not only carry it on but who produce, the excellence that we have attained can be sustained.

16,919. Do not you think that the system of the trades unions would sadly interfere with that progress that has been frequently made in men rising from the working classes to a better position?—You may gather from what I say that that is my belief, but that the trades unions have done the amount of injury that is publicly ascribed to them, as you will observe from the tenor of my evidence, I do not believe. There can be no doubt, however, that trade unionism is against all the principles that regulate progress. The question is how can you deal with it?

16,920. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Did you ever belong to a union?—Yes, I have been a unionist.

16,921. Did the union ever keep you back from getting on?—I certainly have been a unionist in my time, but I was a unionist in the opposite sense of the term. When I left my father's village blacksmith's shop and went to Glasgow, nobody would allow me to work, and luckily there was a union started at that period for those who were not allowed to work, and I became a member of it and fought for the liberty of the workmen.

16,922. You belonged to a union and that connexion with a union did not prevent you from getting on?—No.

16,923. (*Mr. Harrison.*) It was a free labour movement?—Yes.

16,924. (*Mr. Booth.*) From experience I understand you to be of opinion that it is better for the workman as well as the employer that the employer should be at liberty to pay the men according to their merits?—There can be no doubt that that is the truth. There can be no doubt that unless that system

is established, somehow or other, our trade must go to the dogs.

16,925. It is best for the workmen, that is to say, for the superior class of workmen, as well as for the employer?—It is better for the workmen from the highest to the lowest. You add the wholesome spur of a man's success in life, no matter what the degree may be, that he must do as well as his neighbour before he can be paid as well as his neighbour; and without that there can be no excellence in anything.

16,926. And I suppose it must sometimes happen that the inferior workman who is not worth the minimum wages which the union has fixed is thrown out of work from not being able to accept less?—When we discharge, of course we discharge all our inferior men first, instead of keeping a portion of the men and discharging *pro rata*.

16,927. So that that fixing of a minimum rate of wage is injurious to the inferior workman?—Yes.

16,928. (*Mr. Harrison.*) As a rule, do you find, taking the men for instance whom you employ, that any large portion of the union men are distinctly below the average of capable workmen?—I should apprehend that about two-thirds of the union men that we employ in our engineering establishments, or perhaps it would be more correct to say half, fixing 36*s.* a week as the minimum wage, would not be able to get work at 6*s.* a-day, leaving the balance, if the employer is to receive a profit, to be made up by the exertions of those who are able to produce more.

16,929. Do you put the difference practically between one man and another as very great?—The difference between a good workman and a bad workman almost amounts to the difference between zero and the highest point possible.

16,930. I presume that before a man is a member of the union he must possess a certain amount of skill?—I do not know the rules of the union, but I should apprehend that that does not exist, and that the skill of the workmen is not an element that is taken into consideration.

16,931. Do you find for instance that the members of the engineers' union whom you employ differ among themselves in any very considerable degree?—Yes, quite as much as if they did not belong to the union.

16,932. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) As much as the difference between the painters or any other people?—Yes.

16,933. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You would pay them then widely different rates of wage?—I should say that to the people whom we employ I should pay 32*s.* and 40*s.*

16,934. Instead of 36*s.*?—Yes, instead of 36*s.* I think that would be about the range; the highest range would be 43*s.* and the lowest 32*s.* for the people that we employ.

16,935. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Where is your establishment now?—My establishments are in Millwall.

16,936. Have you found of late years that there has been any departure of the trade of the Thames from the Thames?—Yes, these last two years we have scarcely had anything to do, little or nothing.

16,937. Has not that arisen from the state of the mercantile world generally?—My impression is that it has arisen more from the state of the mercantile world generally than it has arisen from the differences between the employers of labour and the employed.

16,938. Do you consider that any portion of that stoppage that we all know has taken place has arisen from the disputes between masters and men?—Yes, a portion of it, but I think it is hardly fair to say that it has arisen from the trade unions. It has been partly caused by them, but it would be unfair to them to say that they were ever principally the causes.

16,939. To that my question did not go, but I wanted to know whether they were an item in the whole cause that has driven away trade to the extent to which trade has been driven away from the Thames?—There is no doubt that they were an item in it.

16,940. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Trade has been very bad all over this country and all over the world, you may say, may you not?—Yes.

16,941. Men who have emigrated to Australia and to America in search of work have come back having found that it was as bad there as here?—Yes.

16,942. (*Mr. Hughes.*) What portion do you reckon of your gross expenditure goes to wages, on an average?—In round numbers, I think we may say that if we divide the gross expenditure, wages form one half and material and superintendence, &c., the other half.

16,943. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) It will vary much in shipbuilding and in engine-building will it not?—In shipbuilding it really does come near that. The labour as against material will be greater in engine-building than in shipbuilding. I should almost apprehend that in engineering 5/8ths at all events of the gross cost of the steam-engine will be due to labour instead of 4/8ths.

16,944. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Then in labour you do not include the cost of superintendence and arrangement?—Only the prime cost of the production.

16,945. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) In the cost of an engine you would have a portion (it would be difficult to ascertain what) due to the skill of the man who planned it and who guided the labour; that must be educated and brought up to a certain point?—Yes, in the production of machines made by skill, such as we may term a steam-engine, we are every day of course lessening the amount of skill laid out by the further introduction of machinery. But these machines again on the other hand I apprehend employ almost as many men as engines to construct.

16,946. That is the result of machinery always, that it economises labour upon a particular point, but employs a great deal more labour by the largeness of its production?—Yes, the number of engineers employed in making machines is quite equal to the number of engineers that would be employed in producing the labour which the machines produce, or in round numbers, the number of engineers employed is about the same as it would be if there were no machines used.

16,947. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Have wages risen much during your 12 years' experience on the Thames?—No; 24 or 25 years ago I had 6*s.* a day myself, as a working engineer, at Millwall, and that is about what we pay to-day.

16,948. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Were you paid the average in those days?—Yes, I was paid the average of a good engineer, a leading man.

16,949. That would be more than 6*s.* a day now would it not?—Not much, about 38*s.* or 39*s.* a week now.

16,950. (*Mr. Hughes.*) At any rate, as far as your experience goes, there has not been a rise of 30 per cent. in wages?—Not in the section of the business that I can bring my own personal experience to test. Just now we have reduced the wages in our shipbuilding establishment 10 per cent., they are less now than they were in 1865.

16,951. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Has that reduction been made without any opposition on the part of the trades unions?—I think so.

16,952. They in fact have learned by experience, have become wise, and have yielded to the necessities of the times?—I presume so, I have not made inquiries but my natural inference would be that.

16,953. Are you at all engaged in shipbuilding?—Yes; I have had 850 men, and at this moment have nearly 200 men employed in it.

16,954. What class of ships do you chiefly build; are they first class?—I build ships of all classes. I build armour clads for Her Majesty's navy and for foreign governments. In fact, I may state that my trade is the best sort.

16,955. We were told that London can produce the higher class of ships as cheaply as any place, but that the inferior class of ships can be produced more cheaply in other places. Do you agree in that statement?—Well, I am not inclined to concur with that exactly. We certainly can produce a higher class of

Mr. J. Dudgeon.

19 May 1868.

workmanship here in the Thames than they can in the Clyde. I am afraid if I were to say so in the presence of Clyde shipbuilders they would say that it was not so, but we can produce a higher work in the Thames at a rate nearly synonymous with the rate it is produced at in the north.

16,956. (*Mr. Harrison.*) And you consider it better?—Yes.

16,957. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Is that excellence recognised in the Tyne in the charge for insurance and freight as regards London-made vessels against vessels made in other places?—I am not aware that it is. It is a standing grievance with us that it is not so.

16,958. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) A 1 at Lloyd's can be obtained by a Clyde-built ship as well as a London-built ship?—Yes, and obtained easier; that is because the London shipbuilder stands immediately under the eyes of a whole body of inspectors, whereas the Clyde shipbuilder has only one man to deal with.

16,959. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Are you building some gunboats now for the Government?—I have received notice of a contract to build one of these Bombay monitors.

16,960. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You are employing now on your two establishments only about a quarter of the men you were employing two years ago?—Yes.

16,961. Do you attribute that decrease of the trade chiefly to the unsound trading that has been going on in the financial world?—I attribute the principal part of it not only to the unsound state of the financial world but to the unsound state of the operations which induced us all to overwork ourselves in 1865, which induced all parties to do more than they were able to do. And if the true reasons are stated they may be found exactly in the way that militates against the trades unions, because that unwholesome period induced many people to take contracts to build who really were not able to perform them; and the necessity of performing them caused them to give way to numerous demands that were made for raising the rate of labour to the height it got up to then above its natural value without having the ultimate penalty to pay of not making any profit; that is say, that the workmen took away a large section of the money that the creditors (in fact there are only a few of us left in the Thames now) were entitled to; the workmen positively ran away with the whole affair at the expense not of the employers alone but of the employers' unfortunate creditors.

16,962. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Do not you think that the workmen themselves have eaten up their capital, as well as that of the masters?—They have been eating it up since. If they had not over eaten then they might not have been so badly off now.

16,963. (*Mr. Harrison.*) But the workmen had no means of knowing that this speculative trade was an unsound one? They did not know that these contracts could not be met, did they?—But unfortunately you see that they gave these bodies who regulate their action the power of putting undue pressure upon the employer, and the employer at that period had to submit. He could not even do what I did, namely temporise; but he had unqualifiedly to take their terms.

16,964. In answer to Mr. Roebuck's question, you said that you thought the stagnation of trade in the Thames had been caused, to a great extent, by an unsound state of trade, and partly by the high demands of the men. Does not your last answer show that the high demands of the men, and their success in raising wages, were themselves due very much to this speculative and unsound trade?—Yes; but then you will observe that the workman happens to be the body of the affair, and the owner of the machine that has to be made, and the employer who makes the machine for the owner of the machine, only represents the head. The body of men, when overpaid, ran away with the whole affair. There was nothing for themselves nor the head afterwards.

16,965. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) I presume that you mean that great power in the hands of ignorant people would, and does, work great mischief?—Yes.

16,966. And is not that the real moral of the whole story?—It is the real moral of the whole story, and until the great amount of power that our workmen represent is put under proper control, there will be no end to the injuries that society will suffer—not only the injuries which the employer of labour like myself will suffer, but those which society will suffer.

16,967. Now you have broached a large question, and I want to know if I can learn anything from you. What do you mean by "proper control"?—Like all men whose interest is heavily concerned in the matter, I believe that there is only one step by means of which proper control can be attained. That step is simply this, simply to make strikes illegal, and then I believe that the man who employs the employed will find little difficulty in managing the men.

16,968. I want to understand that difficulty, because now you touch me very nearly. What do you mean by making strikes illegal? What offence would you call it?—I should call it an offence in this way: Suppose I employed 100 carpenters, I should make it an offence for these men, without warning, or without notice, to go out of my yard, and not only leave my employment, but leave the employment of society that has given me the machine to produce, making me stand still until it suits the pleasure of an irresponsible set of people to say, "You shall do that, or you shall not do that."

16,969. Supposing that you had made a contract with 100 men until the 30th of June, for example, and that when the 30th of June came then they all went out, would you make that an offence?—Certainly not.

16,970. Then I understand that you would make it an offence if they went out before the 30th of June?—Yes.

16,971. Is not that an offence now?—I do not know that it is. Our present practice has been that the men put on their coats and walk off.

16,972. Have they any contract with you to work with you?—They have only a weekly contract.

16,973. At the end of the week they may turn out?—But they do not do it in that way, and it does not suit the employers, and cannot suit them to be continually running into a police court for everything that happens, and so we submit.

16,974. Then if it would not suit you to run into the police court, what would you have us do?—I would have this done, that in case of any body of men leaving their employ by concert, without having a specific grievance, each man should be indictable for an offence.

16,975. Not quite taking your own words, is not that the present law?—I am not aware of what the present law is.

16,976. There is an eminent lawyer near you, and another still more eminent at the head of the table, and I think that you would be told by them that that is the present law?—Then all I can say is that we are all living in gross violation of the present law.

16,977. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Would you make it a penal offence for the master to reduce wages?—I certainly would not make it a penal offence for the master to reduce wages, but I would make it an offence for the master to say systematically on one morning, "Every "one of you must work at my rate of wages under "the penalty of your being immediately turned out," the same as I would make it a penalty for the men to do the same thing conversely.

16,978. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) How do you settle the matter?—Make it illegal for either to do it.

16,979. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Would you make it an offence for the master to say to his men, "I intend "from next Monday to make my wages so and so to every man in my employment"?—If he coupled it with a threat, "If you do not do so I will shut my place up."

16,980. Would you make that an offence?—Yes, I would.

16,981. That a man should not have the power of saying, "I will not employ my capital in trade." Would you make that an offence?—Certainly, if I asked my men not to do the same to me I should certainly feel that if I did the thing I ought to be held guilty unless I could not find the wages to pay them, which is another matter. But it is quite clear to me that if we do not manage to do away with the power of the men walking out of our establishments without giving us notice, and if we do not put it in such a position that they are not entitled to interfere with the men who will take their place, we shall stand precisely after this as we were before.

16,982. Supposing that Tom, Dick, and Harry, being dissatisfied with their wages, amongst one another talk, and one says, "Now, I do not think that "we get enough." "No, I do not," says another; "I tell you what I shall do; next Saturday when I "get my wage I shall go." "So will I," and "So "will I," say the others. Would you make that an offence?—Clearly not; but it could be made an offence if these men, instead of going somewhere else, planted themselves round my establishment and prevented other people from coming to it.

16,983. That is a totally different offence; that is picketing. But I cannot get at your rule which would make it an offence for any body of men who determine to go away, or for any master who determines, according to his contract (always taking that into consideration), that he will put a stop to his transactions?—I do not see at the moment that if you make the men leaving employment in a body illegal, you can get out of the opposite part of the matter, that sending the men away in a body would be illegal also.

16,984. You can send the men away in a body now, cannot you?—I presume that in precisely the same way as I have not known the law about the men going away I have not known it among the masters. But it never can be the interest of the man who stands between the employer and the originally employed to bring about such a state of things. It is a matter that does not enter into my reason.

16,985. (*Mr. Harrison.*) It would come to this surely, that wages could never be reduced or raised, except by the mutual consent of both sides?—It comes to this, that in my particular business the wages have not been raised to any extent for 20 years, and that so long as the natural position of trade between the man who orders the work originally, and the man who makes it, ultimately exists, it is not for the interest of the employer to lower the wages, but it is for his interest rather to increase them. And to prove that we have done our duty in that respect, and that we have not altered, is shown by the fact that our men have been so well done by throughout the 25 years that I have been connected with the business in London, that positively our rate of wages is nearly the same as it was 25 years ago.

16,986. (*Mr. Booth.*) When you have finished the vessel you are now engaged on, supposing you find that with the present rate of wages you cannot make it pay to build another, would you not feel at liberty to say to your men, "Unless you will work at a lower rate of wages I must close my shop"?—Certainly, that is a different thing altogether. After the conclusion of a particular piece of business I would certainly be entitled to do so, if I found that the rate of wages I was giving was going to eat up all the profit of building the vessel. If I found that at the rate that the men were being paid there could be no result from the transaction, I certainly would have in all ordinary law the right of saying, "I will not give you any more wages, I will give you the wages that I can live by." But if the men on the other hand, having agreed with me at the period that I began this work, during the period that that work is doing, in a body throw the whole thing down, knowing perfectly well that I am bound to finish that work because by means of my being bound to do so they can get terms that they would not get from me if we were upon the fair and level platform of commencing an altogether new ship to build, the matter becomes a different thing altogether.

16,987. Assuming that there is no contract between the employer and the workmen, I suppose you would say that the employer is the person who only can judge what wages he can afford to pay?—Yes.

16,988. Taking the workmen with their present means of information, is it possible for them to be able to judge what rate of wages the employer can afford to pay?—Not knowing the rate at which the employer takes the labour at for his customer, it would be unfair to them to say that they can know; but the rate of wages at the time that the employer engages to do a certain piece of work ought to be the rate at which that work should be finished.

16,989. But the employer must always be left to judge whether he can afford to pay a given rate of wages?—Certainly; but if the employer takes a piece of labour to do at a period when he knows that he is paying a given amount of wages, then he does it with his eyes open, and if he suffers from that he may be said to suffer fairly; but if in the middle of his performing a certain piece of work his men without giving him notice to cease working for him, the construction of that piece of work being fixed to a period of time, then the men in that case are conspiring to make him pay more wages than he would otherwise do unless some undue strain of compulsion were thrown upon him.

16,990. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you mean that it should be made penal for men to strike at times inconvenient to the employer?—It should be made penal for men to strike at any time, taking the ordinary sense of the word strike. That ordinary sense does not convey the meaning that the men are in such a position that when they come to receive their week's wages they are not at liberty to say, "Sir, we will leave you next Saturday;" and we employers would be perfectly satisfied if the legality were confined to that and were not carried beyond that.

16,991. You in fact recommended the re-imposition of the Combination Laws?—I do not know what the Combination Law was.

16,992. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You would be perfectly content if the law were (supposing it not to be so already) that men should have power to leave at the end of whatever term the contract for labour was for, say at the end of a week, or at the end of the month, as it might be?—Yes.

16,993. But you think that it would be just and fair that they should not be allowed to insist on any increase of wages in the meantime?—Certainly not.

(*Mr. Allen.*) Before Mr. Dudgeon leaves the chair I should like to mention one thing with regard to the rate of wages that he has spoken of. I can bear testimony to the fact that the rate of wages now paid to the engineers is just about the same as it was 25 or 30 years ago, and I believe that if I refer to Sir Daniel Gooch he will corroborate me by saying that at his works at Swindon the rate is perhaps a little less than it was; but in regard to Mr. Dudgeon's statement with respect to the annoyance to the masters in the way of a rise of wages, Mr. Dudgeon must know exceedingly well that the rise of wages that took place at the time he refers to took place not on the asking of the men but on the voluntary offering of the employers. All the leading employers met at Maudslay's establishment. I am not sure whether Mr. Dudgeon was there, but all the principal employers were, and they agreed to an advance of wages. And I think that Mr. Dudgeon will say that he has men up to as far as 40*s.* a week, showing that there is not a fixed rate of wages as far as the engineering trade is concerned; and I can also, with Mr. Dudgeon, bear testimony with reference to the society into which he went from the horse-shoeing business. Being a Glasgow man, I know the society exceedingly well. It was a society got up by what we

Mr. John Dudgeon.
19 May 1868.

call the whitesmiths in the country, and it was got up in opposition to the engineers, because they believed that they had a right to work at that trade; that is the way Mr. Dudgeon got into the engineering trade.

(*Witness.*) I may say that I was one of the employers present at that meeting to which Mr. Allen has referred, and I believe that I was the only one who objected to the rise of 5 per cent.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to Tuesday next at 11 o'clock.

1, Park Prospect, Westminster, Tuesday, 26th May 1868.

PRESENT:

The Right Honourable Sir William Erle.	John Arthur Roebuck, Esq., Q.C., M.P.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Lichfield.	Thomas Hughes, Esq., M.P.
Lord Elcho, M.P.	Frederic Harrison, Esq.
James Booth, Esq., C.B.	William Mathews, Esq.

The Right Honourable SIR WILLIAM ERLE in the Chair.

Mr. F. J. Divers.
26 May 1868.

Mr. Frederick John Divers examined.

16,994. (*Chairman.*) Are you secretary to the Thames Ship Building Company?—I am.

16,995. When was that company established?—It has been established a little over 11 years.

16,996. Where do they carry on business?—At Orchard Yard, Blackwall.

16,997. Is it engaged chiefly in iron shipbuilding or wooden shipbuilding or both?—Iron shipbuilding.

16,998. Is it a large concern; about how many men had you on daily pay when you were on full work?—In full work we employ between 5,000 and 6,000 men.

16,999. At about what period in the 11 years would be your fullest work, or did it go on for several years at about the same rate?—We were full of work I should think for some four or five years. The last two years things have been very slack, but prior to that date business was much upon an average.

17,000. During your time, have the trades unions interfered at all either for good or evil in the carrying on of the works?—They have militated against us.

17,001. The action of the trades unions, according to your point of view, has been adverse to the interests that you wish to promote?—Precisely.

17,002. In what way has it been adverse; in raising wages?—Yes, and interfering with the men accepting work.

17,003. In your belief has the action of the trades unions had the result of raising the wages of the men permanently?—Yes.

17,004. Permanently, that is during the five or six or seven years that you were in prosperity?—Yes.

17,005. Was the action of the trades unions then continuously towards a rise without a break in the way of a reduction?—Yes.

17,006. And did that rise pervade the wages of all classes of artizans engaged in making iron ships?—Yes.

17,007. What is the most important class of artizans; do you call them shipwrights or boiler makers?—We treat the shipwright as being the leading man.

17,008. Is the shipwright the person that rivets the plates in an iron ship?—No, that is done in some works by shipwrights, but not in our works; we have boiler makers specially for that, but the shipwrights in fact lay the blocks and commence the foundations of the ship.

17,009. You consider that there is more skill required, perhaps, for a shipwright to do his work than there is for other departments?—Yes, and theirs has always been regarded as being the leading branch of the business.

17,010. Do the wages of the other artizans bear a proportion to the shipwrights' wages, so that if when you began the shipwrights' wages were at a certain sum and rose up, the wages of the other artizans would bear a proportion to the lower rate, and rise in proportion to the rising rate?—Yes, mainly.

17,011. Will you tell us about what were the daily wages of a shipwright when you began, and what was the rate that they attained to when they were at the highest?—The shipwrights' wages have varied from 6*s.* 6*d.* to 8*s.*

17,012. You began 10 years ago at 6*s.* 6*d.*, and at the highest time it was about 8*s.*?—Yes.

17,013. Have you at all in your head (do not trouble to calculate it if you have not), taking as a datum that a ship would have cost 5,000*l.* at the beginning, when wages were at 6*s.* 6*d.*, what that 5,000*l.* ship would have cost you in outlay at the time when the wages were 8*s.*; or can you give us the difference per ton?—We reckon, and our experience shows us, that the labour bears a proportion of rather more than half of the cost of the ship; that is including the whole of the material and outfit.

17,014. The labour being half the cost of the ship, you began with labour at the rate of 6*s.* 6*d.* and it came up to 8*s.*?—Yes.

17,015. Is that rise, in your opinion, mainly attributable to the action of the trades unions, or would a part of it have occurred if no trades unions had come to the Thames?—It is mainly owing to the trades unions, because we have had cases in which we have offered the men lower rates of wages, and trades unions have interfered.

17,016. Do you believe that the men were willing to accept the lower rate of wages, but that the trades unions forbade them, saying in effect, "If you belong "to the union you must not work under a given rate "rate of wages"?—Just so, otherwise they would be turned out of the union.

17,017. And so forfeit all the provisions for old age and sickness and the like?—Yes, I can mention here one instance showing the action of the trades unions.

17,018. Before we part from this question let me ask you this: Was there any rise in the saleable value of the ship that you produced, which accompanied this rise of wages, because you are obliged, are you not, unless you sell at a loss, to demand a price that covers your outlay?—Yes, but the prices are adverse to the employer of labour, as regards the prices obtained for their ships.

17,019. During this time that the wages of shipwrights were rising, the saleable value of the ships produced was rather falling than rising?—Yes.

17,020. Nevertheless the rate of wages continuously progressed upward as far as your experience goes?—Yes.

17,021. You were going to favour us with an example, I think?—Early in 1866 there was a demand on behalf of the pattern makers for an increase of wages

of 3*s.* a week. We resisted it, and the men struck. We put some of our joiners in to do the work so as to prevent work stopping entirely. These men worked just for a few days, and then they came and said that they were afraid of working any more; that they were threatened; that they expected to get their heads broken; and they would sooner throw up their work altogether, than go on like that. Then we sent to Scotland and brought down pattern makers from the North. We paid their expenses and they came and agreed to go to work. Then they had some consultations, and they came the next morning and said that some of the old hands had seen them, that is to say members of the unions, and they were almost afraid. However, some of them agreed to come; they merely brought their tools down, however, and then away they went. We were obliged to consent to the increase of wages then.

17,022. Were there a set of actions antecedent to the pattern makers coming in, and that would follow after them, so that if the pattern makers stopped, the whole series would be stopped?—The stoppage of the pattern-makers would occasion the stoppage of the foundry, you would get no castings.

17,023. The pattern maker is the first in the sequence, and all the rest would follow, so that if he stopped no one would go on?—Just so.

17,024. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What evidence have you that it was done by threats and not by persuasion? Might it not have been that those men brought from the North had talked to the men, and that the men had said to them, "If you turn out you will certainly get "higher wages," and that they did not threaten to break their heads? Have you any evidence to show that it was threats, and not that sort of persuasion?—We had it from the joiners that we placed in the place of the pattern makers.

17,025. The joiners said that they had been threatened?—Yes, the joiners said that they had been threatened, that they wished to go back again to their joiners' work, or give up work altogether.

17,026. That was all the evidence you had, that the joiners said that they had been threatened?—Yes, that was all the evidence.

17,027. (*Chairman.*) Did the joiners give you particulars of the threats, or was it only a general description, such as "We are informed that we shall suffer personal violence"?—They put it in this way, "We cannot go on; we are very sorry; we should "like to oblige the company, but if we do we shall "get our heads broken, and therefore let us go back "into the joiners' shop, and if you refuse to do that, "we must give up the berth altogether."

17,028. And the result was that you yielded to this demand of the pattern-makers?—Yes.

17,029. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Before you leave that point I want to know whether you had ever consulted with your lawyer; for example, to learn whether you could have proceeded against the men who had threatened the others?—No.

17,030. Why did you not do that, because it was clearly a breach of the law? Were you afraid to apply to the law?—You see that there was no special man brought to us. They do not seize a man and say, "This man has threatened to break my head," but the men come to you and say, "We will not work."

17,031. That only brings us to what I fancied, namely, that you had very little evidence for your conclusion. Men said that they had been threatened to have their heads broken. Did you ask them who threatened them?—No, they put it in a general sense.

17,032. You did not ask them to particularize?—No.

17,033. You did not take that step to defend yourselves?—No, we knew that the men positively refused to work as pattern makers, and would even give up their berths as joiners at 6*s.* a-day rather than go on with that state of things.

17,034. Did you know that that threatening was an illegal act, and that under the present law you could punish a person against whom it was proved?—We had no doubt of that.

17,035. And yet you did not take any steps to bring the law into action?—No.

17,036. Then why did not you; had you any fear of any sort?—We had this fear only that those men would not work, and then we sent off to the North.

17,037. But when the thing happened again to the northern men, and you were in the difficulty of having either to accede to their demands or to take the steps I point out, why did not you apply to the law?—We did not imagine that the law could assist us out of the difficulty, because the joiners positively refused to work, and even if we had gone to law and picked out any man, those joiners would not have worked for us.

17,038. Supposing that you had punished the men for threatening, do you not think that it would have had some effect in preventing further threatening?—It might have done so.

17,039. (*Chairman.*) I understand you that you had one thing to do, namely to keep your works going?—Yes.

17,040. Another thing was to provide against your works being invaded by violence, which you might do at a leisure time perhaps. As the secretary, you thought your business was to keep your works going?—Yes, it was that.

17,041. What would be the expense of having your yard ready for workmen, and one set of workmen stopping the labour of all the men in the yard; what would be the loss per day? A railway company, for instance, can tell you what the train would cost them to run if they did not get a single passenger. You have a good deal of outlay, probably, to set your yard ready for the workmen to go to work?—Yes, and where it would fall upon us would be with regard to the contracts in hand; you are under penalties for these.

17,042. Working against time, you mean?—Yes.

17,043. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) But in those contracts, did you ever put a clause that you should not pay the fine if there was a stoppage in consequence of a strike of the workmen?—That is in some contracts, not all.

17,044. Have you ever had it in your contracts?—We have had it in some.

17,045. Has it worked beneficially at all?—Our strikes have been of such short duration that there has hardly been the opportunity.

17,046. (*Chairman.*) How many times have you had strikes such as these? I do not want the particulars, but have you had as many as eight or 10 in the course of the year when you were in full action?—No; we have had commotion among the men. I was mentioning something which took place in the year 1866. Not long after that we had a demand from nearly every branch of the trade for a rise of nearly 10 per cent. in the rate of wages.

17,047. In the year 1866 had the price of ships risen?—It was rather falling, and matters were getting slacker on the Thames.

17,048. Do you know whether the demand for ships had proportionately slackened upon the Tyne and the Clyde, that is to say at Newcastle and Glasgow, as compared with the Thames?—About that time I believe it had.

17,049. It was falling at the other ports also, you think?—Yes.

17,050. Did you ask the men upon what principle they grounded a demand of 10 per cent. increase of cost to the shipbuilder at a time when his ship was depreciated in value?—They put it on the high rate of house rent and clothes and provisions, and all those matters.

17,051. Was it grounded upon any more intelligible principle than that it would be agreeable to them to have a larger income?—No, only those grounds that I have mentioned.

17,052. "It is immaterial to us what the shipbuilder's income is, what we should like to have our-

Mr. F. J. Divers.

26 May 1868.

selves would be a larger income." Was that their tone?—Yes.

17,053. "You are losing 10 per cent. on your "ships, we should like you to lose 10 per cent. more "by increasing our wages." Did it come to that?—Yes.

17,054. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Might not the argument have been this: "You make a profit. We are at "this present time pressed by the high prices of food "and house rent, out of that profit we want you to "pay higher wages; in fact we want you to divide "a portion of the profit with us"?—It was not put in that way, it was merely that with the high price of food, house rent, and so on, they should have a rise of 10 per cent.

17,055. Do not you think they might have felt that your profits might have allowed you to raise their wages, and that the unions employed their combination for the purpose of forcing you to give a larger share of your profit to the men than you otherwise would?—In point of fact there was more competition, prices of ships were falling, and work was getting slacker.

17,056. But that does not answer my question. Might they not have employed that reasoning to justify their conduct?—But those matters that I have mentioned would materially tend, I think, to show the trades unions that the masters were getting a less profit.

17,057. (*Chairman.*) But did the men say, "We "think that you are getting a larger profit, such a "profit as will enable you to pay us our 10 per cent., "we therefore must have it." Did they put it in that way?—No.

17,058. They did not propose this to you, "Put on "a higher price upon the ship and pay 10 per cent. "more"?—No.

17,059. (*Mr. Booth.*) Were any other of the cases of strikes, or threats of a strike, which you referred to, cases in which you were proposing to reduce wages; or were they all cases of a demand on the part of the men for a rise of wages?—We had one instance in which we proposed a reduction to the shipwrights, and the other trades proportionately. This was some little time after the demand of 10 per cent. when matters got slack, and distress was occurring among the workpeople, and a few yards were closed. There was a contract which we had the opportunity of entering into, and which the directors were desirous of getting, so that employment should be given to the men about the place and to others, no doubt; and then they proposed to make a reduction, and to allow these men on contract, the shipwrights, to draw 6*s.* 6*d.* a day instead of 7*s.*, which they had been drawing. The men took time to consider it. The secretary of the shipwrights' union came down and saw our master shipwright, and (as I learnt from him) saw some of the men, and the men positively refused to accept the payment of 6*s.* 6*d.* a day under that contract.

17,060. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) And you did not take that contract therefore?—We did not take that contract therefore.

17,061. And therefore the men lost so much work?—Yes, I may mention that all this kept the contract open for some considerable time, and then it fell through altogether.

17,062. (*Mr. Booth.*) That did not amount to a strike, I think? My question was whether on any occasion they resisted a proposal of yours to reduce the wages by a strike?—No.

17,063. (*Chairman.*) In this case was a given price proposed for a ship of so many tons?—Yes.

17,064. Was it a private purchaser or the Government?—A French company.

17,065. They offered you so much per ton, and before you could build it at that price, it was essential to you to ascertain what the labour would cost, I suppose?—Positively.

17,066. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Do you know whether the French company went elsewhere and got their ships built?—By reason of the delays that occurred the matter fell through altogether; but we know this that they had offers from French firms to do the work at a less price, but we offered them in pecuniary matters certain things that would have induced them to come to us. There would have been no profit, however, out of the job, even at the low rate of wages.

17,067. I want to know this, was the ship built either by one firm or the other?—No, the matter fell through.

17,068. So that you were not at all competed with in that matter; there was nobody that stood behind and said, "I will take the ship at a lower rate," and therefore compelled you to build at that low rate?—Yes, there was a French company that would have taken the ship at 900*l.* less than we named, but we could not go on with it, and then the whole matter fell through.

17,069. (*Mr. Harrison.*) There were several ships in this case were there not?—Yes, six ships.

17,070. Perhaps it will be more convenient if I put to you the statement which I believe was made publicly, and which was given to me about those ships, and then perhaps you will say whether that is correct or whether you wish to qualify it. It was stated that at the time of the Exhibition a French company desired to have built six ships of a peculiar class to carry goods from London to Paris, I believe?—Between New York and Paris.

17,071. The contract to build the ships was offered in various places in the trade, but the French company required such very low terms that they could not get it taken up, and one of the terms was that shares to a considerable amount in the French company should be taken as part payment. After consideration your company thought that the offer might be accepted, provided the ships could be built at some unprecedently low rate. The men in your employ were called in and asked if they would undertake this particular contract at a very low price, and to state that price. They then went out and consulted amongst themselves, and came back and did name what they have stated to be a price very much lower than the ordinary average rate, a price which they considered to be 15 per cent., I believe, below what is the usual price at which they build. That offer was not considered to be adequate, and they never heard anything more about it. It was refused, and there was an end of it; they were not asked to make any further offer, and they did not, and in point of fact, the bargain went off and the ships were never built, and it was altogether a doubtful case if the ships could have been built at any rate of profit whatever, at the price which the French company desired. That is the story as at the time it was stated to me, and I believe that Captain Ford and I had some correspondence on the subject, had we not?—Yes.

17,072. And that was the case as, I think, I stated it to you, and asked you if you would be good enough to explain it and say how far it was accurate? That being the statement that was made, how far is that correct, for of course I know nothing of it of my own knowledge?—With reference to taking the ship the directors never anticipated making any profit out of the transaction, and they found that they could only take the contract by getting a reduction in the wages. The men sent in a contract price which we considered too high, and they were asked to amend it, and also we said that we could only allow them to draw at the rate of 6*s.* 6*d.* a day instead of 7*s.*, and that they positively refused.

17,073. The sole question then as far as the union was concerned was the rate at which the men were to draw per day on account?—Precisely.

17,074. But the sum which they were to receive for their work on the whole was a fixed sum, a lump sum which was to be stated beforehand?—Yes.

17,075. (*Mr. Booth.*) They would not consent to draw less than 7*s.* a day?—They would not consent to draw less than 7*s.* a day.

17,076. And you proposed 6*s.* 6*d.*?—We proposed 6*s.* 6*d.* because, looking at the lump sum and knowing that was a very close contract, the directors felt this:

"If we allow these men to get the same rate of wages "and base this contract on 7*s.* a day, when three parts "of the work is finished and the contract is over-"drawn, there is nothing to fall back upon."

17,077. (*Mr. Harrison.*) That does not often happen, does it, that when a contract has been agreed upon for alump sum the men have not finished it by the time that the whole money is drawn?—It has happened that they have not finished the work and then they have overdrawn, because you could not leave your work three-fourths finished. If all the money was drawn you could not then, without considerable increase in the cost, and inconvenience and annoyance in every shape and way, bring in another body of men to finish the work.

17,078. But when the men contract to do a ship for a certain lump sum, if the ship is not finished at the time that that lump sum is drawn, you expect the men to finish it, do not you?—They would not finish it without pay.

17,079. Then the contract is not a *bonâ fide* contract for a lump sum?—It is to this extent that if they save anything on that lump sum they get the balance; but if they have overdrawn, the master is obliged to pay them, that is to say to allow them to draw until the work is finished.

17,080. It is only a contract against you, then, and not a contract in your favour?—It has that bearing.

17,081. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) That I take to be the result in fact. But legally, supposing that you could enforce it, you could compel the workmen to finish the ship according to their contract, could you not?—We do not have a stamped contract with the men the same as we have with the owners of the ships. The men say "We agree to do this work for so much money."

17,082. (*Mr. Harrison.*) What is the use of taking the contract in that form; do you find it work profitably?—We find that it works considerably better than day work.

17,083. But it very rarely happens that the work is not completed by the time the money is drawn, does it?—It has in several instances.

17,084. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Why do you not make such contracts with the men as you could legally enforce—why not have a stamped contract?—We make a contract, say with some half dozen of the leading hands, and if we were to come upon them for the damage of non-completion of this contract, say three or four hundred pounds, the chances are that we should not get anything, and that we should lose our legal expenses besides.

17,085. (*Mr. Booth.*) Although it may be true that you would be able to enforce the contract and compel the men to complete the work, you would not think it prudent to trust to that and to allow them in the meantime to overdraw?—No.

17,086. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) But you do allow them?—Yes.

17,087. (*Mr. Booth.*) You would allow them to draw 6*s.* 6*d.*, but not 7*s.*?—Yes, in that particular case.

17,088. Your fear was that they would have overdrawn if they had drawn 7*s.*?—Yes.

17,089. You would not think it prudent to allow them to do that, trusting that you would be able to enforce the contract that they should do the work for a lump sum?—Certainly not.

17,090. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) But from what I understand you to say now, in certain cases where these contracts have been made the men have overdrawn before the work has been finished—that is to say, they have got all the money before the ship is completed, that has happened to you?—That has happened.

17,091. Though you do not think it prudent, yet you have done it?—We have been forced to it, but we have not been forced to take this contract paying the men 7*s.* a day, and trusting to being able to enforce the contract.

17,092. (*Mr. Harrison.*) How often would it happen in the course of the year that you would have to exceed the contract price, of course I mean where no alteration was made in the specification?—In several cases in the different branches of the trade.

17,093. (*Lord Elcho.*) Since you have been secretary in how many cases has it happened?—I should say in scores among the different trades.

17,094. (*Mr. Harrison.*) It seems like a premium to the men to do the work as leisurely as possible, because whatever is over they get, and whatever loss there is falls upon you?—When I say scores I speak of shipwrights, joiners, painters, and all those classes of workmen together.

17,095. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Has competition driven you to that?—That has been the custom of the trade. With regard to our painters, sometimes we have found that the sum was so much overdrawn and we were forced to complete the work. Then at the completion of the work we discharged foremen, leading hands, and all the party and after that went outside, and contracted with people outside to come in and find labour and material.

17,096. (*Mr. Harrison.*) When the men have not received the whole of the money agreed upon at the time that the work is completed, do they receive the balance as a matter of course?—Yes.

17,097. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) In every case?—In every case.

17,098. So that the contract is enforced against you whatever happens?—Yes.

17,099. But it is not enforced against the men when they fail?—That is it.

17,100. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Amongst the shipwrights contracts have been taken in this way for the last 50 years, have they not?—As long as I can remember it has always been contract work.

17,101. (*Mr. Booth.*) At all events in the case under consideration you did not think that you could prudently afford to advance more than 6*s.* 6*d.* a day?—Certainly not.

17,102. And the men refused that?—And the men refused it.

17,103. (*Chairman.*) Were there other unions besides the shipwrights' union; was there a union for the shipwrights alone, or did they belong to a larger national union?—There are separate unions for the different trades; shipwrights, joiners, painters.

17,104. And almost every branch of the trade had a union of its own?—Yes.

17,105. Was it a branch union for that part of the kingdom, or was it a union for the neighbourhood of Blackwall?—I believe that it was a local union, but I do not know.

17,106. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Now we have been told that there was a protection to the shipbuilder, because he could get the same thing done at a lower rate by the boiler maker than by the shipwright, so that if the shipwright refused he went to the boiler maker Have you that advantage?—No, because we merely employ the shipwrights on the woodwork, and employ the boiler makers for the plating work, riveting, and that like.

17,107. But we were told that if the shipwrights made an unconscionable demand, or what was thought so by the masters, he would have said, "Very well, I will go to the boiler makers"?—Not in this case, because you must have your shipwrights for laying your blocks and building the frames. The iron men cannot do the woodwork, but the shipwrights in many instances do the ironwork.

17,108. In this case of the six ships which have been mentioned were they to have been iron ships or wooden ships?—Iron ships.

17,109. Then in that instance the case comes in which I have stated, where the gentleman stated that he could go to the boiler makers?—The shipwright can do the ironman's work, but the ironman cannot do the shipwright's work.

17,110. How much in an iron ship is the cost of the woodwork; what proportion is there between the woodwork and the ironwork in that ship?—It depends upon the class of the ship, but of course the major part is of iron.

Mr. F. J. Divers.

26 May 1868.

17,111. I suppose so, otherwise you would not call it an iron ship; but I wanted to know if you could tell me the relation, for instance, in these very ships that you were building on that occasion, borne by the wooden work to the ironwork?—The shipwrights' labour varying with the class of ship would go from 18*s.* to 22*s.* or 23*s.* a ton.

17,112. (*Mr. Harrison.*) What was the lump sum for which the shipwrights tendered to do this work on that occasion?—I do not remember; but I may mention this that you cannot proceed until your shipwrights go to work.

17,113. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) There was another question that I wanted to put to you. You talked about these six ships going from New York to Paris. Do you mean that literally, that they were to go up the Seine?—Yes.

17,114. Then they must have been a peculiar class of ship?—They were light draught ships; the peculiarity was in the masting of the ships; there would be no difficulty in that.

17,115. (*Mr. Harrison.*) The shipwrights have drawn at either 6*s.* 6*d.* or 7*s.* a day for 40 years or so, have they not?—They have drawn at 7*s.* a day for some years.

17,116. But it has never been below 6*s.* 6*d.*?—No, not speaking in general terms.

17,117. Then the difference, I suppose, in the value of the work consists in this, that on certain work at certain times the men work harder for the 6*s.* 6*d.* or 7*s.* a day than they do at other times? I suppose that must be the way in which the difference is made?—No, I do not think so.

17,118. Do they always work the same?—We find no difference in the work whether the man is at 6*s.* 6*d.* a day, or 7*s.*, or 7*s.* 6*d.* a day, because you see we pay by the contract.

17,119. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Do I rightly understand you to say that if the men had accepted that offer they would have insured to themselves wages at the rate of 6*s.* 6*d.* a day until the completion of the ships?—Certainly, if they had accepted our offer.

17,120. Are you aware that Mr. Wigram said the other day in giving evidence, that he did not think that there was an instance of work being *bonâ fide* offered to the men at a reduced price, or that there was any man who would come forward and say, "Here is a ship to build if you will take it for so much money"; and do you agree with that?—We made the offer of the contract to the men.

17,121. (*Mr. Harrison.*) But you did not accept the French contract; it was merely a part of a series of calculations, from which you were going to make an offer to the French company?—The contract was drawn up and ready for signature, but the directors saw that if they had to pay the old rates of wages to the men (they were quite content to have taken the contract without any profit) it would be absolute loss.

17,122. (*Lord Elcho.*) What was the date of that?—It was in 1866.

17,123. And in what month?—In November 1866 we were in negotiation, running into December probably.

17,124. (*Mr. Booth.*) I understand you to say that the contract would have been taken by you if the men had consented to take the 6*s.* 6*d.* a day?—No doubt of it. I may mention also, with regard to the shipwork done by joiners, that, looking at the slackness of work and other matters, and being obliged to take work, as I say, on such low terms of late, we offered our joiners contract work, and to draw at the rate of 5*s.* 6*d.* a day, and they declined it; they would only draw at the rate of 6*s.* a-day.

17,125. (*Lord Elcho.*) What is the total sum that would have been spent on that French contract?—I think, speaking in round numbers, 90,000*l.* or 100,000*l.*

17,126. And the half of that would have gone in wages?—Yes.

17,127. So that, by refusing that 6*s.* 6*d.* instead of the 7*s.* which they wanted, the men lost 50,000*l.*?—Yes.

17,128. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Were the joiners consulted in this case; the shipwrights were the only people consulted, were they not?—Yes, they were the only people consulted.

17,129. It would not have employed the labour of many shipwrights?—No, but they are the starting people; we could not start without them.

17,130. (*Lord Elcho.*) And they were thrown out of work?—The contract fell through and our work gradually slackened, and of course we discharged men.

17,131. How many men of all kinds, labourers, shipwrights, iron workers, and so on, would have been affected by that contract?—A thousand men, I should think. I may say with regard to our joiners that we offered them the other day work that would run into some 3,000*l.* perhaps, or more than that, and they refused to draw under 6*s.* a day for contract work.

17,132. (*Mr. Mathews.*) For how long would that French contract have employed 1,000 men?—Certainly for six months, that would be an average; of course, we should not want 1,000 men to start the ships with.

17,133. (*Mr. Harrison.*) But taking the shipwrights' wages in London, on what occasions have their wages been raised, I mean in the average, in London, taking what is called the minimum which the union recognizes, for instance; when has that been raised?—I believe that the minimum acknowledged by the union is 7*s.* a day.

17,134. When was it below that or when was it raised to 7*s.*?—It has stood at 7*s.* for some years past; it is below now. I do not know whether it is so with the union men, because our shipwrights now are not union men. They say that they have been struck out of the union because they have consented to work for us at 6*s.* 6*d.* a day.

17,135. How long has it stood at 7*s.* a day for the union men?—Some years.

17,136. How many years has it stood at that, for 10 years?—I should think about seven years.

17,137. What was it before that; they drew 6*s.* 6*d.* a day before that, did they not?—It might be more than seven years that they have drawn 7*s.* a day.

17,138. Before the change was made, supposing that it was 10 years instead of seven years ago, they drew 6*s.* 6*d.* a day, was not that so?—Perhaps I may go back to 12 or 13 years ago, before the establishment of this company.

17,139. They have drawn 7*s.* a day for 10 or 12 years, then we may take it?—Yes, that has been the standard.

17,140. Before that it was 6*s.* 6*d.* a day?—Yes, and before that it was all sorts of prices, 10*s.* or 15*s.* a day, they used to draw sometimes.

17,141. When was it ever below 6*s.* 6*d.* a day?—It was about 6*s.* 6*d.* a day before the Russian war.

17,142. When had the regular price ever been below 6*s.* 6*d.*?—I do not think that it had been much below 6*s.* 6*d.* for the regular price.

17,143. What is it now?—Now our men draw 6*s.* 6*d.* a day, but they are not union men.

17,144. And the union men receive 7*s.* It comes to this, does it not, that for the whole of this generation the wages of shipwrights in the Thames have been within 6*d.* a day of the highest price that they have been within the last two or three years, and that since the last two or three years they have been rather falling to the lowest limit that they were at within the generation?—They have been falling, but not the wages of those men in connexion with the unions.

17,145. But the union men are still only 6*d.* a day out of 7*s.* above that at which their wages have stood for a generation. We must conclude therefore, must we not, that the wages of shipwrights in the port of London have scarcely at all been raised during the whole of this generation for the last 30 or 40 years?—

I say that in the time of the Russian war shipwrights were getting 10*s.*, 12*s.*, and 15*s.* a day.

17,146. You would confirm the statements that Mr. Wigram made to us the other day, that since 1815 there has been no permanent rise in the wages of shipwrights with the exception of this sixpence of which you have been speaking?—Yes, I mentioned the Russian war. Of course wages went up that time to a fabulous price, which had the effect of entailing a heavy loss on all contractors.

17,147. Then you do not agree with those who say that the constant demands of the shipwrights have driven wages up to such a point that the shipbuilding trade of the port of London has been destroyed?—No, but we say this, that when a slack time has come on the men will not meet you.

17,148. (*Chairman.*) Still I understand that, as far as your knowledge goes, the same slackness of demand prevails on the Clyde the Tyne, and the Thames at the same time?—It did, but it does not now. I believe that they are busy on the Clyde and the Tyne now, and of course we are very slack indeed on the Thames.

17,149. The Thames has not revived; the Clyde and Tyne have revived?—Yes.

17,150. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is it owing to the cheaper rate at which they can build ships on the Clyde and Tyne compared with the rate at which they can build them on the Thames that they are more busy than you are?—I believe so. We hear of ships being taken there at a lower cost.

17,151. Does that arise solely from the less rate of wages paid in the North, or does it arise from other causes—getting their iron cheaper, for instance?—I think that the wages is the main feature of it.

17,152. They get their iron cheaper than you do in the Thames, I suppose?—They do perhaps in some cases, but not to any material extent; labour is the leading feature.

17,153. Do you lay down any rule as to the tensile strength of the iron that you use at your works for instance?—In almost every Government contract there is a clause stipulating what it must be.

17,154. What does it stipulate?—22 tons with the grain, and 18 or 19 across the grain.

17,155. Is there any such rule in Glasgow or Newcastle?—In the case of ships built for the Government I should say there is.

17,156. What is the difference between plates built without any stipulation as to tensile strength and those built in accordance with the Government stipulation of 22 tons to the square inch?—I should think that the plate is worth 2*l.* a ton more.

17,157. Should you be able to get plates of the requisite Government strength at 2*l.* a ton more than those which will only bear 18 tons to the square inch?—Yes, I think so.

17,158. Then the difference in the cost of material between the ships on the Clyde and Tyne would be about 2*l.* a ton as compared with the Thames?—I am speaking of the difference between Government ships, with iron having to bear the tensile strain, and the merchant ships.

17,159. Do you make many ships in the Thames without any stipulation as to the tensile strength?—Yes.

17,160. So that without any stipulation as to the strength of the plates you could build them on the Thames as cheap as on the Clyde and Tyne, could you?—Well, I think that the wages are the main feature.

17,161. (*Lord Elcho.*) Where do you get your iron from?—We make the bulk of it.

17,162. Where do you get it in the rough?—We buy old scrap iron.

17,163. (*Mr. Matthews.*) Do you think that by buying old scrap iron you could make your plates of the requisite strength within 2*l.* a ton of the price of those on the Clyde or Tyne?—Yes.

17,164. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) What proportion do the shipwrights bear to the other men employed in your yard?—I cannot say exactly.

17,165. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Is it more than a tenth?—I should think that when we are busy they represent quite a tenth; more than that.

17,166. (*Lord Elcho.*) In those thousand men that you say would have been employed for that French contract, what proportion would be labourers and what proportion would come under the head of operatives or artisans; would they be all skilled artisans, shipwrights, and so on, or would there be a certain proportion of labourers in building the ship?—If you have 1,000 men you must have some proportion of labourers, because a skilled artisan wants a labourer to wait upon him.

17,167. What proportion do the ordinary labourers bear in, say, 1,000 men, to the rest; are half of them labourers?—No, I should think about 350.

17,168. There are rather more than a third?—Yes rather more than a third.

17,169. Then would these labourers have been willing to accept your terms?—Yes; you see that their rate of wages is low, 3*s.* 4*d.*, 3*s.* 6*d.*, 3*s.* 8*d.*, and you cannot ask the men to accept much reduction on that.

17,170. There was no objection on their part?—They would have worked of course; we should not have reduced them.

17,171. But by the refusal of the upper class of workmen the labourer himself was thrown out of work?—Yes.

17,172. (*Mr. Harrison.*) I should like to draw your attention to an answer which Mr. Wigram gave us at our last sitting to question No. 16,621. The question was, "You have perfect security in entering into a "contract with one man on behalf of a gang of men "in that way; you feel confident that he will carry "out the bargain as a rule, do not you?" Mr. Wigram answered, "With the men we know we do. "The great difficulty always is to define what work "is to be done. If more work has to be done than "was understood at the time of making the bargain, "why we generally have to pay for it." Do you differ from Mr. Wigram in that view?—To this extent; I say that we find that our contracts are overdrawn sometimes by the men.

17,173. You find that you cannot feel confident that the men will carry out the bargain always?—Not always.

17,174. You are not speaking of cases in which it was discovered that something else had to be done which was not taken into account in the specification?—No; because that is always made a matter of arrangement afterwards.

17,175. (*Lord Elcho.*) With reference to those labourers thrown out of work, in such a case a skilled artisan is more likely, is he not, to find employment elsewhere, and to have the means of going elsewhere than a labourer?—Decidedly.

17,176. So that in such cases the suffering and misfortune of a strike falls almost with greater severity on the labourer than on the skilled artizan?—I should say much greater, because the labourers' wages being so low they have scarcely any opportunity to make any provision for being out of work.

17,177. Have the labourers any union?—They have no union.

17,178. So that they come directly upon the poor rates?—Yes.

17,179. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is there any migration of the shipbuilders proper between the Thames and the Clyde and the Tyne, either from the Thames to the Clyde and the Tyne, or from the Clyde and the Tyne to the Thames?—We have found in very busy times that we have had men come from the North, but I do not think it is so in general. I do not know whether the men leave the Thames to go to the North, but I know that it is only in very busy times that we have had them from the North.

17,180. You think that it is only in exceptional

Mr. F. J. Divers.

26 May 1868.

cases that they come from the North to London?—Yes, not in any body.

17,181. (*Chairman.*) Are the works slack at Blackwall, and are the habitations of the labourers vacant?—Yes, you see whole streets of small houses vacant.

17,182. Those men have migrated, then?—Yes.

17,183. You have got at Blackwall and about the Isle of Dogs whole streets of vacant houses of labourers who have gone away to seek work elsewhere?—Yes.

17,184. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Do you pay the ordinary day labourer yourselves, or are they paid by the men who take the contract?—In some cases they are paid by us, and in other cases by the man who takes the contract.

17,185. Who fixes the rate of wages; do you fix the rate of wages of the ordinary day labourers in your yard?—They have a rate varrying from 3*s.* 4*d.* to 3*s.* 8*d.*, and when a man is taken on the foreman rates the man.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. R. Steele, jun.

Mr. Robert Steele, jun., examined.

17,186. (*Chairman.*) I believe that you are now a shipbuilder at Greenock?—Yes.

17,187. What trade were you bred to?—To the trade of a shipbuilder.

17,188. You are now an employer, but you were bred as a working artisan, were you not?—I learned the trade practically from the beginning.

17,189. How many years have you been an employer?—25 years.

17,190. Are your firm the proprietors of a shipbuilding yard?—Yes, my father and myself and my brother.

17,191. Is it an old-established firm?—Yes; my grandfather was a shipbuilder 100 years ago.

17,192. It has been a yard for shipbuilding more than 100 years?—Yes.

17,193. Do you build wood as well as iron ships?—Yes, wood as well as iron ships.

17,194. About how many men have you in the yard at the present time?—About 1,200 men.

17,195. Are they paid by the day?—They are paid by the week or by the day.

17,196. Have you had experience in trade disputes?—Yes.

17,197. By trade disputes, do you understand cases where unions have been acting on behalf of certain workmen?—It has generally been with the unions.

17,198. It has been with the different unions of the working men?—Yes.

17,199. Has the action of trades unions increased within the last years, or has it been pretty much the same during the quarter of a century that you speak of?—Yes, it has been pretty much the same.

17,200. You had, according to your memory, trades unions in full force in Greenock when you began to be a master in the yard?—Yes.

17,201. And their action has not increased of late years?—It is pretty much the same.

17,202. Were all the skilled artisans, as far as you know, in unions when you began?—No.

17,203. Could you mention any proportion?—The shipwrights were the only trade who were unionists when I began.

17,204. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) How do you reconcile that with the former answer in which you said that they are pretty much the same now as they were when you began?—I was speaking with reference to the shipwrights more particularly.

17,205. Then that answer does not apply to the other trades?—No.

17,206. (*Chairman.*) When did the building of iron ships as a considerable article of commerce begin?—About 25 years ago.

17,207. Then you have being building them as well as wooden ships pretty nearly all your time?—No, not all that time. We commenced in 1851.

17,208. Have you an artisan standing in the same relation to an iron ship that a shipwright does to a wooden ship, and if so what is his name; is he an an engineer, boiler maker, or what do you call him?—Boiler maker and riveter; we distinguish between the two, a boiler maker and a riveter.

17,209. They deal with plates and rivets as the shipwright deals with the wooden materials?—Yes.

17,210. In latter times have the boiler makers and riveters had unions?—In some of the yards they have. We have not been so much troubled with them as a general rule. Unionism has not extended throughout the Clyde, as a general rule, among the boiler makers.

17,211. Are those two classes of artisans, shipwrights and boiler makers, the two material classes that go to the construction, the one of a wooden ship and the other of an iron ship?—Yes.

17,212. There is a good deal of work done by joiners, painters, and so on, but that is comparatively small and immaterial?—Joiners and carpenters and painters form about half the wages of an iron ship.

17,213. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) With regard to the joiners and painters, is there not the same relation between them and the other artisans as regards a wooden ship as there is in the case of an iron ship, or is there any difference?—There is more painting in an iron ship than in a wooden ship.

17,214. But is there more joiners' work, for example, in a wooden ship than in an iron ship?—Yes, there is more joiners' work in a wooden ship.

17,215. (*Chairman.*) According to your experience, have the trades unions raised the wages of the men in the unions?—In some cases I think they have.

17,216. Have the wages been stationary, or progressive, or fluctuating?—They have been very fluctuating.

17,217. Could you say the maximum and minimum?—When I first went into business a guinea a week was the wage of a shipwright, and the wages have been as high as 36*s.* a week.

17,218. (*Mr. Mathews.*) How long is it since they were a guinea?—25 years.

17,219. (*Lord Elcho.*) For how many hours did they work at that rate?—Ten hours a day six days a week.

17,220. (*Mr. Hughes.*) That is only on the Clyde?—I am speaking of the Clyde.

17,221. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You say ten hours. Have the hours varied?—Only two years ago, they were restricted then to 57 hours in the week.

17,222. Is that the case now?—Yes, that is the case now, ten hours five days a week, and seven hours on the Saturday.

17,223. With that restricted time they have got the same wage?—No, that has been deducted from their wages. They had a strike on that point two years ago; they wanted the same wage for the 57 hours, that is to say, they wanted no reduction for the three hours that they lost on Saturday. That was partly the origin of the strike and lock-out on the Clyde two years ago.

17,224. What was the result of that strike and lock-out?—After being out three months they came back and lost everything that they demanded with the exception of the three hours. The masters gave them the three hours, but deducted that from the men's wages.

17,225. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You paid less wages?—Less weekly wages, but the same rate per hour.

17,226. (*Chairman.*) Do you contract with your men by the day or by the hour?—By the day generally; the painters are the only class paid by the hour; others are by the day and some by the week.

17,227. And you deduct in proportion for the three hours from all?—Yes.

17,228. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Have the men required that deduction of three hours in spite of your victory in the strike and lock-out; have they still determined to work three hours less in the week?—We have never

asked them ; 57 hours has been fixed on the Clyde as the week's work, and the question has never been mooted again.

17,229. (*Mr. Mathews.*) The men consented to forego the three hours' pay ?—Yes, and the masters the three hours' work.

17,230. And that remains so now ?—It remains the same now.

17,231. Are the men content to do without the three hours' pay ?—Only some classes. The labourers of course who were paid a low rate of wage it falls heavily upon, and they would willingly work those three hours.

17,232. It is a grievance to them ?—It is a great grievance to them and to many of the other classes.

17,233. But they are obliged to succumb to the will of the others ?—Yes.

17,234. (*Mr. Hughes.*) In fact, the will of the majority rules ?—It is a question how far the majority then would be the majority now. The question has never been raised.

17,235. Do you think that an oppressive thing ?—I think that it is an oppressive thing to the men whose wages are low.

17,236. Do you think that it is considered oppressive by the men themselves ?—I think that the men enjoy their Saturday afternoons, and most of them are quite willing to abandon the three hours' wage.

17,237. In the case of the masters' association on the Clyde, the will of the majority seems to rule very arbitrarily, does it not ?—Yes.

17,238. The majority of two-thirds seems to be absolute over the whole of the business ?—It is the only way of carrying on the association.

17,239. How long has that association been established ?—Two years.

17,240. (*Lord Elcho.*) I presume that in trades unions it is the will of a majority that rules ?—Of course, I am not sure whether it is not the will of a minority sometimes in a trade union ; the will of the managing committee, not the will of a majority.

17,241. (*Mr. Mathews.*) I suppose that the hours of labour are regulated by those upon whom the labour chiefly depends, namely, the higher class of artisans ?—Yes.

17,242. If they decide that they will not work more than 57 hours the inferior labourers are obliged to succumb to that arrangement ?—Of course.

17,243. (*Mr. Hughes.*) I see that these rules which are the rules of your association were amended at meetings in June and August 1866, so that, as the rules were amended then, I apprehend the association must have existed before ?—The association was got up very hurriedly, in consequence of demands from all classes of the workmen, probably about the month of March in that same year.

17,244. Are these rules registered—have they any legal effect ?—The secretary will be able to answer that question better than I can.

17,245. As far as you are concerned you agree with these rules ?—Generally.

17,246. And you think that it is for the benefit of the trade that they should be adhered to ?—Yes ; of course the association was got up at that time to counteract the action of the working classes.

17,247. (*Mr. Booth.*) It was a defensive association ?—A defensive association.

17,248. (*Mr. Mathews.*) It is never the custom to take any steps to register any rules of an association between employers of labour, is it ?—We have never had such an association before.

17,249. Have you known any other similar association where the rules have been registered ?—No.

17,250. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Has your association any legal existence beyond what this book of rules indicates ?—It is an arrangement among the masters. I have no doubt that it was legally got up.

17,251. You do not know how the rules are enforced against the members ?—We have never had occasion to bring them into operation against any member.

17,252. Have the members obeyed these rules so implicitly that no question has arisen which has involved legal proceedings ?—Certainly.

17,253. (*Chairman.*) Will you state in what way the action of trades unions has interfered with the carrying on of your business ?—The principal disadvantage that we have lain under has been their restricting the labour market of Greenock by obliging all men who come to work to enter the union.

17,254. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What has been the effect of that ?—Restricting the amount of work done in the town, and putting the masters to very considerable loss and inconvenience.

17,255. (*Mr. Mathews.*) When you speak of their obliging the men who come to work to enter the union.—what steps do they take to compel them to enter the union ?—If the men did not join they would strike.

17,256. That is to say if men who were not in the union came to offer to work at your establishment they would not work with them ?—No.

17,257. And if you continued to employ the non-union men the union men would strike work ?—Yes.

17,258. In your experience has that been the general custom ?—Yes, the general custom.

17,259. It has been one of the modes by which they operate upon the men to compel them to enter the union, if they are not already in it ?—Yes.

17,260. (*Chairman.*) When they are in the union, does the action of the union interfere with your carrying on your business in any particular way ?—The effect of the union has been to restrict the number of men in the port, and when trade has been brisk we could not get men to finish the contracts that we had undertaken.

17,261. (*Mr. Roebuck*). Supposing that they have restricted the number, say to a thousand, and you brought in a hundred, what would they do ?—If the men did not enter the union they would strike.

17,262. And that is the only thing, as I understand you, that they would do. Supposing that they struck, and you brought in more men, what then ?—We did not find it advantageous to fight the question.

17,263. (*Mr. Mathews*). It was a question which you were beaten upon, you were beaten, in fact ?—We gave in.

17,264. From a knowledge of the serious inconveniences that would be entailed on you, you did not choose to risk a battle ?—Certainly not.

17,265. (*Mr. Booth*). You thought it better to submit than run the risk of the serious inconveniences ?—We have thought it better till the association of the masters was formed. Now one of the regulations of the trade is that the masters be at liberty to employ any number of men that they think proper.

17,266. (*Chairman*). They had that liberty before, but have they done that since the formation of the association ?—Yes.

17,267. Have you employed any non-union men and brought them into your yard against the will of the shipwrights in the union ?—The union agreed two years ago to give up that principle of prohibiting men from working unless they joined the union. They gave it up at the time of the lock-out.

17,268. (*Mr. Roebuck*).—It no longer exists then ?—They gave it up by compulsion.

17,269. It no longer exists ?—Nominally.

17,270. Does it exist in reality ?—We have a large number of non-union men working at Greenock.

17,271. Then you would not call it nominally, but really, would you not ?—They say that the union men are only biding their time.

17,272. (*Lord Elcho*). What proportion do the non-union men bear to the union men ?—More in Glasgow than in Greenock. Greenock always has been the stronghold of the union, and the Glasgow union has always been less severe and strict than the Greenock one.

17,273. Did that rule which you have just referred to exist at Glasgow ?—Yes, but not so strongly ; the unionists in Glasgow allowed men, when trade was brisk, to work there without any interference.

17,274. What at present do you suppose is the pro-

Mr. R. Steele, jun.

26 May 1868.

portion, since the strike in the Greenock yards, of non-union and union men?—I daresay there will be a tenth that are non-union men.

17,275. What proportion at Glasgow?—I could not say.

17,276. How long has your association existed?—Two years.

17,277. Did it exist in consequence of that strike?—No. It was formed in anticipation of it.

17,278. And do you think that without your union you could have succeeded in that strike?—Not at all.

17,279. How many members have you?—I think the engineers and shipbuilders are all associated. I do not know how many members there are.

17,280. If you do not know the number of employers who have joined that union, how many men do you suppose are affected by your association—that is to say, how many men are employed on the whole by the different masters who have joined your association?—A large number, because the engineers are associated with the shipbuilders.

17,281. Shall we say that 5,000 are affected by it?—I daresay that there may be 15,000.

17,282. What is the district?—Glasgow, Greenock, Port Glasgow, and all down both sides of the river, except Dumbarton.

17,283. Why not Dumbarton?—Mr. Denny would not join the association because some years previously an association had been attempted to be formed and it fell through, and he was left alone to fight the battle against the men.

17,284. Is Mr. Denny a large employer?—Yes, a large employer in Dumbarton.

17,285. I see that the sum paid either in money or by a promissory note by the members in your association is *pro rata* to the number of men and boys that they employ, and that the sum is 4*l.* for every man and boy that they so employ. Rule 15 says "To "form a common fund for both general and special "expenditure, each member of the association shall "be held to be a subscriber of 4*l.* for each person "stated to be employed by him in the return made "under rule 3." Then I turn to rule 3 and I find: "The number of men and boys employed by each "member, which shall be ascertained in the following "manner, shall form the basis of voting, of subscription, and of compensation. Each member or "company on joining the association, and thereafter "on every second Tuesday of January, shall make a "return to the secretary of the number of men and "boys employed at their works, taken on an average "of the preceding year ending 31st December." So that each member of your association pays 4*l.* for every man, or is liable to pay that according to the demands of the association; they can raise that amount and he can leave on giving six months' notice?—Yes.

17,286. What amount of capital do you suppose that subscription gives you?—I do not know that. I do not pay much attention to that. The secretary will be able to state that.

17,287. (*Chairman.*) Have you been called upon for any part of that levy of 4*l.*?—A very trifling part of it.

17,288. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) By rule 13 of your association rules you undertake to pay "the sum of 3*s.* "per week for every person who discontinues work in "case of a general strike." Now during that general strike or lock-out had you to pay that sum?—No, nothing was paid.

17,289. Why was that?—It never was called up; all the masters were on strike together. I think the object of that rule was that in the event of any master being obliged to strike his work for the objects of the association, he should be recompensed.

17,290. Does that 3*s.* then go to the master and not to the workmen?—To the master.

17,291. (*Mr. Mathews.*) So that if the master employs 500 men he is paid 500 times 3*s.*?—Yes.

17,292. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Your association does not object to any rules excluding certain persons from work on account of their belonging to a union or otherwise?—No.

17,293. Because your 18th rule (I suppose you act up to it) binds every member when he is applied to by a skilled workman to refer, either directly or through the secretary, to the former master of the applicant, and to require a clearance note. Is that carried out and enforced now?—Pretty generally, not altogether. There is a difficulty in getting all the masters to follow it up.

17,294. But as far as the association can they try to enforce that rule?—Yes.

17,295. And in the same way with apprentices, for I see that it applies to apprentices (to my astonishment) by rule 19, but I suppose that it is seldom enforced?—The reason of that was this, many masters do not engage their apprentices under any indenture, but merely by verbal engagements.

17,296. Your apprentices are simply younger men?—Under the Servant and Master Act, not under the Apprenticeship Act.

17,297. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) And generally speaking you say that this is not enforced because there are certain masters who do not act upon the rule. Do you mean by that that they are not loyal to the association?—I do not quite understand your question.

17,298. By the 18th rule a skilled workman, before he is engaged by a master, must bring a clearance note. You say that certain masters do not require that, though by the rule they ought to require it?—The rule, I think, specifies it in this way. When a man applies for work he is taken in, and the note is then sent to his previous employer. That is the way in which it is done; he does not bring it with him, but a note is sent to his previous employer who returns the answer, printed on this inquiry note.

17,299. At the end of the rule is this: "If it should appear that the workman is at the time under such engagement, employment shall be refused to such workman by the member to whom application is made"?—Yes.

17,300. So that if he had a quarrel with his former master, and left him under circumstances which you do not approve, by the rules of the association he ought not to be employed by a master who is a member of it?—I think that is so.

17,301. But you say that in many cases masters do not strictly follow this rule, and therefore they do employ persons contrary to the rules of the association?—They may in some cases.

17,302. That is to say, in other words, they are not loyal to their own engagement?—I fancy that it is not rigidly carried out.

17,303. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You are not yourself familiar with the detail of the working of the association. We had better address any question on that to the secretary?—Yes.

17,304. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You spoke of the men "biding their time"; what do you infer from that expression?—I think that when the unions see a brisk time when they will be able to enforce their claim they will take an opportunity of doing so.

17,305. So that under the depressed condition of the shipbuilding trade the union men are content to work with the non-union men?—They are content for the time.

17,306. But if the trade were to revive much you think the union men would fall back upon their original policy and refuse to work with men unless they joined the union?—Yes; I speak more of the shipwrights, who are the strictest union men.

17,307. Do you mean iron shipbuilders or wooden shipbuilders?—Wooden shipbuilders.

17,308. Is the character of the union the same with the iron shipbuilders as with the wooden shipbuilders?—In our yard we have no union among iron shipbuilders; the boiler makers with us have no union.

17,309. The shipwrights and ship carpenters and shipbuilders are all the same as applied to wooden vessels, I suppose?—In the Clyde we call them the

ship carpenters; they are what you call in England shipwrights; we call the masters shipbuilders.

17,310. As to these men who are now quiet with regard to the employment of non-union men, you think that when trade revives they will compel them to join the union?—I think when the time comes they will try to.

17,311. Do you think that they would take any physical means to compel them?—I think not.

17,312. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) They never have done so?—Only on one occasion.

17,313. (*Lord Elcho.*) Do you think that what prevents them is the knowledge of the existence of your association?—I have no doubt that it has a great effect.

17,314. Without your union you could not have overcome that strike two years ago?—Certainly not.

17,315. Without your union do you believe that you would have a different state of things from what now prevails?—Yes.

17,316. You might have the same state of things on the Clyde without your union as they have on the Thames, I suppose?—Yes.

17,317. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Did you say that workmen could not be employed by a member of your association unless there was a discharge note from their former employer?—What I said was that those apprentices, the engaged workmen, cannot be employed by another master without bringing their discharge with them; but it is not the universal custom when a workman applies for employment to send to his employer to ask whether he is clear or not, but he does not take him with the knowledge that he is engaged.

17,318. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Then you do not understand, as a member of the association, that you are bound to apply in every case to see that the workman who offers to you has "clearance lines," as they are called, from his last employer?—It is the duty of the master to send this inquiry note to his last employer except in the case of apprentices, and they must carry their discharge along with them.

17,319. In the case of ordinary workmen?—Yes.

17,320. As I understand you it is the duty of the master in all cases to do that not only where the workman has been under agreement with a former master but in every case?—Yes, in every case.

17,321. (*Mr. Booth.*) You do not know any case in which a master has taken into his employment a workman whom he knew to have broken his agreement with his former master?—No.

17,322. It is only that they do not in all cases take the trouble to send the customary note?—Yes.

17,323. (*Chairman.*) If you have non-union men working in your yard with union men, do you pay different rates of wages to men of the same skill?—No, we make no difference, they are paid according to their skill, but shipwrights with us are all paid the same rate.

17,324. Have you paid non-union shipwrights who are below par the same wages as others?—Just the same rate as the union men.

17,325. What is the principle of that?—A very bad principle; we cannot help ourselves.

17,326. How could you pay a workman below par in point of skill the same wages as you would pay to a workman at par or above it if there was no combination?—That has always been the case with the ship carpenters; they are the only body who have always been paid the same wage.

17,327. You do not like to go against the custom?—We do not attempt it.

17,328. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You do not take your men from those of inferior capacity if you can help it?—We select the best men we can find at all times.

17,329. You spoke of the establishment of this association on the part of the masters as a matter of necessity arising out of the association of the men in trades unions. You found it absolutely necessary, I suppose, and that the men could only be controlled in the operation of their union by a similar union on the part of the masters?—Quite so.

17,330. The men acting in the union against the masters with no union at all acted with considerable advantage to themselves and disadvantage to their employers?—Yes.

17,331. And hence the necessity of establishing that masters' association?—Yes.

17,332. It is defensive?—Entirely defensive.

17,333. (*Lord Elcho.*) Supposing that there were any Parliamentary legislation to recognize the trades unions of the men and to protect their funds, do you consider that your association ought to be equally recognized by Parliament and your funds protected?—I do not think that we would require any association at all if the men did not control the labour market in any way.

17,334. But assuming that they do control it, and that there are unions of men, and that it is thought desirable that there should be legislation with a view to protect the funds of these trade union societies, do you think it equally reasonable as a matter of principle that the masters' associations should be similarly protected?—I should think so.

17,335. (*Chairman.*) Do the shipwrights' union interfere in any degree as to the mode of working by the piece and the day, or is there any interference between the employer and the workmen?—The shipwrights' union with us allow no piece-work whatever.

17,336. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) And to that extent they coerce you?—To that extent they coerce us.

17,337. (*Chairman.*) When building a ship, do none of your shipwrights say, one speaking for a gang, "We will do all the shipwright work for so much," which would be piece-work in effect; is there no contract of that sort?—No such contract; it is all day wages.

17,338. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Do you find, or do you think, that that is the best plan to be adopted?—No, I think that it is the worst.

17,339. (*Lord Elcho.*) Do you think that it is for the interest of the men?—I think that it is for the interest of the bad man and worthless man, but against the interests of the good workman.

17,340. It prevents the man from rising that would rise otherwise?—Yes; and it is against the interest of the apprentices. They have not a stimulus to rise in the trade, because they look forward to the same wages in any case.

17,341. Supposing that you have not to pay the bad man, as you express it, this minimum rate of wage, and that there was a graduated scale according to the skill of the men, you would be able to pay the superior man more than you now do, would you not?—If they did not regulate the wages the more skilled man would get more.

17,342. And so far, instead of less money going to the labour fund, there would be more in all probability?—I think that there would be more, because a master could afford to give more if the men did more for it.

17,343. If the contracts were safer they would work quicker and do more work?—Yes.

17,344. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Do you think that this system of the bad men being paid with the good men has had any effect in deteriorating the skill of the artisan?—I think that there would be better tradesmen if there were a difference in wage.

17,345. Do you believe that there is any deterioration in the skill of the artisan?—In building new vessels the best men are always employed, the others are sent to do dockwork and ordinary repairs. We have a large business in repairing as well as in building.

17,346. Then is not the conclusion this, that the rule really does little affect you, because you have by these circumstances the means of evading it?—I think that we should be better off if there was a difference of wage.

17,347. (*Mr. Hughes.*) May I ask you if your association has ever attempted to alter the rule with regard to the shipwrights and piecework?—I do not think so.

17,348. They have never negotiated with the shipwrights in any way to endeavour to put their views

Mr. R. Steele, jun.

26 May 1868.

before them?—No, I think not. I think that one or two of the masters in Glasgow have paid their shipwrights a different wage.

17,349. And without any resistance being made by the union?—Yes, I think that has been so in Glasgow.

17,350. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Do you find that paying the men the same wages, whether they are inefficient or efficient workmen, operates in this way, that it deters you from bringing forward the clever and sagacious and adroit workmen, and putting them in higher situations, as you would do if you had not this straight-laced scale you speak of?—Yes; I think so, certainly.

17,351. Supposing that in your establishment you find half a dozen very intelligent men, not only as to their handicraft but as to their mental capacities, it would be to your interest and the interest of the trade generally that those men should be brought forward and put in better situations, would it not?—Yes.

17,352. And you are deterred from that by the strict obligation which you are under to pay all classes of men, whether efficient or inefficient, the same rate of wages?—Yes.

17,353. Do you consider that a grievance of that sort is one that prevents excellence in the shipbuilding trade which you would arrive at if no such regulation existed?—I think it would be much better if there were a difference of wage in the shipbuilding trade.

17,354. (*Mr. Hughes.*) I understand you that you put your best men forward now?—We put them in the most constant work.

17,355. So that really the only difference is that the man does not get any higher wage as long as he remains a shipright?—He gets more constant employment.

17,356. And he is put in such a position of trust as has been alluded to by Mr. Mathews?—Yes.

17,357. (*Lord Elcho.*) But if there were not that rule not only would he get constant employment but higher pay also?—He would.

17,358. (*Mr. Mathews.*) And the absence of that higher pay takes away the stimulus which would otherwise operate upon him?—Yes.

17,359. And he does not exercise himself so much as he would if he got a fair amount of remuneration for doing so?—No, and it also affects the apprentices; they have not the same stimulus to learn their trade efficiently.

17,360. (*Mr. Booth.*) That kind of emulation naturally affects the skill of the men?—Yes.

17,361. (*Lord Elcho.*) Is the number of apprentices limited?—No.

17,362. Has there never been any rule on that subject?—No.

17,363. What proportion do the labourers bear to the number of artizans on the Clyde?—In the iron shipbuilding the labourers would be about a half.

17,364. And in the wooden shipyard what would be the proportion?—Very trifling indeed.

17,365. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is it not the fact that in the shipbuilding trade and cognate trades the principals of those trades have raised the description of men that I have alluded to, clever, adroit men, and that they have been put into situations of trust?—A great many.

17,366. That is a stimulus to them?—Yes.

17,367. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Do the same men go to the front now?—Yes, a great many carpenters, for instance, go to sea, and ultimately become shipmasters, and in many cases large shipowners.

17,368. (*Lord Elcho.*) Is the proportion of men who rise from the ranks, as one may express it, as great now as it was?—Much about the same, I think.

17,369. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) What proportion of the total cost of building a ship is paid in labour?—Not much above a third with us.

17,370. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Will you explain that? I am now talking of a wooden ship. You would call the planking material, would you not?—Yes.

17,371. And would you put it into the side of the cost, that is, in opposition to labour?—Yes.

17,372. But is not that planking the result also of labour?—Yes, of sawing.

17,373. Is that sawing done in your yard?—Yes.

17,374. Therefore you would consider that a portion of the labour?—Yes.

17,375. But supposing that it came into your yard sawn by somebody else, you would call it material?—Yes; therefore of course it varies.

17,376. That is exactly what I wanted to come to. In the same way the plating of an iron ship is the result of labour, but in your calculation it would be material?—Yes.

17,377. (*Lord Elcho.*) What is the proportion of iron and wooden ships that are now made in the Clyde?—There are almost no purely wooden ships built now, very few.

17,378. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What do you mean by that?—Wooden frames.

17,379. You have ships planked with wood with frames of iron?—Yes, they are called composite ships—ships with iron frames and wooden planking.

17,380. Are there very few ships now of wooden frames?—Very few indeed.

17,381. (*Lord Elcho.*) What is the proportion of wooden planking and iron planking?—If you take steamers in, I should say that a tenth of the number are composite.

17,382. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Has your yard been engaged in iron or in wooden shipbuilding?—Both.

17,383. (*Lord Elcho.*) So that, with the exception of that tenth which is composite, and in which you say the proportion of labourers employed is very small, on a strike occurring half of the men thrown out of employment would be labourers?—Yes.

17,384. These labourers have no union?—They have no union.

17,385. They are entirely dependent on the skilled artisan?—They are entirely dependent on the skilled artisan.

17,386. So that in the case of a strike the skilled artisan falls back on the funds of his union or he emigrates; whereas the labourer falls back on his settlement, whatever it may be, that is to say the poor rate of his parish?—Quite so.

17,387. And he, perhaps, might be willing to work, and has had nothing to say to the strike?—Of course.

17,388. (*Mr. Hughes.*) I do not see that you have expressed any opinion as to that. You say that half the people who are thrown out of work are labourers when a strike takes place, which strike has originated amongst the skilled workmen; but I suppose you do not think that the union is in any way responsible for, or ought to be charged with, the misery that might follow from that strike?—If they are the cause of the strike.

17,389. Supposing that you had a dispute with your skilled workmen, you are bound by your rules, I see, on a vote being passed by two-thirds of your members, to shut up the whole of your workshops?—Yes.

17,390. Then supposing there were such a dispute with two-thirds of your members, you would shut up the whole of your works and turn out the whole of the men?—We must by the rules.

17,391. Can you point to any rule by which you provide for the labourers in that case?—No.

17,392. (*Lord Elcho.*) One hardship would not render the other less hard, would it?—No.

17,393. And yours is a defensive association?—Yes, a defensive association entirely.

17,394. And you consider that you did not throw the first stone?—That is so.

17,395. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Under those circumstances are the labourers obliged to leave the town?—Of course in some cases they do; they may emigrate or go to another place for employment, and they generally do.

17,396. (*Lord Elcho.*) It is a state of war, and they have their code of war and you have yours; and it is just a question which has the most money, which can hold out the longest?—Yes.

17,397. And while this war is going on there is a danger of trade leaving the country altogether?—Yes.

17,398. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) The preamble of your rules tells its own story: "The subscribers taking "into consideration that they are experiencing serious "loss and inconvenience in their business through "the operation and combinations on the part of work-"men in their employment, have resolved to form "and now accordingly form an association, to be "termed 'The Clyde Shipbuilders' and Engineers' "'Association'"?—Yes.

17,399. (*Lord Elcho.*) In this war you have the command of capital to begin with?—Yes.

17,400. And you have a very large subscription, while the men have no capital but their labour?—Yes.

17,401. In such a war, if it were *bonâ fide* carried on by the masters with their full strength, and they remained true to one another as the men remained true to one another in the union, do not you think that the weaker side must go to the wall?—As a general rule the men have been obliged to give in.

17,402. Do you believe in conciliation and co-operation as the remedy for such a state of war?—I believe that the only thing to prevent it is good sense on both sides.

17,403. Do not you think that good might result if men who differ, and who believe that their differences are very wide, would come together and talk over things across a table as we do here, and that they might find that mountains become mole hills, and that difficulties are smoothed over, and peace results instead of war?—Where there is feeling, I have no doubt it will be so. I have no doubt that the practice of masters and men meeting together would be productive of a great deal of good.

17,404. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Do not the unions interpose an obstacle to masters and men working together, is there not an objection on the part of the employers to meet men who are not in their own workshop?—We have not that feeling in Greenock, because the masters in Greenock have met the men when necessary.

17,405. There was not the least disinclination on the part of the masters, previous to the establishment of the unions, to meet the men and discuss with them any questions of difference?—No.

17,406. But since the unions have been established, has there not been a disinclination on their part to do so?—Individual men have no right whatever now to meet the masters; it must be done through the executive.

17,407. And there is always an objection on the part of the masters to deal with the executive, is there not?—We have not objected to it in Grennock with the shipwrights' union, because that has been in existence so long.

17,408. (*Lord Elcho.*) Supposing that there must be these matters of dispute, do you see any objection to its being a recognised thing that the representatives of the men whom they send, though they may be officers of the union, should meet representatives chosen by the masters?—None whatever.

17,409. On the contrary, supposing the associations to exist on both sides the most natural thing would be to talk the thing over by representatives from both sides?—Yes.

17,410. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Under those circumstances the chance would be that you would have the most intelligent men on both sides to talk it over?—Yes.

17,411. (*Lord Elcho.*) And the men who would know most of the trade?—Yes.

17,412. (*Mr. Hughes.*) As far as your experience goes at Greenock, then, the men who represent the unions are the ablest and most intelligent of the workpeople?—No; I do not know that. They are elected to the office, and they have not the power of refusing; they are obliged to accept the office that they are appointed to.

17,413. (*Lord Elcho.*) How so?—It is part of their rules.

17,414. Any duty imposed upon a man he is bound to accept?—When a secretary is appointed he is bound to accept it.

17,415. Do you mean to say that supposing a man was making 2*l.* a week in his business, and that he was offered the post of secretary at 1*l.* he would be bound to take the 1*l.*?—I do not think that they have any paid secretary in the shipwrights' union with us.

17,416. Have they no paid officers?—I think not in the working committee.

17,417. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Then, I suppose, as there is no pay, and as people are obliged to serve, it would naturally follow that they would select the men most competent to fill the office?—They sometimes elect those who have most talk.

17,418. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Generally speaking, are the working-men competent to choose men of the greatest discretion and propriety and sagacity, and who are best able to conduct a negotiation with the masters, or do they choose men impelled by strong feelings rather than otherwise?—I think that they are generally strong partisans.

17,419. And therefore, not the best fitted to conduct negotiations with the masters?—I think not.

17,420. (*Chairman.*) Do I rightly understand from you that talk passes for sense with the men of Greenock?—Too often.

17,421. And they elect the men who talk a good deal?—Sometimes.

17,422. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You say that this union has been in existance a long time; how long?—I think since 1828.

17,423. And they have managed to hold their union together since that time?—Yes.

17,424. That must have required something besides talk?—Well, the masters until two years ago were never associated together.

17,425. But now that you are associated, you do not wish to destroy that association of the men that has existed since 1828?—We do not wish to destroy unions at all; if they will just let us alone we will let them alone.

17,426. (*Chairman.*) Have you at all compared the rate of wages in Greenock and the rate of wages in the part of the Thames where shipbuilding is carried on?—Our rate would be, I think, fully 30 per cent. below the Thames.

17,427. And is that 30 per cent lower made up by the purchasing power at Greenock over the purchasing power at Blackwall; that is to say, taking house rent, provisions, and other matters, do the higher prices of London swallow up the higher wages, so that the man's living is nearly the same in either case?—I really do not know how that is.

17,428. You can only say that there is 30 per cent. difference in money?—Yes, in money.

17,429. You cannot compare the purchasing power of money in Greenock and Blackwall?—No, but I think that the Scotchman is contented with and accustomed to a lower style of living than the Englishman.

17,430. Does that lower style of living maintain him in the same vigour that the higher style of living maintains the artisan at Blackwall?—I think so.

17,431. Has your mind been at all directed towards the question whether the man who gets the lower rate of living is less cheerful or happy than the man who gets the higher rate of living?—I do not think he is less cheerful, and I think he has quite as good a coat on as the other man.

17,432. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Let me ask you a question or two about the iron used in the Clyde. Where do you procure it?—Sometimes from Glasgow, sometimes from Newcastle, and sometimes from Cumberland.

17,433. What part of Cumberland?—It is called the West Cumberland Iron Company.

17,434. When you want plates do you prescribe any tensile strength for those plates?—No; merely that they should be a good malleable quality.

17,435. What are plates now on the Clyde?—We get them delivered in the yard up to 8 cwt. for 7*l.* 10*s.* a ton.

17,436. What would you be obliged to give for them

Mr. R. Steele, jun.

26 May 1868.

if they had to stand the test of 22 tons a square inch?—We have never bought any of that.

17,437. So that if the shipbuilders on the Thames are obliged to pay 9*l.* or 10*l.* for their plates, you have that advantage over them?—But Government ships in the Clyde must have the same tensile strength as those in the Thames; and with respect to the merchant ships on the Thames, I do not suppose that any tensile strength is prescribed for them beyond being of a good malleable quality.

17,438. The only difference then would be what they could buy the plates at when delivered on the Thames, and what you could buy them at when delivered at your yard?—Yes.

17,439. (*Chairman*). I see you have referred to a correspondence between your firm and the shipwrights' union. Do you think that that illustrates the action of the unions as against the employers?—Yes; in restricting the number of men in the port when work requires that we should have more hands.

17,440. You have asked permission of the union to be allowed to employ more workmen, and the union has made a difficulty about your increasing the number of your men?—Quite so.

17,441. Is that the correspondence which you hold in your hand?—This is the correspondence. It extends from 1836 down to the present time. but the letters between 1839 and 1857 were lost by some means or other, so that there is only one single letter, or two, from 1836 to 1839. From 1857 down to 1866, when the masters' association was formed, there are a number of letters referring to the same subject.

17,442. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Are those all between your firm and the officers of this shipwrights' union?—Sometimes between myself as chairman of the Greenock shipbuilders, and sometimes from our firm direct to the union.

17,443. Then you had combinations of an informal kind; the shipbuilders had meetings to confer with the men?—We tried to act together as much as we could, without being associated together.

17,444. And in all cases the correspondence was with the representative men of the old union?—Always. Some letters have been lost; the correspondence does not follow up the subject to the very end.

17,445. (*Mr. Booth.*) What would you suggest would be the conclusion which we should draw from this correspondence?—That the union prevented us getting men when the trade of the port required additional hands. The following is the statement which I have prepared and the correspondence:—

At a meeting held at Greenock on 23rd November 1836, the following agreement was entered into between the master shipbuilders and the journeymen carpenters:

"Greenock, 23rd November 1836.

"The master carpenters do hereby state, that when journeymen are out of work, they will always employ those belonging to the town in preference to strangers, when more men are required.

(Signed) "JOHN SCOTT, junior, Chairman."

"Greenock, 23rd November 1836,

"We the undersigned deputation of the journeymen carpenters of Greenock, do hereby declare that, hereafter there will be no restriction upon the masters in the way of employing whatever number of men they may require, and that there shall be no compulsion used on our part to cause them to join the society, and the only qualification now necessary is, that the term of servitude will be four years, and to have wrought two years at the trade as journeymen, or to have served five years apprenticeship.

(Signed) "DANIEL BROWN,
"Chairman of the deputation."

"Messrs. Robert Steele and Co.

"GENTLEMEN, Greenock, 21st October 1839.

"WE beg leave to submit to the shipbuilders of this place, the following statement of facts, which if you consider in any way affecting the general interest of the trade here, and would recommend that a meeting should be called for the purpose of taking the matter into consideration, we shall be glad to hear from you at your earliest convenience. About six weeks ago we sent one of our foremen to the east country to collect about 20 men, if he could get them, having intended that if the men were to be compelled to join the society, we would pay their entry money, upon their agreeing with us for twelve months, and should they not be able to satisfy the society of their having served five years' apprenticeship, they were in that case to serve one year's apprenticeship at a reduced rate of wages. Upon these terms we got 10 men to come forward, the most of whom commenced and wrought with us for 2 or 3 weeks; they were at length however, compelled to leave the work, having found it impossible to get any arrangement with the society, or to get peace to remain on any terms, without the society, from which it appears to us very plainly, that it matters not what demand there may be for men, the society are determined to allow no others to come in. If you think this ought to be passed over without taking any notice of it, we have no objections, but if you think it ought not to be passed over in silence, we will be glad to call a meeting and lay the matter before it. Waiting your reply at your earliest convenience,

We are, &c.,
(Signed) "for Robert Duncan & Co., J. GIBB."

"At a meeting of the shipbuilders of Greenock, "held in the White Hart Inn, here on Wednesday "24th of October 1839. Present: Messieurs John "Scott, junr., Joshua Muress, Robert Thompson, "James McMillam, John Simons, Robert Duncan, "and John Morries representing Robert Steele and "Company, John Scott, junr. Esq., in the chair. "The meeting was called by letter from Messieurs R. "Duncan and Company, to consider the circumstances "in which the masters are placed in consequence of "the conduct of the Greenock Shipwrights' Society, "towards some workmen belonging to the east country "who had been employed by them. After a good deal "of discussion and three forms of a resolution having "been submitted to the meeting the following was "agreed to by all present with the exception of Messrs. "Muress and Clark, who declined voting, 'That the "'ship builders of Greenock have resolved, after the "'1st November, to employ any workmen they please "'whether they belong to the Greenock shipwrights' "'society or not. It was also agreed that this reso-"'lution shall be submitted to the workmen on the "'first Saturday.'"

Further correspondence on this subject has been lost, but the result was that the masters were obliged to employ only workmen who were members of the shipwrights' union. The correspondence between 1839 and 1857 has been all lost.

"Mr. Peter Parker, President of the Greenock Shipwrights' Society.

"SIR, Greenock, 13th June 1857.

"WE beg to acquaint you that we are at present in want of at least one hundred shipwrights, to whom we will give employment during the next six weeks. We trust that the committee will immediately take such means as will procure for us the number of men we name, otherwise our contracts, which are already much beyond the time in which we stipulated to have them completed, and for which we are liable in heavy damages, will be still further retarded. We must strongly express our disapproval of the procedure of the committee in sending workmen out of the town, and from our establishment, when we had very great need indeed for their services.

(Signed) "ROBERT STEELE & Co."

"Messieurs Robert Steele & Co.

"GENTLEMEN, Greenock, 19th June 1857.

"AT a general meeting of the shipwrights of this port held on the 18th instant in the hall of the Mechanics' Institute, your letter of the 13th being read to the meeting requesting a supply of one hundred shipwrights, that being a thing we cannot give nor do we hold ourselves responsible to find men for any employer, neither do we stand in the way of any employer to find men where he best can, on the understanding that they conform to the rules of the society. We may also state that there was no means used to put any of the men that came here to work with you away from the port. We are, &c.,

(Signed) "PETER PARKER, President."

"Mr. Peter Parker, President of the Greenock "Shipwrights' Society.

"SIR, Greenock, 23rd June 1857.

"YOU say in your letter of the 19th instant 'that your society does not stand in the way of any 'employer to find men where he best can, on the 'understanding that they conform to the rules of the 'society.' We are altogether ignorant of the rules of your society, but of this we are confident, that but for these rules we could have no difficulty in procuring the men we require; and not only so, but we repeat that certain means were used to have some of the strangers—workmen we had procured—sent out of the town, some of whom we understand had paid an advance to and were willing to join the society, but were not permitted, while others were sent away because they would not agree to join. Moreover, that but for the very objectionable and restrictive nature of your society's rules we should have had not only at this present time, but for a very considerable time to come, a much larger amount of work on hand, old as well as new, but which in consequence of your regulations we were obliged to decline. Unless, therefore, we can be permitted to obtain workmen when required for our business, we shall be under the necessity in future of very greatly curtailing the extent of it, for we are now perfectly convinced, if we had not been before, that under present circumstances it would be most imprudent and dangerous for us to undertake any extensive contracts on time, seeing that we cannot get tradesmen when they are required to execute the work, thus making the business of the port dependent on the number of men your society may in their judgment permit to come here; we must also repeat that unless we can now obtain the number of men we require, both we and other employers will be subject to very serious inconvenience and loss, and if the society will not undertake to procure shipwrights for us we hope they will at least inform us, and that immediately, that they consent to our employing such men as we can procure, and that they will not in any way interfere with them.

"We are, &c.

(Signed) "ROBERT STEELE & Co."

The reply from the shipwrights' union has been lost, but no men were procured.

"Mr. Alexander McDonald.

SIR, Greenock, 24th Feby. 1863.

"YOUR letter of the 18th current was this day submitted to a meeting of the employers of shipwrights, and I have been desired by them to request a meeting with the members of the committee of management within Borland's Temperance Hotel at 2 o'clock Saturday 1st.

"I am sir, &c.,

(Signed) "ROBERT STEELE, jr."

"Mr. Robert Steele, jr.

"SIR, Greenock, 26th Feby. 1863.

"YOUR note dated 24th instant was submitted to a meeting of the shipwrights of Greenock held in their reading room on the 26th instant, when your note was considered to be no answer to our letter of the 18th, and we can see no good which can result from a deputation meeting the employers in the said Temperance Hotel, as no questions have been proposed by you which you wished to discuss.

"Yours, &c.

(Signed) "ALEXANDER MCDONALD, "President."

"Mr. Alexander McDonald.

"SIR, Greenock, 2nd March 1863.

"I AM in receipt of your favour of 26th ulto., the contents of which I have communicated to the shipbuilders of this port, and they have desired me to express to you their disappointment in receiving such a very discourteous reply to their request to meet a deputation of the ship carpenters of this port. It is, I am sure, the first occasion that such a request has been so treated, and very different from that which a similar one on the part of the men would have received from the masters, who have invariably treated all communications from the men with attention and respect. It must be evident to the men that such conduct cannot but tend to disturb the good feeling which ought to exist between employers and employed. With reference to the subject of my letter, I beg to say that it was not so much the question of wages which it was intended to discuss at the proposed meeting, but other matters of equal importance to both parties, and which could be more amicably arranged by an interview than by correspondence. In case there may have been any misapprehension on the part of the men with reference to the meeting, I will be glad to hear from you whether such a deputation as proposed will meet with the masters, and on which day it will be most convenient for them to do so.

"I am, sir, &c.,

(Signed) "ROBERT STEELE, junr."

"Messrs. Robert Steele and Co.

"GENTLEMEN, Greenock, 7th March 1863.

"I AM in receipt of your favour of the 2d March, and in reply beg to state that I called a general meeting of the shipwrights of this port, and laid your letter before them. After being well discussed it was finally arranged that I alone should meet the master shipbuilders upon Monday first, the 9th inst., at 12 o'clock noon, in Borland's Temperance Hotel, the place that yourselves appointed.

"Gentlemen, I am, &c.,

(Signed) "ALEXANDER MCDONALD, "President Shipwrights' Provident Union Society."

"Messrs. Steele and Co.

"GENTLEMEN, Greenock, 12th March 1863.

"ACCORDING to your desire I convened a general meeting of our body last night, for the purpose of submitting to them what transpired in the conference of Monday last. The propriety was then discussed of admitting strangers into town, when it was decided that if the masters respectively would state in writing what number of men they would require, with a written guarantee that when the trade becomes dull, and the masters severally not able to employ all hands, that they would not pay off any of the Greenock men while any of the strangers are employed; the body of workmen, seeing the necessity, also the utility, of admitting strangers into town under the above conditions, the men would not only give way, but would most cheerfully aid the masters with all the means in their power in bringing men into town. Gentlemen, hoping this will be the means of preserving the good feeling and friendship subsisting between masters and workmen, I am, yours, &c.,

(Signed) "ALEXANDER MCDONALD, "President."

Mr. R. Steele, jun.

26 May 1868.

"Mr. Alexander McDonald, President, Shipwrights' Society.

"Sir, "23rd March 1863.

"We duly received your favour of 12th inst., a copy of which we have sent to the different shipbuilders. In the event of any of them requiring additional hands they will communicate with you, and will be quite ready, we have no doubt, to give the guarantee you require, and which we consider quite reasonable.

"We are, &c.,

(Signed) "Robert Steele & Co."

"Mr. Steele.

"Sir, Greenock, 14th April 1863.

"At a general meeting of the shipwrights of Greenock, held on the 10th instant, I am instructed to write to you in consequence of so many strangers coming to town under the impression that they are not to be asked to become members of the Shipwrights' Society. Sir, on a perusal of my letter of 12th March, you will easily see that those employers who employing strangers in preference to the Greenock shipwrights are not complying with the conditions set forth in my letter. Hoping that this will meet your approbation, and that you will transmit a copy to the employers, an early reply will oblige,

"Yours, &c.,

(Signed) "Alexander McDonald,

"President."

"Mr. Alexander McDonald.

"Sir, Greenock, 15th April 1863.

"I am in receipt of your favour of 14th inst., a copy of which I have sent to the several shipbuilders. I have read your letter of 12th March, and the clause referring to the terms upon which strangers were to be brought into town is as follows:—'With 'a written guarantee that when the trade becomes 'dull and the masters severally not able to employ all 'hands, that they would not pay off any of the 'Greenock men while any of the strangers are em-'ployed.' If therefore any of those masters who have brought strangers to town have discharged any of the Greenock men while any of the strangers have been allowed to remain I do not hesitate to say it is a breach of the agreement. I may mention what you are already aware of, that we are at present in want of a number of hands, and although there are a considerable number going about idle they do not choose to come to our work; such really have no cause to complain.

(Signed) "R. Steele, junr."

"Mr. William Wilson,

"President, Shipwrights' Society.

"Sir, Greenock, 18th February 1864.

"We are at present in want of a number of ships carpenters, and request that we may be allowed to get them without loss of time to meet our present emergency.

"We are, &c.,

(Signed) "Robert Steele & Co."

"Messrs. Robert Steele & Co.

"Gentlemen, Greenock, 9th March 1864.

"We received your letter of the 18th February, which was read at the first general meeting after reception, when it was considered that we had neither the power to grant or restrain you from getting as many men as you may deem necessary, only we shall use our privilege of most respectfully requesting them to join the Shipwrights' Provident Union Society.

"Gentlemen, &c.,

(Signed) "William Wilson,

"President."

The following letter refers to a strike which took place in Messrs. Robert Steele & Co.'s works in consequence of two foremen refusing to join the Shipwrights' Union:—

"Mr. Alexander McDonald.

"Sir, Greenock, 22nd February 1867.

"Referring to the conversation with you today, we beg to say that we agree to the proposal you made to the writer that the two foremen Wishart and and McGlashan shall either join the union or become engaged servants. These you mentioned were the conditions upon which the men would return to their work. It has been hitherto the practice when there was any complaint to make to write first to the employer, and we regret very much, as we are certain every proper thinking man in your body must, that a very different course has been pursued in the present instance. Had you either written or spoken to us before the men struck work the same end would have been gained.

(Signed) "Robt. Steele & Co."

"Messrs. Robert Steele and Co.

"Gentlemen, Greenock, 23d February 1864.

"In answer to yours of the 22d inst., I am instructed to inform you, by the members of the Greenock Shipwrights' Provident Union Society, that they, after having taken your letter into consideration, have finally decided that they can have no farther intercourse with Mr. McGlashan, as they do not consider him eligible to become a member of our society. With regard to Mr. Wishart, after due consideration likewise, it was decided that they work with him on condition that he becomes a member of our society immediately.

"I am, &c.,

(Signed) "Wm. Wilson,

"Preses."

"Mr. Wm. Wilson, Preses, Shipwrights' Union.

"Sir, Greenock, 23d February 1864.

"We are in receipt of your favour of this date, and beg to say in reply that we consider the decision come to by the union most unreasonable. With regard to Mr. McGlashan, we agree that he either produce satisfactory lines of apprenticeship and join the union, or that he leaves our employment. As to Mr. Wishart, he refuses to become a member of the union, and we shall consequently require to part with him. Indeed, we cannot expect to get any one in his position to join the union, and we hope the workmen will not be so very unreasonable as to ask it. The position of head foreman carpenter with us is totally different from that of the other foreman, and we trust to the good sense and good feeling of the workmen to allow Mr. Wishart's successor, whoever he may be, to be unconnected with the union.

"We are, &c.,

(Signed) "Robt. Steele & Co."

"Messrs. Steele and Co.

"Gentlemen, Greenock, 24th February 1864.

"After receiving your letter of yesterday, a meeting of the Shipwrights' Provident Union Society was held, and your letter laid before the meeting. After being long and well discussed, the meeting finally determined that they can hold no farther intercourse with either Mr. Wishart or Mr. McGlashan, for the reasons that they have trifled with us so long, and finally putting us to defiance. If this barrier be removed the men are willing to resume work immediately. Be pleased to answer this by 12 o'clock to-day, as after that hour the men will take the liberty of engaging themselves wherever they can find work.

(Signed) "W. Wilson,

"Preses."

"Mr. Wm. Wilson.

"Sir, Greenock, 24th February 1864.

"We are in receipt of your letter of this date, and agree to the terms.

(Signed) "R. S. & Co."

The following letters refer to the scarcity of shipwrights in the port of Greenock caused by the action of the Shipwrights' Union:—

"Mr. William Wilson, Preses, Shipwrights' Union.

"Sir, Greenock, 14th January 1865.

"We have been informed that it is the intention of the Shipwrights' Union to prevent the stranger carpenters who have been lately been employed by us from working any longer with us. This we must say if persevered in would be most unjust to us, as we not only want the services of the men but we could at present, and during the next six months, employ thirty to forty more. You may remember when we applied to some time ago to be allowed to bring some hands to town in order to enable us to complete our contracts by the time agreed on, your reply was that if we brought hands to town you would exercise your privilege of requiring them to join the union. This of course put a stop to our getting any, and in consequence our work got seriously behind, and the ships we had on hand were not delivered by the time we contracted, which in several cases subjected us to heavy penalties. At present the ship we have on the stocks in the woodyard ought to have been delivered by 1st November last, in order to go out to China in time for next season's teas, but in consequence of the scarcity of hands we have not been able to fulfil our contract and the ship will not he delivered for several months yet; she is therefore of no use to her owners for this year, and as she is intended for the China trade they cannot send her out there till next fall, thereby losing a whole year of the ship's employment. The loss to them is so great that we are expecting daily to hear that they will refuse to take delivery of the ship; you will therefore see, that should such be the case we must naturally feel that this misfortune has been brought upon us by the action of the union. We have therefore to request that you will not only allow those men who have joined us to remain, but that you will at once take steps to procure for us at least thirty additional hands. We are, &c.

(Signed) "R. Steele & Co."

"Mr. William Wilson,

"Preses, Shipwrights' Union.

"Sir, Greenock, 5 June 1865.

"We are at present in want of about 60 carpenters, and will thank you to procure them for us in order to enable us to accomplish the work we have at present in hand by the time we contracted. We have to complain of the very great injustice of your union, that while we are so urgently in want of workmen you sent away from our iron building yard about three weeks ago above a dozen men. You cannot but see that such conduct is not only most unjust to us, but highly injurious to the interests of the town, and therefore most prejudicial to your own interests. We trust you will at once adopt means to procure for us the number of men we want.

"We are, &c.,

(Signed) "Robert Steele & Co."

"Mr. William Wilson,

"Preses, Shipwrights' Union.

"Sir, Greenock, 12th June 1865.

"We are without any answer to our letter to you of 5th inst., and as time is most pressing with us, we have urgently to request that you will at once take steps to get us the carpenters we require. Our contract work is already very far behind, and unless we get some assistance we shall be placed in very serious difficulties with the owners of the ship. We have already suffered most severely through the interference of your society with the labour, having paid several thousand pounds of penalties during the last three years for ships not completed within the time contracted. We trust to hear from you immediately on the subject.

"We are, &c.,

(Signed) "R. S. & Co.

"P.S.—Since writing the above we are very much surprised to learn from one of your committee that although a week has elapsed since you received our letter you have not yet called the committee together, or taken any steps to get us men. This we think great neglect on your part, and very unfair to us, as every day is precious.

(Signed) "R. S. & Co."

"Mr. William Wilson, Preses,

"Shipwrights' Society.

"Sir, Greenock, 13th June 1865.

"Since writing you yesterday we are very much surprised to learn that a large number of the Greenock carpenters are at present employed at Port Glasgow. While the Greenock masters require hands we think it very unfair to them that the men in this union should be allowed to take work elsewhere If the union prevents men coming to town when the work requires additional men, we think the very least thing they can do, to make such an interference bear as lightly as possible on the masters and the trade of the town, is to oblige their members to remain in town as long as the work here requires them.

"We are, &c.,

(Signed) "Robert Steele & Co."

"Harvre Lane Hall,

"Sir, 13th June 1865.

"At a meeting of committee held to night to consider your request of 5th instant, we would wish you to state for how long you would employ those men, as we may have to procure them from a distance; also, we can enter into arrangement with men only on the understanding from you, that when our own members are refused work it will then be obligatory on us to withdraw them; also, in answer to your statement of your members working in Port Glasgow, I beg to state that we have no control over them as long as they are in the boundaries of our society.

"I am, sir, &c.

(Signed) "William Wilson, Preses."

"Mr. William Wilson.

"Sir, Greenock, 14th June 1865.

"We are in receipt of your favour of the 13th inst. We cannot say how long we could employ the men we require at present, as everything would depend upon what amount of repairs we may have to do. If your union did not so unjustly interfere with the supply of labour for the port it would regulate itself by the ordinary law of supply and demand, and the trade would be increased to a very large extent. We have ourselves refused a very great deal of work during the last few years in consequence of the want of carpenters, and for the same cause have suffered very heavy loss by our contract work not being completed by the time agreed on. During the last two months we calculate that your union have driven from our works about 30 men. If these had not been interfered with our work would have been in a more advanced state and we should have been relieved from the danger which now threatens us. If the two ships we are at present building are not ready by the time agreed on we shall be in a most serious difficulty, as they will be unable to take the voyage for which they are now engaged. The very last ship we built, the 'Chinaman,' should have been ready in November last for the China tea season trade, but she was not ready till April, and was therefore too late for the trade intended, and for which we had to pay a heavy penalty, and besides lost the good opinion and friendship of the owner, so that he will never give us another ship to build. You must surely see how very aggravating these matters must be to an employer, and you would find it very much to your own interests if instead of pursuing the policy you have been doing you consulted the interests of your employers more. With regard to additional men, if the hands we have at present employed at the Town Dock come all over to our own dock we think 30 additional hands would

Mr. R. Steele, jun.

26 May 1868.

get us out of our difficulties. We expect a ship, the 'Alfred the Great,' to be here in a few days from Amsterdam to be reclassed, and unless we get more hands we shall have either require to take some from our new work and get into trouble with the owners, or else refuse to do the repair to the ship.

"We are &c.,
(Signed) "Robert Steele & Co."

"Robert Steele, junr., Esq.,
"Sir, Harvre Lane Hall, 19th June 1865.

"In answer to your letter of 14th current, at a general meeting held this evening, your letter was there read and discussed, as we wished to comply with your request for additional men, as we have to send to a distance for them they would not come without a guarantee of time. As to your statement of our union driving from your work thirty men you must be wrongly informed. We have not interfered with any man in your employ. In regard to your statements of the men leaving your employ and going elsewhere, we have been much surprised at it ourselves, and on finding from inquiries it was stated that they receive more civility and respect in other yards in town.

"I am, &c.,
(Signed) "John Hutchison, Preses.

"Mr. John Hutchison,
"Preses, Shipwrights' Union.
"Sir, Greenock, 27th June 1865.

"We are in receipt of your favour of 19th inst. In consequence of having received a number of additional hands lately, and having now the prospect of getting as many as we may require very shortly, we do not need to urge our demand for strangers to be brought into the town. We hope therefore to be able to complete our present contracts very shortly over the time agreed upon. With regard to your remarks as to the disrespect with which workmen are generally treated in our establishment we beg in the most emphatic terms to contradict. We have the very highest respect for the honest, sober, and industrious workmen, and such we consider an honour to the trade, and who at all times receive from us the highest consideration, but we cannot pretend to have any respect for those of an opposite character, seeing they do not respect themselves.

"We are sir, &c.,
(Signed) "Robert Steele & Co."

The witness withdrew.

Mr. J. P. Smith.

Mr. John Paterson Smith examined.

17,446. (*Chairman.*) You are the secretary, I believe, of the Clyde Shipbuilders' and Engineers' Association, which is an association of the masters?—I am.

17,447. Was that established about two or three years ago?—In May 1866.

17,448. Was it established in consequence of the action of trades unions?—In conequence of the action of the unions at the time.

17,449. Are the rules that are here before us the rules of that association?—Yes.

17,450. (*Mr. Hughes.*) These rules were settled, as I understand, at meetings in June and August in 1866?—They were amended at those meetings.

17,451. When were they first settled?—I think that they were settled first in May, but they were amended in June and August.

17,452. At any rate, no rules existed previously to that year?—No rules existed previously to that year.

17,453. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Nor since these?—Nor since these.

17,454. (*Lord Elcho.*) How many subscribing members are there?—Our subscribing members will number, I think, somewhere about 35.

17,455. Subscribing, according to rule 3, 4*l.* for every man and boy?—Yes, or rather, granting a liability to that extent.

17,456. That gives a sum total of what amount?—Between 90,000*l.* and 100,000*l.*

17,457. At the present moment in case of a strike that association could draw to that extent?—Yes, if required; we hold promissory notes payable at a day's date lodged in bank, and for which we can get cash at any time.

17,458. (*Mr. Hughes.*) What proportion of the shipbuilders on the Clyde were present at the meetings, or agreed to the rules?—I believe that with the exception of three or four firms all the firms on the Clyde were present.

17,459. Now, have all the firms come in?—There are some still out. The builders in Dumbarton are not members; the largest firm there (Messrs. Wm. Denny & Brothers) was, in consequence of the action of the unions some years ago, obliged to shut their works; they then resolved not to employ any more union men, and they believe they have no union men now. Messrs. Robert Napier and Sons, in consequence of Government contracts on hand at the time of the lock-out, and which could not be delayed, could not join, but they have always supported the association.

17,460. They are in the position of non-unionists?—They are very much in that position.

17,461. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Denny's concern and Napier's concern form no part of your association?—They do not.

17,462. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Were these rules submitted to those meetings as they stand now?—They were submitted and discussed at several meetings.

17,463. Were they accepted unanimously or anything like unanimously?—All our meetings I may say have been unanimous. We have had no division on any particular since we have been organized.

17,464. Then the representatives of all these firms agreed that a majority of two-thirds should limit them in all these matters which are named in the rules?—They so agreed.

17,465. And you have had no strike since then?—We have a strike going on now with the ship joiners.

17,466. In how many firms?—All the firms on the Clyde, about 30 firms I should say.

17,467. How did that strike arise?—It arose in this way. The branch of the joiners' union in Greenock made a demand through their secretary upon the Greenock employers for an advance of 2*s.* per week. This was not conceded, and it was followed by another demand, stating that unless the 2*s.* per week was agreed to by a certain day, they would strike work and would not resume under a rise of 3*s.*

17,468. That was made in all the shops; they did not try to take the masters in detail?—They took the Greenock masters. The strike was at two or three shops, and comprised about 250 men on the 21st March.

17,469. What did the masters do?—The masters had a meeting previous to their striking at which they approved of the action of the masters in Greenock in not conceding the demand of the men. The result of the masters' meeting was communicated to the secretary of the men's unions, and immediately a reply was returned that next day the men would leave work and not return till the demands were conceded. Then the strike took place. The masters called a meeting at Glasgow, and passed a resolution on the 25th of March last, resolving not to employ any joiners belonging to the union until the strike was terminated. The masters considered the union was to blame,

as no demand had come from the men themselves; the demand was made by the union secretary.

17,470. Then they turned out of all the workshops all joiners belonging to the union?—They put up a notice that all joiners belonging to the union were to cease work. The result was that not only those belonging to the union but also a great proportion of the non-unionists went out.

17,471. Did you turn them out too?—No, we did not turn them out, but they made common cause.

17,472. Are they out still?—The strike has not been withdrawn, and the lock-out remains in force until it is. I may say that the number of joiners employed by the members of this association previous to the strike was somewhere about (I am speaking roughly just now) 950 journeymen joiners. The number that were in after the strike and lock-out was somewhere about 240. The strike is still going on, but now there are at work about 640 or 650 men.

17,473. How is that?—It is in this way: we have got from London, through the agency of the Free Labour Registration Society, about 130 or 140 men I think, and we have also got from the north and east of Scotland a great number of men, and also a number of joiners have left the union and come back to their work.

17,474. So that in fact the strike is virtually over as far as your men are concerned?—Well, it is not over, it is still going on, but we expect that it is dying out. We have now about 650 men in, and our previous number was 950 or 960.

17,475. Then the whole of the members of the masters' association have joined in this action?—Yes.

17,476. So that you have had no test of your rules—that is to say, you have had no subscription for any particular firm; there has been no call on the others, inasmuch as all have suffered alike?—Just so, and in cases where strikes have taken place with individual firms, no demand has been made.

17,477. (*Chairman.*) It is no subscription, but only a liability?—It is a liability which is available at any time.

17,478. A promissory note being given in proportion to the number of men employed?—Yes, exactly so; of course we make a subscription to meet the working expenses of the association.

17,479. Those are of an insignificant amount, I suppose?—Yes, something very small.

17,480. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Is this form of inquiry which I find at page 15 of your rules, what is referred so as "lines of clearance" in the 19th rule?—No that is not "lines of clearance."

17,481. What is the meaning of "lines of clearance"?—"Lines of clearance" refer to apprentices who have not completed their apprenticeship. Many of them are not under a written agreement, and very often when they see a chance they leave one employer and go to another. The employers think that it is very unfair that the employer who has had an apprentice the first two or three years of his apprenticeship and paid him more than he was worth, should lose him at the end when his services become valuable, and they have combined amongst themselves that as a matter of honour they should not take one another's apprentices.

17,482. Your lines of clearance, though they would seem to apply to workmen, are stated in rule 19 to apply to apprentices?—They apply to apprentices, or workmen under agreement.

17,483. Then "workmen under agreement" and apprentices are the same people?—Yes, under Rule 19.

17,484. Then in the case of an ordinary workman, is it the duty of the member of the association to whom he applies for work to forward such an inquiry to you?—Not to me; it is his duty to forward it to the master whom the workman has left; but in case he should not wish to communicate with that master, he sends it direct to me.

17,485. But either through you or directly through the master, it is his duty to have this form of inquiry filled up by the last master of any man that applies to him?—Yes, the occasion for that was this: In some shops on the Clyde there was a good deal of piece work done; the men who had contracts sometimes left them unfinished, and other men who had engagements went away, and the masters did not know where to find them; and sometimes men applying for work made representations as to wages they received, and the class of work they were accustomed to, which the masters had cause to doubt, and therefore the masters thought it well that they should cause that form of inquiry to be sent to obtain that information both as to the men's character and whether the statements were true; and they have found the enquiry form most useful, for while it is a check upon the evil-doer, it is an advantage to the good and well-behaved workman.

17,486. But as I understand, unless this form is filled up satisfactorily a member of the association is bound not to give employment to the applicant?—If he sees that he is under agreement to another employer he cannot, or rather as a man of honour he will not, give him employ. He may have a verbal agreement though not a written one, and the members of the association think it is their duty to act with one another in matters of that kind.

17,487. In fact it is their duty to see that that inquiry paper is filled up accurately?—Yes.

17,488. (*Mr. Mathews.*) The association interposes no obstacle at all to the employment of men in the regular way, provided that they are perfectly free from a previous engagement?—No obstacle whatever.

17,489. When a man applies for employment and states that he has no prior engagement, is it generally the case that the person to whom he applies applies to his previous master?—It is understood to be his duty always to apply.

17,490. Is there much deviation from that rule?—I do not think that there is much. Perhaps when everything is going on smoothly there is a little laxity, but it is understood to be against our rules not to apply.

17,491. But in the event of the master to whom he applies finding that he has broken a contract with some previous master, he invariably refuses?—Not invariably perhaps, but it is the rule.

17,492. The rule with reference to apprentices is adhered to, is it not?—It is difficult to enforce the rule as it appears in that book. An apprentice may have been with several employers, and he may say that he has lost his lines of clearance. He is sometimes taken in as a skilled workman is, and an inquiry sent to his former employer.

17,493. That is to say, the apprentice may have broken his agreement so often that it may have been gradually lost sight of?—Yes, or through other causes he may be unable to produce his lines of clearance.

17,494. (*Mr. Booth.*) Have you any means of knowing whether a master ever employs a man under engagement?—I should think not.

17,495. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You do not know any instance?—I do not know any instance.

17,496. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Does this union of masters interfere or attempt to interfere, directly or indirectly, with the trade of those masters who have refused to join the union?—Certainly not. Indeed, those who have not joined us act in concert with us as much as our own members do.

17,497. (*Mr. Hughes.*) We have been told that these rules were agreed to rather in a hurry?—Yes.

17,498. I should like to ask whether the 10th and 11th and 12th rules were discussed; those are the rules as to "Action to be taken in case of demands made by workmen," "Duty of members in case of a strik," and "Powers of general meeting of association to resolve "that members shall cease to employ workmen." It seems to me so extraordinary that men should agree to be bound by two-thirds in such points as these, and to such an extent, that I should like to know whether they were really carefully considered?—Those very rules were considered fully, and discussed many days.

17,499. Do you think that the members of the

Mr. J. P. Smith.
26 May 1868.

association are prepared to carry them out thoroughly?—I think so; so far as we have gone they have always done so.

17,500. (*Lord Elcho.*) Do you know, with respect to the trade union of the men, what majority binds?—I do not know.

17,501. A bare majority, is it not?—I really do not know how the men's unions act in that respect.

17,502. (*Mr. Mathews.*) I think you stated that this association was established as a defensive association?—Entirely so.

17,503. Against the association of the workmen's unions?—Yes.

17,504. In fact it has been a defensive association throughout?—I cannot recall any act just now that has not been a purely defensive act.

15,505. And in the event of the workmen's union ceasing this association would become a dead letter?—We should be only too glad to give it up.

15,506. It has never been aggressive?—No.

15,507. Defensive throughout?—Defensive entirely.

15,508. (*Mr. Hughes.*) I understood the last witness to say that it was formed in anticipation of the strike of 1866?—In anticipation of the lock-out, not in anticipation of the strike. We had many strikes pending at the time.

17,509. You consider that purely defensive?—Perhaps I had better recall, as nearly as I can remember them, the circumstances of that period. There were a series of strikes of various classes of men and various kinds. Then there came a general claim for the reduction of the hours of labour from 60 to 55 hours a week, the men asking a conference on the subject. The masters met then having no association formed, and considered the subject. They felt that it would not be prudent to strike off five hours from the week's work, and they agreed that each employer should hold a conference with his own men and ascertain what was wanted, and make any reasonable concession. The men in the various yards, after meeting with their employers, told them that they had no power to meet with their employers at all; what they wanted was an aggregate meeting of the employers and delegates from the workmen to hold a conference and discuss the matter. A conference was held, and I think it extended over two or three days, at which the masters agreed to limit the hours of work in a week to 57. The workmen agreed to that, and the next demand turned out to be that there was to be 60 hours' pay for the 57 hours' work, which the masters refused. A number went out on strike from various shops, and the masters saw no escape from the difficulty but a lock-out, so they formed an association with two or three days' notice, and locked out 17,000 or 18,000 men at once.

17,510. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Was the effect of that lock-out to bring the men to the masters' terms with reference to the decreased pay for decreased work?—Yes, the joiners came in first, and the others followed in succession; the carpenters were the longest out, they remained out 16 or 18 weeks.

17,511. (*Lord Elcho.*) Are not some on strike now?—The shipjoiners are on strike now.

17,512. (*Mr. Mathews.*) But the strike is not of that nature to justify the employers in a general lock out?—Not at the present time.

17,513. If the present strike were to become aggravated the masters would be obliged to have recourse to a lock-out as previously?—Yes.

17,514. They never have recourse to a lock-out except on an extreme emergency?—No.

17,515. In case of a fight on the part of the men against the masters, it is for the masters to bring into play their reserved forces and have a lock-out?—Yes, it is the only power they have.

17,516. Is that generally successful?—The first was successful; and that now pending is a lock-out only of joiners belonging to a particular union.

17,517. And if the masters resorted to a lock-out again, do you think it would be effective?—I believe it would be effective.

17,518. But it is a remedy which the employers do not employ except on an emergency?—Certainly not, it is a very serious loss to themselves.

(*Mr. Steele.*) May I be allowed to add one sentence. Some of the Commissioners have spoken as if I had led them to understand that we did no work by piece work. What I referred to altogether was the shipwrights, who only do day work; but the boiler makers and ironworkers are altogether on piece work; we work with them on piece work, and prefer it.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. J. Allen.

Mr. JOHN ALLEN examined.

17,519. (*Chairman.*) Are you a boiler-maker at Liverpool?—An iron shipbuilder. The association or union with which I am connected extends over all parts of the three kingdoms where the trade exists.

17,520. It is an iron shipbuilders' association, and the head office is in Liverpool?—Yes.

17,521. (*Lord Elcho.*) Does it embrace the Clyde?—Yes.

17,522. (*Chairman.*) Are you the secretary?—Yes.

17,523. When was it established?—In 1834. When first established it only embraced the boiler makers' society; but when iron shipbuilding commenced, any men being employed upon that business, it also embraced the term "iron shipbuilding" with the work of the boiler-makers, and took the name of the Boiler-makers' and Iron Shipbuilders' Society of Great Britain and Ireland. That is the title at present.

17,524. How many members have you got at present?—We have about 7,000.

17,525. Have you got your rules here?—I have not them with me. I forwarded them here some time ago in anticipation of my coming to give evidence.

17,526. What is the subscription for members?—4*s.* per month at present.

17,527. Have you branches in most of the ports; have you a branch in Dublin, for instance?—Yes, in Dublin, and Waterford, and Cork, and Belfast.

17,528. And you are on the Clyde also?—Yes, and on the Clyde. We have members in Glasgow.

17,529. You have branches in the chief ports of the United Kingdom?—Yes.

17,530. How long have you been secretary?—It is 11 years this month since I took the head secretaryship of it.

17,531. Have you at times had strikes since you have been the secretary?—Yes, we have had various strikes. I have a general statement of our strikes and our expenditure for the last six or seven years.

17,532. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Do not you print your periodical reports like the other societies, which show the expenditure?—We have printed them, but last year (I am bound to admit it, and I admit it with sorrow) we had not funds to go to the expense of doing so.

17,533. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You say that your contribution is 4*s.* a month?—At present it is.

17,534. And what fund have you now?—Somewhere about 1,000*l.* now.

17,535. (*Chairman.*) Will you tell us when the important strikes occurred, how long they lasted, and what they cost you?—During the five years previous to 1867 our disputes or strikes cost us 5,803*l.* 1*s.* 3½*d.*

17,536. That is for the whole of your branches?—For the whole of our branches.

17,537. Where was any particular strike?—The heaviest was at Chatham Dockyard.

17,538. That cost how much?—I have not the exact item. It included the whole of the strike expenses together during the period.

17,539. What was the date of the Chatham strike?—It happened in 1862.

17,540. And how long were the men out on strike?—I believe that the men were out about 13 or 14 weeks.

17,541. What was the question which led to the strike?—It was on account of the iron shipbuilders being requested to work with the shipwrights and other men who were not accustomed either to the shipwright's trade or to the iron shipbuilding trade. The men objected; consequently a strike ensued, and it continued for 13 or 14 weeks.

17,542. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) And what was the result? The result was that it almost ended as it began. The shipwrights went on the work, and other assistance they got. The men thought proper to go in and do the best they could to instruct the shipwrights and work themselves, and so it ended.

17,543. The strike failed of its object?—The next was at Mr. Wigram's of Blackwall. That cost our society 1,500*l.* It was on account of our men not being willing to work with the shipwrights, to instruct them in the iron shipbuilding. Mr. Wigram was agreeable for our men to work with the shipwrights, but our men were not agreeable to instruct them in the art of iron shipbuilding; consequently our men retired from the yard and they came upon the funds of our society and received strike-pay

17,544. (*Mr. Booth.*) What was the result of that?—It resulted in this, that from time to time, and as it went on, Mr. Wigram continued his work as he commenced it. We gained no advantage, and I do not know that Mr. Wigram did any more than gain his object and we ours. I do not know whether he lost anything or not.

17,545. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) When you say, "We carried our object," what did you gain?—We gained nothing, but lost our money.

17,546. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You were beaten?—We were not beaten.

17,547. You did not get what you went out for?—No.

17,548. But Mr. Wigram did, for he carried on his work?—Yes, but whether to an advantage or not I cannot say.

17,549. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) But you lost your money?—Yes. Those are the only two strikes that are of any great moment.

17,550. (*Mr. Mathews.*) At what period did this strike at Mr. Wigram's occur?—Somewhere about the same time, 1861 or 1862. The next case that I have to name which may perhaps be considered to take the course or name of a strike is a question that has been just brought up, before my taking my seat, by the previous witness; that is with respect to the lock-out on the Clyde. The lock-out on the Clyde cost our society 2,167*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.*

17,551. (*Mr. Booth.*) Was that the lock-out resisting the diminished pay according to the diminished number of hours?—No; I have never heard of that subject before as the cause of a lock-out.

17,552. What was the object of the strike you now refer to?—There was a firm in Renfrew in whose shop there were 13 members of our society, and they wished to have an increase on the pay, either to do so much less or to receive more for what they were doing. We only had 13 members in that shop, the greater number being non-unionists and those who come under the name of apprentices, or men progressing in the trade. The men solicited that increase, but eventually it turned out that through the employers in that yard applying to other firms the men of that yard left, and in consequence of that a lock-out took place, but without having any reference whatever to the shortness of the time of labour; it was merely a question of advance of wages on the prices then received. Now so far it was the case that our men came out, that is to say, the unionists of our trade came out; but they were in the minority, a long way in the minority; we never had above 2,000 men, members of our society, on the Clyde, where there are so many thousands. We were in the minority and compelled to give way to the non-members, and eventually out of the many thousands that were locked out during that time we only paid to the members of our society during that time 2,167*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.*, whereas if we had been the majority we should have had five times that sum to pay.

17,553. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What was the result of that?—The result was that those men who first brought the union men out found that they had no funds to fall back upon, and they wished to throw themselves upon the funds of our union. We would not countenance them, and they ultimately rushed to the employers and went in and our men went in with them.

17,554. (*Mr. Booth.*) The strike failed of its object?—Yes, it failed. Our society was quite opposed to it from beginning to end. They were compelled to leave. They said, "Would our society stand aloof and see "members of a union stopping at work while non-"members were striking for such an advantage as "they thought it would be to them?" So that we really suffered by the non-unionists, and the union bore the blame of the whole action.

17,555. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Is yours a friendly society; have you any rules as to giving allowances to your members in case of accident, sickness, and so forth?—Yes. I will read the statement of what that has cost for the same period as I have now named. For the six years previous and up to January the 1st, 1868, the expenditure for sickness was 18,145*l.* 4*s.* 3*d.*; funerals, 4,213*l.*; surgeons and their attendance on members, 5,052*l.* 3*s.* 4½*d.*; travelling in search of employment, 15,698*l.* 18*s.* 2½*d.*; aged members at home, 1,111*l.* 10*s.* 10½*d.*; aged and superannuated members, 1,391*l.* 0*s.* 7*d.*

17,556. What is the difference between the last item and the last but one?—There are two classes; men that are considered too old to travel, others that are considered too old to labour. Then for sending men to situations the expenditure was 259*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.*

17,557. Why was not that included in the 15,000*l.* for travelling?—That refers to men in search of employment; men that are out of employment, and wish to go somewhere else to seek it.

17,558. What is the meaning of "travelling"?—We give them a travelling card, and they receive so much per day at the branches throughout the country while they are in search of employment.

17,559. And upon that you spent 15,000*l.*?—Yes.

17,560. Why was not this 250*l.* that was spent on sending members to situations included under the same head of travelling?—It is not travelling; I will explain what it is. If an employer or a foreman has a particular desire for a certain person, and that person is out of employment, we go to the expense of paying that man's fare or travelling money to send him to that employer to oblige him so far. That is different from a man travelling in the other way.

17,561. (*Mr. Mathews.*) When you speak of travelling expenses, they have so much a day besides the travelling expenses to account for that sum, have they not?—No, unless the man is out of employment and depending upon the funds of the society, then we allow him for the time he is travelling besides paying his fare.

17,562. Suppose that he is out of employment and is going about the country to search for work, does your society pay him so much a day while out of employment, or is that 15,000*l.* travelling expenses exclusively?—No, not exclusively; the travelling expenses are simply what is paid as a man's railway fare to take him to the place.

17,563. You paid 15,000*l.* during that period to men travelling?—Men on travel looking for employment.

17,564. It is a large sum, is it not?—Yes, but we must take into consideration the depression that existed for a part of the time. The 259*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.* is the bare railway fare; the other sum, the larger sum 15,698*l.* 18*s.* 2½*d.*, is at so much per day while the man is travelling the country in search of employment.

17,565. (*Mr. Hughes.*) That is all your expenditure?—That is all our expenditure.

Mr. J. Allen.

26 May 1868.

17,566. Besides which you have expended in strikes or disputes in the same period somewhere about 6,000*l.*?—Yes.

17,567. Then in fact you have raised in your society considerably upwards of 50,000*l.* in those six years?—Yes.

17,568. Has that all come by the 4*s.* a month regular subscription?—Yes, 54,151*l.* 15*s.* was our expenditure for that period, and that has all come through the force of subscriptions.

17,569. Have not you had any levies to bring it up to that amount?—No, not for any of the circumstances here named.

17,570. Then you have never made any call beyond the 4*s.* subscription?—No.

17,571. Have any of your benefits ever been refused, or is it the case that you have always paid all the benefits that you undertake to pay in your rules?—No, we have not.

17,572. Just tell us the times when you have not?—Latterly the depression has been so great that we have been compelled to reduce the benefits in respect of travelling money while out of employment, and that is the only thing that we have been unable to meet.

17,573. By your rules do you settle the amount which you will give to travelling in that way?—Yes, we settle 1*s.* 8*d.* per day for a person if he loses his employment through depression of trade, or anything satisfactory to the society.

17,574. And that particular allowance you have had to reduce?—We have had to reduce that at present, we are under a shilling a day.

17,575. How did you reduce that?—We reduced it by taking the sense of the members in question.

17,576. And they agreed to this reduction?—Yes.

17,577. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You state that you have only 1,000*l.* in hand; supposing that want of employment should continue, will you be obliged to increase your contribution in order to meet the liabilities?—We increased the contribution to meet the liabilities which we are at present under, we increased it from 3*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.* a month.

17,578. You have increased the liabilities, and been obliged to decrease the allowance to travelling members?—Yes.

17,579. Shall you not be obliged to carry that operation still further if the present depression continues?—We are about to take the question up before the whole of the members, and know whether we shall increase our contribution or lower the benefit of travelling money for a certain time. For sickness and funerals we still pay the full amount.

17,580. (*Mr. Booth.*) Have you any stated amount of superannuation which you allow?—Yes, when a man becomes too old to labour we pay him 5*s.* a week, and his contribution ceases.

17,581. Have you been able to pay that in these hard times, or have you been obliged to reduce it?—We have been able to pay that. As to superannuation, sickness, and funerals, we have met those demands.

17,582. (*Mr. Mathews.*) On the occasion of a strike in any particular part over which your association extends, do they before they strike communicate with you at head-quarters for your consent?—In the case of any strike that takes place they are bound to receive the consent of the executive council; if they do not receive it they are allowed no support whatever.

17,583. I think you said that the executive council is at Liverpool?—It is in Liverpool at present; it has been in Manchester.

17,584. Unless they communicate with the executive council in Liverpool and get the consent of that council, they are not allowed to get any money out of the association during the continuance of the strike?—Precisely so.

17,585. And in the event of their so communicating with the council, the council supports them with the funds while out on strike?—If they consider that they were justified in taking up the course of striking then they receive according to the amount prescribed by the rules.

17,586. In the event of the funds of the association being exhausted incidental to a strike, you would be obliged to increase the payment from the members?—We should seek to support them by a levy.

17,587. Have you had occasion to resort to a levy?—We have in some cases; for instance, there was a dispute in Liverpool some weeks ago which was contrary to the wish of the executive council. The executive council would not countenance it. So far as the principle was concerned the executive countenanced it, but the executive entertained no hope of carrying the object; consequently they advised them not to strike, but the men persisted in striking, and consequently they struck upon their own resources, and had to depend on their own resources, and eventually they failed. That was a reduction of wages that the employers made of the 4*s.* a week, and the men agreed to 2*s.* reduction, but the employers would not accept that.

17,588. Where did this occur that you are now speaking of?—In Liverpool, about five or six weeks ago, the employers would not agree to meet the men half-way, that is to say, between 4*s.* and 2*s.*, consequently the men came out.

17,589. That was the iron shipwrights, was it not?—The boiler makers and iron shipbuilders.

17,590. What is the result of the strike?—The result of the strike is that the men are in the same position now as in the beginning, for there is no work in the shops, and the men are not required to do it; the men who took the union men's places are walking the streets.

17,591. Did the men who took the union men's places take the reduced rates of wages, or did they get more?—Some of them did, they received that which the men had before they came out; they gave them that in order to induce them to come in.

17,592. Then there is no question as to a strike now as to the amount of wages, but simply as to the finding employment for the men?—That is the question at present.

17,593. And if the masters were to come and say, Now, we have got employment for you if you choose to come in at the reduced rate of wages, the men would be ready to go in under the master's terms?—Yes, but under the protest which that first gave to the employers.

17,594. No man goes in satisfied under a reduction, but seeing the inevitable necessity for reduction they would not stand against fate, but make the best of a bad bargain?—Certainly the men would take the work from the masters at the price they offered when the men struck.

17,595. (*Mr. Booth.*) As I understand it, the expenses that you have incurred in these abortive strikes put it out of your power to make the stipulated payment to the men for travelling expenses?—Yes, during the great depression.

17,596. But for those strikes you would have been able to keep faith with those men?—Yes, had trade been up to its usual point or anything like it.

17,597. Or if those expenses had not been incurred in those abortive strikes then you would have been able to make the stipulated payment?—Yes, if it had not been for the expenditure in strike years we should have been able to do so.

17,598. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) How many members have you in the Thames shipbuilding yards?—I could not say.

17,599. About how many up and down the river Thames, I mean?—We have between 1,300 and 1,500 men in London and the vicinity in different departments belonging to our union.

17,600. Have you been supporting them out of the funds of your association lately?—We have been supporting all those who come under the out-of-work donation. We have been supporting them at the East end.

17,601. (*Mr. Mathews.*) In regard to Liverpool, in

the case of this notice of reduction on the part of the the masters, what was the rate of wages previously paid; how much a day?—It was 32*s.* a week for riveting.

17,602. For how many hours?—Fifty-seven and a half hours per week.

17,603. And now they propose to reduce the men to 28*s.* a week for the same number of hours?—Yes, they have reduced them, and eight months before that they reduced them 3*s.* more, so that within fifteen months they have reduced the men in Liverpool 7*s.* per week.

17,604. That reduction having been brought on by the want of employment, in fact?—Well, we may say that it was brought on by the want of employment, but it was a very singular fact that those who brought it on had plenty of trade.

17,605. Is it not the fact that disasters have occurred among the iron shipbuilders in Liverpool, and has there not been great distress and ruin among those large establishments, and a breaking up?—I do not know any large establishment that has broken up.

17,606. At all events they have suspended, and not paid their creditors; that I call breaking up?—Well, I will allow that there have been some bankruptcies.

17,607. Then we will assume from that fact that the trade has been bad, and that there has been distress existing among the masters as well as among the men?—Yes, but I do not think, if I am to speak candidly (though I would also speak cautiously), that it was the depression in the trade that was the cause of the bankruptcies you are speaking of.

17,608. (*Mr. Hughes.*) What was the cause?—I should wish to be prudent. I would not wish to commit myself if there was a possibility of avoiding it. I am quite unacquainted with the operation of the law, but I know that it is very curious, and I may commit myself if I give the cause. I hope, therefore, you will not press me.

17,609. (*Mr. Mathews.*) I suppose you admit that it has arisen from causes entirely beyond the control of the masters and the men?—I believe that it was not beyond the control of the employers in the case, or in the two or three cases, or whatever number you are pleased to refer to.

17,610. You do not mean to say that the employer has failed, and had his establishment broken up from choice?—I mean to say that sometimes employers are imprudent, and run on one side of themselves as well as the men.

17,611. (*Chairman.*) Is there anything else that you wish to state here?—No, there is nothing else that I wish to say at present; but in the course of the examination of the employers, questions may arise that I should be able to answer, and there may be questions, perhaps, which at present I might go into, but yet you would have to recur to them again in the event of examining employers after me.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. Peter James Robson examined.

17,612. (*Chairman.*) In what way are you connected with the shipwrights' unions?—I am the President of the Shipwrights' Provident Union of the port of London.

17,613. That is an elective office for one year, probably?—Yes.

17,614. How long has that society been established?—It was established in 1824, and previous to that year there was no trade union or combination among the shipwrights in the Thames. But there had been frequent disputes amongst the employers and the employed, and also among the men themselves in reference to the way in which the work was taken. A number of the men took vessels to build by the job, and sublet it at a price at which those who did that work, although it was the mechanical portion of the work, were not able to make more than labourer's wages, and that was the cause of the union being instituted. And the principles of the union were that the minimum rate of wages should be 6*s.* per day; that the men should share equally among each other the amount earned on each particular job, and the price book was made out and submitted for the approval of the employers.

17,615. By the price book was the rate fixed at which they would take certain work by the piece?—Yes, the rate at which they would take certain work by the piece.

17,616. All the shipwrights were to share equally when that transaction was completed; but was there anything that compelled the man that took that piece of work to pay any given rate of wages to the labourers that he employed to do it?—In the trade at that time there were no labourers in the shipwright department until the iron shipbuilding took place. There were no labourers who had any connexion at all with wooden shipwrights.

17,617. Then at the time that that union was established the job might be taken by the piece, but then the shipwrights that were engaged in doing it were all entitled to share equally, and they were bound to calculate the price of the piece at the rate of 6*s.* per day each man's labour?—That does not follow, because if they took it for a price and had a stamped agreement (and it is at all times the wish of the men that that course should be adopted), and if it would not pay that rate all through they would have to work for some time for nothing till the completion of the job.

17,618. In taking a job they would calculate that those men should be paid a sum which would work out at the rate of 6*s.* a day, If it should turn out that they had done it at a less cost of labour, there would be something to divide, but if the job required more labour they would not be paid a farthing more?—Yes, that is so.

17,619. Have there been in your time some strikes by the members of that union?—There has been no general strike throughout the trade since that time.

17,620. Since 1824, you mean?—Since 1824 there has been no general strike, but there have been a few occasional strikes. The shipwrights struck at one particular yard, Messrs. Young, Son, and Magnay's, in 1856, on a question of beer time. The shipwright's work is very exhausting, and they require rest and refreshment, and it has always been the rule of the trade that half an hour should be allowed at 11 o'clock in the morning and half an hour at four o'clock, and Mr. Young wished to do away with that, and the men on those premises struck.

17,621. For that 6*s.* a day how many hours in the day did they work?—Nine and a half hours a day in the summer.

17,622. From what time?—From six in the morning until six at night was the day's work. Half an hour was taken out for breakfast, half an hour at 11 o'clock, one hour at one o'clock, and half an hour at 4 o'clock.

17,623. That is two and a half hours out of the 12, which would leave nine and a half hours' work?—Yes.

17,624. As far as your memory goes back, that was the number of hours they worked, was it?—That was the number of hours.

17,625. One firm tried to strike out the half hour at 11 o'clock?—They wished us to leave off at five in the afternoon without having these two half hour intervals.

17,626. Giving the same time but differently distributed?—Yes.

17,627. And the men disagreed and struck?—Yes.

17,628. Was it a general strike along the Thames?—No; in that one particular yard.

17,629. How long were they out?—They were out four months.

Mr. P. J. Robson.

26 May 1868.

17,630. In the end, what was the result?—That Mr. Young got as many men as he required to go in at his terms.

17,631. (*Mr. Mathews.*) The strike failed?—Not failed altogether; it failed as far as that yard was concerned, but the shipwrights were of opinion that whatever ruled in that yard would rule through the river.

17,632. (*Chairman.*) Messrs. Young took away that half hour?—Yes.

17,633. Do I rightly understand you that all the other firms on the river continued to allow that half hour?—They continued to allow it until very lately; but we have gone into work at any firm where they are doing the ironwork without the half hour, because it is not prudent that the machinery should stop during that half hour, so that if the men require beer or whatever they have, they take it as they go on with their work, or only stop a short time, and do not come off the premises.

16,334. (*Mr. Booth.*) That was not an unreasonable demand, was it, on the part of the masters, considering that it is inconvenient to stop the machinery?—They had no machinery in Mr. Young's case, and we objected to that demand until a good reason was shown why we should submit to it; there seemed no good reason why Mr. Young should do away with it, seeing that he gave us the two half hours at another time.

16,335. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Were the men who were out during that time paid by the society?—Yes.

16,336. What is the contribution?—We pay a penny a day for every day that we work. The men on that strike were paid 4*s.* a day.

16,337. How many members have you?—We have 1,400.

16,338. What is the state of your funds now?—We have 12,400*l.* in the new three per cent. annuities. I may say that our society was first a trade union society, established purposely for the protection of our trade and our members, but seeing that we have had no strikes for such a number of years, our funds have gradually increased, and it has merged largely into a benefit society.

17,639. The benefit purposes now take precedence in point of importance of the trade purposes?—Yes, with the exception of that strike of Messrs. Young's, which cost us nearly 3,000*l.*, we have had scarcely any strike; the amount paid in that way has been trifling in the extreme.

17,640. Have you certain rules providing for the payment of the members who are laid by from sickness and other causes?—We have no out-of-work fund.

17,641. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Have you a copy of the Rules?—Yes (*handing a copy to Mr. Hughes*).

17,642. (*Chairman.*) Do you calculate that you have derived any benefit from the unions beyond the benefits in sickness and burial fund and so on?—Yes, that is proved by the bare fact that they were always having disputes with the employers and among themselves before this, and that there have been none since or very few; of course there is disagreement, because we shipwrights in London work differently from any other shipwrights in the kingdom. This is the only port where they work by the job or the piece.

17,643. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Are the shipwrights who are out of employment in the East end members of your society?—Many of them; a number of our men are out of employment in the East end at the present time.

17,644. Then they are getting donations at present, I suppose?—We have no out of work fund. From the nature of our hiring, and from the fluctuations of the work, it would not be practicable. We may be all employed one day and half the hands walking about the next, because the specialty of the port is not so much shipbuilding as ship repairing. We have had a deal of shipbuilding of high class and low class in London, but it is only at certain times. In the time of the Russian war we numbered then 2,300 members. Of course after that we had to fall back on the old work that we always look for in the river, the repairing work; vessels must come to London and they must be repaired.

17,645. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You are speaking of wooden vessels now, not iron vessels?—I am speaking of wooden vessels now.

17,646. Your association applies principally to wooden vessels?—It applies principally to wooden vessels, but we do the ironwork as well in certain places. We do it for Mr. Wigram and for Mr. Green, but in the large yards, such as that of the Thames Company Limited, we do not. We are supposed by the public to earn 7*s.* a day, but it does not follow that we earn two guineas a week. In the repairing trade we may have to wait several days before we can dock a vessel; only from eight to 16 men are required to dock the vessel, and perhaps 20 or 30, but possibly not so many, will be required on the repairs. Our work fluctuates very much indeed.

17,647. (*Chairman.*) Still I do not see what your union does for you excepting that it is a source of strength in case there is need to resist the employers. You have tried one or two strikes that have been immaterial in their results; you formed a union and said, "We will have not less than 6*s.*" and 6*s.* you have had from the time that you formed the union to the present time. Therefore the strength of the union is that in case a master should infringe what you think to be sound trade rules, you would stand by one another?—Just so.

17,648. In case a master should offer you 5*s.* when you think that he ought to pay 6*s.* you would support one another?—Yes.

17,649. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) You do support one another when out of work?—No, only when out of work on strike.

17,650. We have been told that the shipwrights on the Thames now have been supported by their association. What association would that be, for you say that yours are not supported?—The Commission have been quite misinformed on that point. There is only only one shipwrights' society, and ours is that society, and we have no out-of-work fund. The statement has appeared frequently in the papers that the shipwrights were being supported and fell back upon their union; but such is not the fact; they would receive no support unless they were called out on strike.

17,651. (*Chairman.*) Whose yard do you work in?—Mr. Fletcher's.

17,652. Have you taken the work of any new ship by yourself, because in the case of Mr. Wigram's men, a single man would take the whole work himself?—No.

17,653. You do it jointly?—Yes, we do it jointly, and they do it the same. There must be one leading man; it is generally in the name of one man and mates. One man does not take it alone, but one is nominally the leader, and he is the provider of the stuff, but he shares just the same as the others.

17,654. He has nothing more to do than the rest with the terms accepted, except that as between him and his mates he is considered to have a better judgment; when you settle what terms you are to take the work upon you consult together, I suppose?—Yes.

17,655. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) You have said that the men have always wished that there should be a stamped agreement; in that case with whom would you have the masters enter into that stamped agreement?—With the party, or company, or gang (we call them a company) who would have to take it first, say six or eight men.

17,656. You said that the reason why the men wished to have that stamped agreement was that it would enable the masters to compel the completion of the contract. How would they be able to compel its completion if they only had a stamped agreement with six or seven of the men; those six or seven of the men could not complete the contract without the assistance of the others, could they? No; but those who went on to the work afterwards should by rights

see the agreement and know what they were going to work for, because if the business is carried on in a proper manner the employer will see that it is not overdrawn as they go on.

17,657. But the master must have some responsible party with whom to enter into such an agreement as you propose, and if he only enters into an agreement with six or seven men who undertake to do the job, employing other men to do it, I do not see what guarantee the master would thereby have of the job being completed?—There would be no objection to the whole of them signing it. That course has been adopted in many instances, for all the men to sign the agreement as they went on, but that is not usual; as a rule, the employer would not put it into the hands of those whom he did not consider trustworthy to carry it out.

17,658. (*Chairman.*) The 6*s.* is only the drawing, as far as I understand; you are to be paid so much for the total work, on account of which you may draw 6*s.* a day until the job is done; and if then adding up all the 6*s.* they do not amount to the contract price, the balance is paid over to you?—Yes. There are two ways in which the money is paid in the port. One is where there is no payment by time at all, but where you draw on account of the price, which there must be an agreement for. In some yards they take no agreement for day's work at all; but you send in a certain price, and then you get the price for the work performed according to the specification, and you get that each week in the majority of instances; there are one or two where it is done fortnightly. But in other yards they draw according to the number of day's work that is wrought, and then you receive any surplus at the end. The more legitimate way is to draw it according to work performed according to specifications.

17,659. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) We have been told that the shipwrights were offered work at 6*s.* 6*d.* a day. Are you aware whether that is so or not?—You mean in reference to the Thames Limited Company?

17,660. I refer to the evidence that was given to us by the secretary of that company just now?—They called some of their leading men, some who are in the habit of signing the contracts or of being considered responsible, and told them that they had six vessels of 800 tons to build, and gave them the specifications for them, and said, "You will have to do it at a reduction of 10 per cent." The men took it at what they thought was a reduction of 10 per cent. In the opinion of some it was an error of judgment on their part, because it was far more than a 10 per cent. reduction. When these same vessels were in the market another firm asked other shipwrights, "In the event of our taking this what will you do it for?" Now in the other case the men said that they would do it for a pound (that is per ton on the shipwrights' work); but in this particular case of the Thames Limited and these particular men they offered to do it at 12*s.* 6*d.* Now the union does not interfere in the least with any persons taking contracts. They do not say to any man, "You shall take the contract for this sum or that;" but they allow the better class of men or the better party to do it cheaper if they can, which is, they think, a legitimate arrangement. But this price of 12*s.* 6*d.* was not what the directors of the company or the manager of the company wanted; they wanted that the work drawn for should only be drawn for at 6*s.* 6*d.* a day, and the people who were called in knew that would not be allowed; for this reason, they had been called in question before for having had surplus money on jobs at that particular yard which they had not shared with the whole of their mates according to the custom of the trade; and it would have followed that if they had paid these men 6*s.* 6*d.* a day on account, the extra sixpence if they got it, that is to say if it paid them 7*s.* right through, would have gone into the pockets of the signers, or the responsible people; and it would also have followed that if we had worked for that particular firm in this special case for 6*s.* 6*d.* a day, we should have had to do it for every other firm; and it did not appear that the case was special only to them. But the men brought the case before a general meeting of the society, which said, "You know the rules of the society; you may work "for them at any price you like; 10 per cent. re- "duction or anything else that you like, but you may "not draw for your work less than 7*s.* a day, seeing "that it will rule the trade; but what you may do is "this—you may agree for a specification with the "manager, and agree with him that a certain amount "of work shall be paid a certain price for, and if it "only comes to 5*s.* a day, then it shows that you can- "not do any more. If you make that agreement the "union will not interfere with you at all." Now persons have stated in the public papers, and it has been believed by the public, that the refusal of the shipwrights to do that work was the cause of the company losing the contract; but the manager of the company told me when I saw him: "I did not send in "that price of 12*s.* 6*d.* before the directors, because "it was too small; they could not have completed the "job for the money; the directors never saw that; I "never sent it in."

17,661. (*Mr. Hughes.*) The manager was not a member of your society, I suppose?—He has been.

17,662. And he did it out of friendship to the men, I suppose?—Yes. These people who gave in the estimate to do it at 12*s.* 6*d.* believed that they could do it and make a good job of it; but others believed they could not.

17,663. (*Chairman.*) How could the directors be ruined by paying a very low price for the article they wanted to buy, because I understand you to say that the manager would not send it in. The seller offered to do it instead of at a pound at 12*s.* 6*d.*; the agent for the buyer says, "That is so low that you must lose by it, therefore I am determined to do more." That seems to be the effect?—But you see there were two parties who sent in their agreement to this man. One party, who brought their case before the society, sent in theirs for 12*s.* 6*d.* Now what I assert is that the company did not refuse to take that contract to build these vessels because the shipwrights refused a reduction in wages. They asked our men to reduce the price usually paid for such work 10 per cent., and I assert that the men did it, and that they did it to a greater extent than 10 per cent. reduction, that in fact they reduced their wages 20 per cent.

17,664. (*Mr. Mathews.*) But did not they stipulate that they should draw 7*s.* a day in the meantime?—If it was to be drawn on account right through the job.

17,665. And if the employers had paid on account 7*s.* a day to the men, they would have paid themselves short at the end of the time, and they could not have called on the men to re-imburse them?—Yes, they could.

17,666. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Would not the fact have been, in the instance which has been put to you, that so long as the price agreed upon would afford 7*s.* a day, the men would have drawn that, and then would have completed the job without drawing anything farther?—Yes, they would have done so. But that is not the course that the men were recommended to take, or that reasonable men would take. If they found that they had taken the job at a price that would not pay 7*s.* right through, the reasonable way, and the custom of our trade, would be to see at the fortnight's end whether they had overdrawn, and if they had, not to draw so much.

17,667. (*Chairman.*) How much was the sum in question?—500*l.*

17,668. "I will take it at 12*s.* 6*d.* a ton, and I am to draw 7*s.* a day without reference to the quantity of work done," was that what the shipwrights said?—We always have reference to the quantity of work done.

17,669. If I say, "I will take the shipwrights' work for 500*l.* for that ship of 800 tons, and I will draw 7*s.* a day," according to that contract the man that employed me would be bound to pay me 7*s.* a day; and then when he has paid the 500*l.*, and the ship is

Mr. P. J. Robson.

26 May 1868.

only half finished, he would say, "You are bound by your contract to finish that ship." Are there not some men that would say then, "It is necessary for me to have a breakfast and a dinner, and if you do not give me enough to get it, I will not continue working for you"?—That is not the custom of the trade as a matter of fact; although they might say that, men have worked for weeks without being paid. There have been times when a few of them who have been required to finish the job have been paid by their mates who were at work elsewhere, and who were on with them at the time.

17,670. (*Mr. Hughes.*) When they have a bad job, according to your experience, they finish it loyally themselves?—Yes, and the cases where they say that it is overdrawn, are the cases principally of the Government rams, and it would defy anybody to see what they would cost in the end, seeing that there are so many alterations in them.

17,671. (*Mr. Mathews.*) So that in the case of any alteration of a specification, the contract is void, and the men must go on at the stipulated rate of wage per day without any contract at all?—That is the custom.

17,672. So that putting aside the Government contracts, and putting aside any alterations in the terms of the specification, if the men agree with the master to build a vessel at 12*s.* 6*d.* a ton, and draw 7*s.* a day, supposing that before the vessel is half built they find that they cannot build it at that price, have the men then a right to say, "We will not go on working any longer," or the master to say, "I will not let you go on working any longer"; is not the stipulation still that the men have 7*s.* a day?—That is not the legitimate arrangement under which we work.

17,673. I meant to ask you whether that was not the legitimate result in the case of this contract that was offered you?—No, it does not appear to me so, because in going on with our work we always have regard every week to the question whether we have earned the money.

17,674. (*Chairman.*) As I understand you, in many specifications you put stages. "You shall have so much value for work done;" and you pay the man either at those stages, or else a certain sum divided into 7*s.* a day?—But what I am endeavouring to prove is this, that certain persons have made a statement to the public, and it is believed by the public, that the company lost their contract in consequence of our refusal to work for 6*s.* 6*d.* a day. Now the facts of the case are that they accepted our contract, that is to say, they accepted our price per ton for these vessels, but they refused to allow us to draw it in our way. The way in which they wanted us to draw this money would have been an act of injustice to a number of our men in the rest of the yards, because those men also would have had to work for 6*s.* 6*d.* a day.

17,675. (*Mr. Booth.*) Was it not the fact that they refused to allow you to do that which would be overdrawing the account in their judgment?—In their judgment they did so; but we offered if they would make a specification out, if it only paid 5*s.* a day at the end of the week we would take it if it would be for work done. I may state that the amount in dispute was only 35*l.* on each vessel. The secretary said 90,000*l.* for the whole. I should have said from what I know that the vessels would be about 20,000*l.* each, and the question in dispute was only 35*l.* on each vessel. It was not on the amount, but merely on the mode of payment, and on that fact they tell the general public that they were obliged to refuse those contracts; and the shipwrights in consequence have had all the blame and the odium of the distress in the east end of London.

17,676. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Then the objection of the shipwrights to receiving less than 7*s.* a day on account was owing to the fear lest it should be construed into an acceptance on their part of reduced wages which would extend to the other shipwrights?—Yes.

17,677. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) But in what way would you be doing a greater injustice to the other shipwrights on the Thames in accepting 6*s.* 6*d.* per day than in accepting the contract at 12*s.* 6*d.* per ton while the usual price was 1*l.* a ton?—Well, it was a matter of opinion whether they were right in offering for 12*s.* 6*d.* a ton.

17,678. You say that the men accepted 12*s.* 6*d.* a ton, and that they only refused to draw 6*s.* 6*d.* a day because of doing an injustice to the other shipwrights?—Yes.

17,679. (*Mr. Mathews.*) In fact, the shipwrights wished it not to go forth to the public that they were working for less than 7*s.* a day, lest that fact should prejudice the other shipwrights?—It would be known the next day all over London. It was stated at the time, and it was reported in the newspapers, that the Government were about to issue 40 vessels to the building firms, that is to say, to the private yards, and of course we reasonably supposed that a number of them would come to London; and we should not have been justified therefore in taking a considerable reduction at this one place.

17,680. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) In short, it comes to this, that the shipwrights thought it was better for the men not to be employed at all rather than it should be known that they were receiving 6*s.* 6*d.* a day instead of 7*s.* That is the plain statement, I suppose?—It is nothing of the sort, as it appears to me. We were most anxious to get this job, and we offered a legitimate way in which we might take it.

17,681. (*Mr. Mathews.*) That is to say, you offeree to do it in an indirect way instead of a direct one. If you had come and said, "Instead of working for 7*s.* a day we will work for 6*s.* 6*d.*," do you not think that these jobs would have come into the Thames?—I do not think that there was the slightest probability of their getting them.

17,682. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You believe that they had no real existence whatever?—None.

17,683. (*Mr. Mathews.*) But supposing that they had been issued, if they could have got those ships built cheaper on the Clyde or on the Tyne would they not have gone there?—If they could have found a firm willing to take the work on their terms they would have done so. One of those terms was taking part payment in the shares of a company.

17,684. And the fact of the shipwrights on the Thames stipulating for 7*s.* a day (whether they got it by an indirect mode is another question) because they were afraid to take any steps that would lead th public to suppose, or their fellow workmen to suppose' that they were taking less, would have had the effect of driving work into the Clyde or Tyne, where the men were working for 5*s.* 6*d.* a day?—As soon as a *bonâ fide* offer was given to us of building a vessel it was accepted. Mr. Green said, "I have a vessel to build for myself, but you must take it at a reduced price per ton." The men said, "We will take it;" and he said, "Now I think that you had better reduce your wages to 6*s.* 6*d.*; there is a great outlay, &c." Here was an offer, a real offer, and the shipwrights went to work on these terms.

17,685. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Then I understand you to say that in the case of the Thames Shipbuilding Company there was no *bonâ fide* offer made to the men of employment at 6*s.* 6*d.* a day?—There was not.

17,686. (*Mr. Mathews.*) If there had been a *bonâ fide* offer made to the men of employment at 6*s.* 6*d.* a day, would they have gone to work at 6*s.* 6*d.*?—I am not prepared to say that.

17,687. (*Chairman.*) Will you tell me the meaning of the statement you made just now that the only question was 35*l.* upon 20,000*l.*?—The value of each vessel would have been 20,000*l.*, and the question in dispute on which the company say they gave up the contract was 35*l.* on each vessel.

17,688. Would the 6*d.* a day come to that?—Yes, the 6*d.* a day on 500*l.* (the amount of the shipwrights' work) would have come to 35*l.*

17,689. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Whether the shipwrights' work was 500*l.* or 5,000*l.*, if the shipbuilder had come to the shipwrights and said, "I can take this contract if

you will take 6*s.* 6*d.* a day instead of 7*s.*," would the men have consented to that reduction of their wages?—I cannot say.

17,690. (*Chairman.*) You say that all they were concerned with was 12*s.* 6*d.* per ton, and that the shipwrights were ready to take the work at 12*s.* 6*d.* per ton?—Yes.

17,691. (*Mr. Booth.*) It has been stated to us distinctly that the men refused to take 6*s.* 6*d.* a day on account; that they refused to work unless they were allowed 7*s.* a day on account. Is that so?—Yes, but it very likely never came before the secretary of the company who made that statement that the men made this offer; they offered to do it in this way, to draw according to work done regardless of the amount they received each week. We work by the piece, and we say, "We will do a certain amount of work for a "certain amount of money, parcel it off into sections, "and when we have done a certain amount we will "receive the sum due for it."

17,692. (*Chairman.*) You say that you made that offer, and the secretary never made it to the Thames Company, as I understand you?—I cannot say that. The secretary does not appear to know it; but that offer was made to the manager. From the evidence which the secretary has given, I conclude that after that offer was made to the manager he did not communicate it to the secretary.

17,693. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) I put a very distinct question to him upon that point, and I asked him whether an offer had been made to the men by which they could have earned 6*s.* 6*d.* a day if they had chosen to accept it, and his answer was that that offer had been made. Do you now say that that offer was not made?—The shipwrights would not guarantee to work for 6*s.* 6*d.* on that job regardless of contract.

17,694. Did they or did they not refuse to draw at the rate of 6*s.* 6*d.* a day?—Regardless of contract they did.

Mr. P. J. Robson.
26 May 1868.

17,695. (*Chairman.*) I understand that the masters offered a contract at 12*s.* 6*d.* a ton; that with regard to this treaty about the 6*s.* 6*d.* the men refused to take that; then you say that the contract fell through for some other reason, namely, that the French company offered to pay them the 20,000*l.* for the ship, provided they would take so many thousand pounds in the shares of a company, but I do not see what that had to do with your contract as shipwrights?—It is a question as to whether the shipwrights were responsible for the Thames Company losing this contract or not; now we contend that we were not responsible for it. They agreed that the price that we gave in was sufficiently low; they did not object to the price, but they merely objected to the mode in which we should draw the money. Captain Ford says in his letter that it was for that special job only. Now, we had in our eyes that it was not for that special job only, and it turned out that it was not, because they have not paid more than 6*s.* 6*d.* a day since then.

17,696. (*Mr. Booth.*) They agreed to the lump sum, namely, 500*l.* to be paid for the shipwrights' work; then the only question was as to how much a day should be drawn by the workmen; they insisted on 7*s.*, the company insisted on 6*s.* 6*d.* only, and the men refused to have the job because they were only to be allowed to draw 6*s.* 6*d.* a day. That was the result?—That was the result, but still the company cannot say that we refused it on that account, seeing that although we could not draw the 6*s.* 6*d.* a day on account, we could draw any amount for work done.

17,697. (*Chairman.*) That is the explanation that you wish to give of that affair?—That is the explanation that I wish to give of it.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to Tuesday, 9th June, at 11 o'clock.

1, Park Prospect, Westminster, Tuesday, 9th June 1868.

PRESENT:

The Right Honourable Sir WILLIAM ERLE.
The Right Honourable the EARL OF LICHFIELD.
JAMES BOOTH, Esq., C.B.
JOHN ARTHUR ROEBUCK, Esq., Q.C., M.P.
THOMAS HUGHES, Esq., M.P..
FREDERIC HARRISON, Esq.
WILLIAM MATHEWS, Esq.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR WILLIAM ERLE IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. CHARLES MARK PALMER examined.

Mr. C. M. Palmer.
9 June 1868.

17,698. (*Chairman.*) I believe you have a great shipbuilding place on the Tyne?—Yes. Perhaps I had better commence my evidence by stating the nature of our occupation and works. I may say that our works are principally situated on the banks of the Tyne at Jarrow. We work the ironstone in Yorkshire; we bring it to Jarrow; there we smelt it in four large blast furnaces; we have large rolling mills on the same premises; and from the rolling mills we take it to the shipbuilding yard and the engine works; so that we have the whole of the operation from the beginning to the end, and all classes of workmen in the varied descriptions of work and manufacture in which we are employed. The number of workpeople that we employ in all departments, I suppose, will be something approaching 5,000.

17,699. That includes mining operations and the transport of ore, does it?—Yes, and also all the rolling mill operations and blast furnaces, boiler making, foundries, and shipbuilding.

17,700. Up to the point of bringing out a complete ship?—Yes, the joiner's work, and the cabinet maker's work, and everything connected with it is carried on on our premises.

17,701. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Is there any rigging?—Yes, rigging as well.

17,702. It is hemp rigging, not iron, I suppose?—We do not make our own hemp, we buy the rope, and also the wire rope and fit it to the ships. I may mention that I am very largely engaged in collieries, perhaps as largely as anyone in the north of England, being managing partner in 14 collieries, producing near 1,250,000 tons of coal in the year, and we have somewhere near 1,000 coke ovens, producing near 300,000 tons of coke a year. The number of workpeople that we employ in the coal and coke trade will be, I should think, rather above 5,000.

17,703. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Then you have an army of 10,000 altogether?—We have upwards of 10,000 altogether in the concerns in which I am managing partner.

17,704. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Are those all paid on Saturday night?—No, I make arrangements to pay them every fortnight.

17,705. So that every fortnight you have 10,000

Mr. C. M. Palmer.

9 June 1868.

people to pay?—I have every fortnight upwards of 10,000 people to pay. The amount of wages will of course depend upon the rate of wages. At one time it was upwards of 20,000*l.*, now it is upwards of 18,000*l.* a fortnight.

17,706. In your own experience have your operations been at all crossed by what we are inquiring into, namely, trades unions?—To begin with the shipbuilding part first, I have taken out a list of the varied wages from 1858 to 1868, that is to say, for the last 10 years, in the different classes of labour—the platers, labourers, riveters, caulkers, fitters, painters, joiners, carpenters, smiths, and riggers. I find that the rates of wages have steadily risen with the prosperity of trade.

17,707. As the demand for ships has increased so the labour has risen?—Yes. We of course have had unions among the different classes of men, but we have never had any special trouble, I may say, from the unions at our works excepting as a matter of course in the rolling mill department.

17,708. Why do you say "as a matter of course?"—Possibly I had better answer that question more fully afterwards. When I speak of it as a matter of course, it is from the excessive stringency of the trades unions power over the men and also of the false position in which the men have been placed to some extent in special work in the north of England. That I will explain by-and-bye as regards the iron workers. As I happened to be the chairman of the Iron Manufacturers' Association during the time of the great lock-out in the north of England, I had good deal of experience of the troubles connected with that dreadful time.

17,709. (*Chairman.*) On what basis are the wages paid; is it that the men are hired by the day, or a certain quantity of work given to them at a certain price, which is equivalent to payment by the piece?—The platers, for instance, are nearly all on piecework. We put so many men on to a ship, and each man who is what we call a plater has so much per plate for putting it on, and we allow him some four or five labourers to work with him.

17,710. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) And you pay those labourers?—We allow it in the price to the plater, but if the plater goes off we retain the money for the labourers.

17,711. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Does he or do you fix the rate of the labourers wages?—We fix the rate.

17,712. He is simply your agent for paying them?—He has more power over his labourers by letting the money pass through his hands to them. But I may say that I cannot enter practically into the detail of the different classes of men, because they do not specially come under my guidance. The managers of each department and the foreman of course have the direct superintendence of the men and also of this special piecework. I of course am there to overlook, and when any difficulties arise to deal with them, I fear therefore that I cannot enter into a particular detail of each man's labour. Generally speaking I may say that in our shipbuilding yard we find that in proportion to the demand for their work the men's wages have been gradually increased, sometimes by threatening us with a strike, sometimes without it. Sometimes we are obliged to pay the higher wages to induce men to remain with us, and sometimes we advance them to induce others to come to us quite apart from any union question.

17,713. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You say that you sometimes do it to induce them to stay; what inducement would take them away?—The inducement to take them away would be better employment elsewhere.

17,714. And if the men can get better employment elsewhere you are obliged to raise your wages equal to what that employment might give them?—Precisely.

17,715. That is the natural law of trade, is it not?—Yes. I have had that specially brought before me not only in the shipbuilding department, but also in the coal trade. Where we found that we could not get men to the collieries at the wages that we were paying, we have been obliged to advance the rate to induce them to come.

17,716. (*Mr. Booth.*) It was not that the union in a body prevented you from getting other men, but that, supposing labour to be left quite free, you could not get other men lower?—No.

17,717. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) It was competition in fact?—It was competition. There was more capital in proportion to labour.

17,718. (*Mr. Hughes.*) But you find, do you not, that general law modified every now and then by applications from the men which you are compelled, or which you find it to your interest, to listen to—that is to say, that the natural supply and the natural rate of wages are occasionally violated or interfered with by special applications from the men, either for an increase of wages or to resist a reduction, which have the effect of altering that natural rate?—Sometimes the men become exorbitant in their demands and require more than we can conccede, and therefore we object to pay it and run all the risk.

17,719. And at other times occasionally they have made resistance, have they not, against a reduction, which resistance you have found reasonable, or which at any rate you have yielded to?—I do not believe that there has been any case of reduction which we have not carried, because we never ask for a reduction unless the trade is so depressed as to render it necessary for us to do it.

17,720. There have been three reductions in wages quite recently, have there not?—Yes.

17,721. My information is, that before the depression the platers had 6*s.* and you reduced them to 5*s.* 6*d.*, and then to 5*s.*; and that before the depression the riveters were paid 9*s.* 6*d.* per 100, and that you reduced them to 9*s.*, and then to 8*s.* 4*d.*, which is the price at present. Those are reductions which have been recently made according to my information; and then I am informed (the date is not stated, but I apprehend from the way in which it is put in this letter which I hold in my hand that it is even more recent) that "an attempt was made to reduce other 2*s.* a week, but we resisted and gained our object." Do you remember that case?—No.

17,722. As far as your experience goes you have always carried your own views as to reductions?—Not stringently. Of course we have modified any demand in order to meet, as far as possible, the shipbuilding trade, but with regard to our workmen, excepting the iron workers, we do not allow the trade union to come between us and our workmen, and hence we can have a free conference with them, and where a difficulty of that sort does arise where we require a reduction we meet the men and sometimes modify our demand to some extent.

17,723. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) When you say that you do not allow the trade union to come between you and the men, what steps do they take to come between you and them, and what steps do you take to prevent them?—They ask us to meet delegates and we refuse.

17,724. You have always refused to meet delegates?—We have always refused to meet delegates.

17,725. What has been the consequence of that; have the men ever said, "Well, if you do not meet our delegates we will go"?—I may mention a case in point. We were likely in the north to get into the same difficulty as they were in Scotland, upon what we call the nine hours' movement, and it was likely to become a very serious matter all through the north of England, and the men gave in their notices for a reduction in hours. As the time approached I took the course which I generally do of calling all the men together and addressing them upon the question.

17,726. What was the date of this?—1866. The proceedings at that meeting were published in the shape of a pamphlet afterwards (*handing a pamphlet to Mr. Roebuck*). We had a very large meeting of the men, and I entered fully into the difficulty of acceding to their request, and the result was that it stopped the movement.

17,727. The men listened to your reasons?—The men listened to all my reasons, and at that meeting, before it dispersed, they passed resolutions agreeing to withdraw all the notices, and it stopped the movement.

17,728. At that meeting do you suppose that there were any delegates present?—I have no doubt that there were; but the fact of the meeting coming to a decision at the time I believe stopped the movement. I can tell you another case in the iron trade. Before the strike of the iron trade in 1866 (I think it was in November 1866), I followed the same course by calling all the men in the ironworks together and addressed them in the same way. Before doing so, however, I had a meeting in the presence of a third party with the president of the trade union, Mr. Kane (I declined meeting him except in the presence of a third party), and I told him that I wished to prevent great privations and suffering on the part of the men, because this reduction would require to be carried, and he agreed with me in the presence of this third party. I said, "I am not going to meet the men if you are going "to meet them afterwards (I know you have consi- "derable influence) and counsel them to the contrary." He agreed not to do so. I went down and addressed the men for a considerable time, and I believe that if a ballot had been taken amongst the men at that time, they would have continued work at this reduction. I have a copy of the proceedings here taken from a local paper. Mr. Kane had gone down with his secretary and some of the delegates and people, and had a meeting with them, and they seemed to have come to the conclusion not to settle anything before me, but to have a meeting afterwards to discuss what I had addressed to them, and to my amazement they came to a conclusion to strike. I was led to suppose that Mr. Kane and his delegates had counselled them to do so, contrary to what he had undertaken to me.

17,729. How long did that strike continue?—It lasted several weeks, and eventually the men not only gave way, but further reductions followed, and they were considerable. I am satisfied that if the men had given way upon that occasion the other reductions would not have come so quickly upon them. I know in my own case that at that time we had a great deal of work in hand, and times were just on the turn, beginning to be depressed in the shipbuilding yard, and that the strike had the effect of stopping orders coming to us; it delayed our contracts and threw us under penalties, and we could not take further orders. If the men had submitted to that reduction at first we certainly would have kept our works going much longer than we did; and the result was that we got into a depressed state in our works much sooner than we should otherwise have done, and the men were of course the greatest sufferers.

17,730. What was the eventual result of the whole proceeding?—The result of that strike was that the men agreed not only to that but a considerably larger reduction than we asked then.

17,731. Did times go on becoming worse and worse?—Times went on becoming worse and worse. Prices fell (I am speaking more of the iron trade now), and the men certainly discovered the error they had committed in not listening to the counsel that I had given them.

17,732. And did they eventually lose work, or did you continue to carry on the business?—We had to close part of the works, and lost a great deal of work.

17,733. In fact you had to get rid of the hands?—We had to get rid of the hands; we reduced our number of hands greatly.

17,734. Did you ever follow those men to know what became of them?—No, I did not.

17,735. Therefore you could not tell us what the real effect of that transaction was upon the fortunes of those men?—Well, before that transaction took place the men were making large sums of money. Many of the men in our works then, such as shearers and managers of the rolls, were workmen that we had brought from Staffordshire originally; and by bringing them to largely improved works, works where it was all new machinery and capable of turning out the manufactured article with much more ease, as well as in larger quantities and in shorter time, and these men being set on originally at the prices they were then being paid in Staffordshire, when the improved machinery was put into their hands they earned enormous wages.

17,736. When you say "enormous wages," could you give us any instance?—I daresay that some of them were making as much as from 500*l.* to 700*l.* a year—some of the leading men—not altogether from their own labour, but from that and from the profit derived from the work done by the men employed under them.

17,737. What would you call those men?—Shearers are one class, for instance, men who take the plates after they are rolled, and who have their gangs of men and put the plates into the shears to cut them into the proper dimensions.

17,738. Does that require great skill or nicety?—No; it requires some degree of skill, but with a little practice they overcome the difficulty. We found that to be the case, because during the strike we partially opened our works and brought men in who had not been skilled shearers, and they did exceedingly well.

17,739. Did the price of wages fall from that high point?—We reduced them; not 10 per cent. as has been stated, but a very large per-centage indeed to bring them down to some point commensurate with their condition as workmen.

17,740. To what point did you bring them down?—I really could not speak positively as to the reduction, but it must have been more than 50 per cent. I should think as regards the shearers.

17,741. So that the men who had been making 600*l.* a year eventually made something like 200*l.*?—They were brought down to about 200*l.* a year I should think; about 4*l.* a week.

17,742. (*Mr. Hughes.*) How long did that exceptional prosperity of the shearers last between the introduction of the new machinery and the strike?—I cannot say exactly.

17,743. It was quite an exceptional case, I suppose—I do not know that it was so much an exceptional case. The iron trade in the north of England is a new creation to a great extent, and all the new works that have been erected there are upon that improved system, and of course we had to man the works from Staffordshire, Wales, and other places, and the men had the advantage of the improved machinery when they came.

17,744. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What was the effect of those high wages upon the manners and conduct of the men?—Much drunkenness in many cases, and it also led to extravagance and foolish living.

17,745. Eventually did they save money?—I do not believe that they saved much.

17,746. (*Chairman.*) Did those men who had 500*l.* to 700*l.* a year squander their money in that way?—Yes, greatly in high living.

17,747. (*Mr. Hughes.*) But on the whole I take it that in the north, as in the rest of England, the amounts of the savings of the industrial classes in your savings banks and so on increase, and the accumulations become larger year by year?—Yes.

17,748. That shows that somewhere or other, whether among the shearers and high paid workmen, or among the inferior artizans, there is a decided increase in the amount of money saved?—There is a decided improvement in the working classes. I have no doubt that they are year by year becoming more intelligent people.

17,749. This in fact was an exceptional time of temptation?—The amount of drunkenness during that time amongst some classes was something fearful.

17,750. (*Mr. Booth.*) Do I rightly understand you to say that in consequence of that strike your business was so much interrupted that when you were able again to resume it you were obliged to insist upon

Mr. C. M. Palmer.

9 June 1868.

further reductions which would not have been necessary but for that strike?—I will not say that they would not have been necessary, but the reductions came more rapidly upon the men than they would otherwise have come.

17,751. You were obliged to make reductions sooner than you would have done but for the interruption occasioned by that strike?—Yes, that was so. During that time there was one shipbuilding firm on the Tyne which was completely ruined from the difficulties with their workmen and the trade union.

17,752. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) The mischief of that strike you trace distinctly to the operation of the trades unions?—I am speaking of the iron trade.

17,753. I am alluding to the case in which Mr. Kane took part?—I trace it to that cause entirely in that case. I believe that if the men had been left to decide it by ballot amongst themselves they would have all taken the reduction and continued at work.

17,754. (*Mr. Hughes.*) I remember that in the accounts contained in the northern papers at the time it was said that the great strike on the Tyne was remarkably free from anything like outrage of any kind. Was that so in your experience?—It was quite so in our experience. I believe that the people at Jarrow are very peaceable, and I think there is a good feeling existing there generally.

17,755. It was stated to be a very marked improvement on anything that had happened before. Was your experience to that effect, or do you not remember any other great strike?—Well, we had a strike some years before that, the great strike in the iron trade.

17,756. At any rate, as regards the 1866 strike, it was remarkably free from any outrage or any objectionable practices?—Yes.

17,757. (*Mr. Booth.*) As I understand you, it was a mistake on the part of the men to suppose that you could go on to pay the wages that you had been previously paying, and that the reduction was not necessary on your part?—They thought that it was not necessary, and that was the reason of my calling them together and addressing them and pointing out really why it was necessary.

17,758. They had in fact no means of knowing whether it was necessary or not; they assumed that it was not necessary that you should make that reduction?—They had no means of knowing till they were told.

17,759. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) When that iron strike took place, did you attempt to bring in other men?—We sent into Staffordshire, if I remember rightly, but we could not get any men to come.

17,760. For what reason? Were they prevented from coming, or did they refuse of their own accord?—They were prevented from coming.

17,761. How?—From the arrangements of the trade union, which was spread all over the country. The fact of a strike existing in Jarrow was just as well known in Staffordshire as in Jarrow.

17,762. Was there any picketing, for example?—If you mean picketing by people placed at the works, I believe that the men were not allowed to go near the works during the time.

17,763. If they had done so what would have happened?—I should think that in all probability ill-usage would have resulted to those who went.

17,764. It has been said that it was remarkably quiet; was it quiet because the men were frightened at first and did not go?—The men, after they once went out, never came near the works again; they laid the works idle.

17,765. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Then there was no picketing as far as your knowledge goes?—As far as my knowledge goes; but I would not like to speak to it positively that there was no picketting.

17,766. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You could not say yourself that the men were prevented or threatened, or that they feared anything?—No more than what workmen generally tell the foremen at the time, that they dare not come and that they are threatened. We gather it from the foremen generally.

17,767. Did you gather it from the foreman on that occasion?—Upon that occasion we did. I went to the works sometimes, and the foreman had met the men in the town and elsewhere and asked them and spoken to them about it, and I remember frequently hearing that the answer was that they would like to come to work, but they were afraid to do so.

17,768. (*Mr. Booth.*) From the information which you have received you have now no doubt that the men were prevented from coming?—I have no doubt that they were prevented from coming.

17,769. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) So that when they say that it was marvellously quiet, still there was behind the threat of mischief?—Yes; but the question put to me I fancied really meant that the men, though they did keep others away, were quiet. They did not come near the works, and therefore there was no breach of the peace

17,770. (*Mr. Booth.*) Practically, other men were prevented from coming to supply their places?—No question of that; we could have filled our works over and over again with any number of men had they been allowed to come.

17,771. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Are you aware of any act done by anybody to prevent their coming?—I cannot mention any special party who did any special act to stop their coming; but it is well known that the effect of the men being in a trade union and of men being placed about there, who threatened them, guarding the place as they do, was to prevent them from coming.

17,772. You say "guarding the place as they do;" were you cognizant at that time that your works were guarded?—We were perfectly satisfied that they were.

17,773. Then that great quiet arose from great fear?—The fear deterred the men from coming undoubtedly. I remember that upon one occasion a man did come and he was attacked by two other men, and I came to the works the next moring and heard of it. I asked why he did not get a summons out against them, and was told he said "Well, I have punished them already "myself, and I have not yet done with them. I do "not care about going before a police court with "them." That proves that there is no question that the men were prevented from coming and that they were deterred by fear.

17,774. (*Mr. Hughes.*) But when you say that they were deterred by fear, (I do not in the least wish to doubt your impression,) I remember that at the time it was stated in the northern papers over and over again that the men were specially exhorted by the union to commit no outrage, and to conduct themselves perfectly peaceably, and to carry it on in the most lawful and legitimate manner; I suppose that might have had an effect also, as well as fear?—I do not know what "lawful and legitimate manner" might carry us to. It is not lawful and legitimate for trades unions to station men about the town and about our works to prevent other men from coming, which I am satisfied they did. Of course I cannot mention the names of people who were stationed about, because they are too cunning and too clever to let you know that; but that the men themselves think that they are deterred from coming, I know.

17,775. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) With reference to Mr. Hughes's statement about those exhortations to keep the peace, I remember a story told of O'Connell's saying "Do not put those men under the pump;" do you think that illustrative of the exhortations that Mr. Hughes mentioned?—No, I believe the feeling was that they did not wish to have any breach of the peace.

17,776. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You do not believe that it was the increased terror which had arisen from trade unionism but that the improved principles generally of the people employed determined them not to go into such things?—I believe they did not wish to break up the good feeling that existed, and therefore they counselled them not to illuse people, although I daresay they were threatened.

17,777. You are chairman of the Iron Manufac-

turers Association, are you not?—I was during that special strike.

17,778. Had you any rules agreed to?—No, the rules were agreed to after the strike, and the association was organized after the strike.

17,779. Have you a copy of the printed rules that you could put in; there are printed rules, I presume?—There are printed rules, which the secretary has put in already, I believe.

17,780. (*Mr. Mathews.*) I had not the advantage of hearing the former part of your evidence; are you speaking now of the strike of the iron men or the shipbuilders?—We are speaking of the iron men. We copied rules for our shipbuilding association something upon the same principle as those for the iron manufacturers, but we seldom find it necessary to bring them into operation.

17,781. (*Mr. Hughes.*) In the event of any member of the Iron Manufacturers' Association carrying on his works on conditions that were not agreed to by the other members of the association, were you bound by any penalties; did you give bonds, as has been done in some other cases, which were forfeited in that case?—The rules will speak for themselves; there are no penalties upon the parties. The object of the rules was simply to deter the unions from singling out any special works for attack. The object was in the first instance to see whether disinterested parties could settle the dispute between the employers at the special works and their workmen; and failing that, if the association thought that the employers were right in resisting, to subsidize them in fact during the time of the strike.

17,782. That subsidy, in many cases, is carried out by the members of the association giving bonds with a considerable penal sum enforceable in the ordinary courts; is it so in your case?—That is not so in the north of England.

17,783. Then your subsidy would be in fact a voluntary subsidy on the part of the masters?—No. In the ironworks we can enter our works at so much per puddling furnace for instance; in fact a scale is laid down.

17,784. But what I wanted to get to was how you think that scale could be enforced, supposing a man said "I choose to go on, and I defy you to hinder me?"—If the master chose to go on of course he could go on.

17,785. Supposing that he does not go on and that he says, "I call upon you gentlemen to pay your subsidy," could he enforce that in your association, or would it be voluntary?—He enters his works for a certain payment during the time that his works are on strike. He cannot put his works on strike before the association has thoroughly examined into his case as between himself and his workmen to see whether it is a proper case for resisting.

17,786. But supposing that the association has said in its corporate capacity, "We believe yours to be a proper case, therefore you shut your works and we will subsidize you;" and supposing that some of the members of the association are in default, what is done then?—We take care of that. We take promissory notes from all the works in proportion to the amount which they enter for, and deposit those notes with a banker and draw the money.

17,787. That is the same method as I was alluding to. Has it ever been tested whether those promissory notes are good in your case?—It has never been tested. We have never used them, because instead of making use of the promissory notes we make a call of the money.

17,788. And that call has been responded to?—Yes, that call has been responded to.

17,789. (*Mr. Mathews.*) In the event of its not being responded to the promissory notes are your security?—Yes; they are in this form, that they are payable to the bankers.

17,790. (*Chairman.*) Are they payable to bearer or order?—Payable to order, and a cheque would be drawn upon the banker, and the banker would refund himself out of the promissory notes.

17,791. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You have been asked about the apprehension that workmen coming from other districts would have as to being ill-treated in the event of their coming to a district under strike. Is not that notion generally prevalent?—It is generally prevalent, and is carried out in all strikes.

17,792. So that even if there be the absence of any manifestation of actual violence on the part of people on strike, there is a sort of understanding that no people from a distance should interfere with that strike?—It is so understood, I believe, throughout the whole of the working classes. Whether that feeling is first brought about by a fear of ill-treatment or not I cannot say, but you cannot get workmen to come to a place where it is known that they are on strike.

17,793. Taking, as an instance, the importation of Staffordshire workmen into your district, whilst your district was under a strike, have you any doubt about the reception of those men on the part of the people on strike?—I think the reception would have been a very warm one.

17,794. And a very disagreeable one?—And a very disagreeable one.

17,795. And that opinion is founded upon the experience and knowledge which you as a practical man have of the habits of the working classes?—Yes, certainly. I may say that I once went through a very serious strike in the coal trade. It was at a place called Marley Hill where we had a large number of coke ovens, and the railways which then burnt coke instead of coals, and were depending upon us for keeping open their traffic. The pitmen struck work, and after fighting for a considerable time with them we were obliged to bring men from Scotland in special trains.

17,796. (*Mr. Hughes.*) What year was this in?—It was in 1849; for there is one of the handbills that I happened to find (*handing it in*), which they put about the country in all directions, and at that time men were picketed in all parts of the country to prevent men coming near the place.

17,797. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Did they commit any violence upon the men that you brought from Scotland?—They attempted great violence.

17,798. (*Mr. Mathews.*) This handbill is an appeal on the part of your people out on strike to the Scotch miners to prevent their coming into their district, that they may not interfere with their rights?—Yes.

17,799. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Then, as far as your own personal experience goes, the method in which these struggles are conducted now is very superior to what it was in 1849?—I do not believe that they would go now to the same extent of violence that they did then. At that time they actually threw gunpowder under the boilers to blow them up, and proceeded to great acts of violence. But these acts of violence always prove that the strike is coming to an end; the men become desperate at the end.

17,800. But in the strike of 1866, although the men were completely defeated, no such acts took place in the district?—No.

17,801. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is not that attributable to the more effective organization of the police?—I do not believe that the men would hesitate to injure your machinery, or do any acts of violence of that description now.

17,802. (*Mr. Hughes.*) At any rate they have not done it?—We are not quite sure that during that strike some acts of that kind were not done at our works.

17,803. (*Mr. Mathews.*) What is your opinion as to the absence of violence being owing to the more efficient organization of the police in the district?—I believe that the police tend very much to keep down these violent acts on the part of the men.

17,804. (*Mr. Booth.*) The interference, though less violent, is not less effectual now than it was then?—It is equally effectual.

17805. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Was the result of the strike at Marley Hill in 1849 that the men gained what they required, or that you gained?—We gained. It was a

Mr. C. M. Palmer.

9 June 1868.

claim that we were making upon them for a reduction of wages, and we gained the point with them; and from that time to this, all through our collieries in that neighbourhood (we have several in that part of Durham), we have never had any unions.

17,806. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) But from the time of 1849 has not the trade in coal been an improving trade up to a very late period?—It has.

17,807. And during that period was there no rise in wages?—We have raised wages during that time, though we have had no trades unions. In fact, to induce men to come to the place, we have been obliged to raise their wages in the natural course, without any interference from any trades unions, and we brought large numbers of men also from Cornwall and elsewhere.

17,808. Since the time when the trade has decreased and become less profitable, has there been any attempt to introduce trades unions?—None at all. I look upon trades unions as simply efficient in the time of prosperous trade. At the present time, in iron-works for instance (and that is the stronghold of trades unionism), they are most ineffectual, as they have proved upon the last reductions, and I believe that very few of our men indeed now subscribe to those trades unions.

17,809. What is the area of your operation, taking Newcastle as the centre; how far do your mines run?—Our shipping places are on the banks of the Tyne, and the extent for our mining operations is about 15 or 16 miles on both sides north and south of the Tyne.

17,810. (*Mr. Booth.*) So far as your experience goes have the strikes been successful, or have they been unsuccessful?—Unsuccessful, I think, generally. I do not know whether you have had evidence here upon what they call the Steam Coal Association in Northumberland. There the trades unions are rather strong, and what we call the Steam Coal Association formed themselves together to protect each other, in the same way as the ironworks have done, and they have had very long contests with the men, and have always beaten them.

17,811. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Have there been any strikes; are you connected with that association?—I am a member of the Steam Coal Association. I cannot go into the details of the strike, but there was a strike with the Cramlington Colliery which was of long duration. The rules of that association are much the same as you see laid down for the iron-workers; that in case of any difficulty between the workmen of the colliery and the masters they call in two disinterested viewers to report to the association as to whether the workmen are fair in their demands or unfair, and if these viewers cannot settle the matter with the men themselves, and they report that the workmen are making demands which the colliery ought not to concede, they then allow the colliery to go upon strike, and subsidize the colliery in large sums. The amount paid to the Cramlington Colliery was many thousands of pounds, to enable them to contest the point against the men, and I paid my proportion of that.

17,812. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Suppose this operation took place: that the trade is flourishing; the men ask an increase of wages; you say "No;" then the trades unions come in, and without a strike you, foreseeing a strike, accede to that demand. Would you not say in that case that the union had enabled the men to obtain an increased wage?—No, I would not. If the union were to come between us and the men, and to do as they very generally do, namely, in an arbitrary manner demand all sorts of extravagant things, then we should say that the union had caused the strike, if a strike took place. But if the trade was so prosperous that we really required to keep our works in operation to meet the increasing demand upon us, then we would consider it a fair and legitimate time to give an increase of wages.

17,813. But I think you have rather forgotten one of the incidents that I put into my supposititious case. Men ask for an increase of wages; I suppose you to refuse, and that thereupon the union begins to operate?—Then we would consider as a matter of course that the union brought the strike.

17,814. Then supposing that you yielded to them rather than have the strike, would you not say in that case that the union had enabled the men to get higher wages more rapidly than you would otherwise have given them?—The circumstances also are special, and the supposition is difficult to answer, because if the trade were so prosperous at the time, it is not probable that we would refuse some concession, but if we once refused the concession in all probability we would not give way to the trades unions.

17,815. The case that I have put is a very common case put by those who fancy that trades unions have benefited the working men. You answer by saying that it is an impossible case?—I do not say impossible, but I think it improbable, that during a time of prosperity we would refuse any fair and legitimate demand of the men. We certainly would not concede the point to a trades union if we had resisted it previously to the men themselves.

17,816. Then your experience goes to this, that trades unions never in your experience induced you to raise wages when you had not been induced to do so by the mere force of the circumstances in which the trade was?—I think that the operation of trades union in the iron trade has had the effect of raising the wages sooner than they otherwise would have risen.

17,817 (*Mr. Mathews.*) Through the influence of the union upon the men themselves, do you mean?—Yes, and also a certain degree of alarm which they cause to the employers of labour. Rather than face an organized union the employer of labour would give way.

17,818. They will give the rise quicker, you mean, than they would have done if no union had been in existence?—Yes; but I think that the reaction comes all the sooner. I think that when the demand comes through a trade union it creates a bad feeling, and breaks up all good feeling between employer and employed.

17,819. That is, the suspension of the ordinary social amenities between the master and his servant, and the substitution of a question of dry interest, each party seeking how much he can get from the other?—Certainly.

17,820. As a large employer of labour you do not consider that to be at all a satisfactory condition of things, do you?—I think it is most unsatisfactory, and I have no doubt that without unions the working classes would get their wages advanced as the trade improved. It might not be quite so rapidly as with unions, but it would be much more permanent.

17,821. And do you consider that the establishment of trades unions on so extensive a scale has had the effect of dislocating the friendly relations between the employers and employed that formerly subsisted?—Most certainly, because the trades unions are so dictatorial, and there is nothing so objectionable as sending people to your works and telling you that you must employ this man, and that you must not have this thing or the other.

17,822. That establishes a feeling betwen the employers and the men much the reverse of friendly, compared with what it would be otherwise?—Yes. we have a great number of places where there are no trades unions, and the feeling existing between the masters and the men is everything we could desire, and the advance of wages has been in accordance with the state of trade; and, in fact, things are done in a social point of view under such a state of things which are not done where there exists a strict and rigid trade union.

17,823. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Perhaps you recollect that at the beginning of your evidence you said, that there were reasons why the trades unions had more power in the iron trade than in the shipping trade; can you state those reasons now?—I think that I have pretty well explained them by the statements which I have made. It is simply fromthe increase of the iron trade in

the north of England which I have mentioned. The demand for labour was far in excess of the supply. The development of the iron trade was so rapid, and the class of workmen that we had to bring into it were of a description that soon became so much spoiled by the exorbitant wages they got from the demand that there was for them, that naturally when they got into these unions their strength was excessive at the time over the employers of labour.

17,824. Then it comes to this, that the trades unions have more power in the iron trade than they have in the shipping trade, because the iron trade is more prosperous than the shipping trade?—It was a new trade in the north. There was more capital, in fact, than labour; there were not men to man the large mills and works that we had opened out.

17,825. But that demand for iron, I suppose, was in great part or in some part to make ships with?—Also for bridge building and railways, and the large export trade.

17,826. (*Mr. Mathews.*) It was the opening of a new district to make iron, where previously there was no iron making population?—Yes, almost none; we were taking the trade from other districts.

17,827. And you were obliged to import men?—Yes, and we brought them at the rate of wages that they were then getting at old-fashioned works. We put them into new works and then they made very much larger wages.

17,828. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Being on piecework?—Being on piecework.

17,829. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You imported a great number of men from South Staffordshire?—A great number of men.

17,830. And the men got more money at your works where the demand was greater than they had got at their old works in South Staffordshire?—Very much more.

17,831. And since the depression of the iron trade you have got them down now to pretty much the same level?—We have; in fact we have given our capital the advantage of the improved machinery; formerly the men got the advantage of the improved machinery, and not our capital.

17,832. Now in fact you have got the men down to that scale that the South Staffordshire men are striking about?—Yes; I do not know the merits or demerits of the strike there.

17,833. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Do you employ women or children in your collieries?—No.

17,834. How long ago was that change made?—I do not think that we ever employed women. I was speaking of the course I take in bringing the men together. I really find that I can always deal with the intelligent class of the men. But, for instance, early in the spring we got a little more activity in our place, and we had a strike immediately amongst the labourers, and it was wonderful that we could not make any impression upon them at all, no reasoning would do it. But where we have intelligent workmen we find that we can reason with them and deal with them.

17,835. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What became of that strike?—We gave way to a certain extent to them. I believe that there was no trade union question in that, but the simple question that there was a scarcity of labour, and they asked a rise in wages, and we had to give way to a very large extent.

17,836. (*Mr. Mathews.*) And have you restored the original rate of wages since?—Not at all.

17,837. They still remain above the average rate of ordinary labourers?—They retain the advantage that they got.

17,838. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Then they were right in that case?—They were right in that case.

17,839. (*Chairman.*) Can you say what they were advanced from, and what to?—I think that it was an advance of 2*s.* a week upon about 16*s.*

17,840. Is that by the hour—50 hours a week?—59½ hours. I would not like to speak positively as to the exact advance, but I know that there was an advance of wages.

17,841. Wages being advanced beyond the ordinary rate, did not that produce an influx of labourers, and so a competition by which abatement would result?—No. I think the trade is generally reviving upon the banks of the Tyne, and I think that there is an increased demand for labour generally.

17,842. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) During the time that the trade has been depressed, and you have been obliged to dismiss a great number of your hands, have they entirely disappeared from your view?—To a great extent they have. It has often been difficult for me to understand where they went to, but certainly the numbers decreased very much.

17,843. Did they emigrate?—I fancy large numbers did.

17,844. And since the trade has revived have you met old faces again?—I could not speak for that. I believe that they are men who have been brought out of other districts. A number of the same men have come back.

17,845. Men that you knew that were in your employ before have come back?—Yes.

17,846. They had not emigrated, but merely gone to another district?—Partly that, and partly they go into other trades and do any work they can; and as the improvement in trade arises they will come back for their own work again.

17,847. (*Mr. Hughes.*) With respect to this shipbuilding union of masters, I see that the objects are—"the securing of prompt and united action against "any attempt on the part of the workmen to obtain "concessions injurious to the general interests of the "trade," and "the holding of free and friendly com-"munication with representatives of the workmen in "order to avoid strikes." When you speak there of "representatives of the workmen," do you know whether the association contemplated representatives elected by the unions?—No, by the men.

17,848. So that though you combined yourselves in a union of the very strictest kind you did not intend to hold any intercourse as a union with the union men?—We do not consider ourselves as a union at all. It is simply between the masters and the men; it is with a view of avoiding the strikes that we unite.

17,849. But with that view you became, as it seems to me, exactly the counterpart of the men's union, because the object of the men is "to obtain concessions" from their point of view?—Quite the contrary. If we paid certain people to go round looking after the different works, and made a business of it, then you might consider it so; but here we are all masters, and there they are all workmen. We are all, in fact, workmen in one point of view.

17,850. But although you do not go about yourselves, surely under these rules you have a united method of action which is quite as powerful as anything that the trade union can exert?—The only object of the union of the masters is to meet any special attack made by the trades unions upon any special works.

17,851. (*Mr. Booth.*) Yours is merely a defensive association?—Purely defensive.

17,852. (*Mr. Hughes.*) But whether defensive or offensive, it appears to me quite undistinguishable from the unions of the men in its object?—Quite the contrary.

17,853. I understand the object of the men to be, taking your own words, "the securing of prompt "and united action against any attempt on the part "of the masters to obtain concessions injurious to "the general interests of the trade"?—But you should read all the rules, and there you would see what the programme is. In the first place the masters bind themselves to abide by the decision of the other masters, whether they feel they are right or wrong, or hold communication with the men independently of the masters.

17,854. But I apprehend that the men do that, do

Mr. C. M. Palmer.

9 June 1868.

they not, in their unions? They bind themselves, as I understand the action of the men's union which is established in the same district, to abide by whatever decision is come to by the trade council, or whatever they call it of the district, just as you bind yourselves to be ruled in all these matters by the majority of your own body?—I do not see the resemblance. All we say is, that we wish to be in communication with the workmen themselves and we do not recognize the trades union.

17,855. (*Mr. Matthews.*) That is to say, you wish to have your communications with the workmen of each respective work?—Yes.

17,856. (*Mr. Hughes.*) I apprehend that that is exactly the object of the union, because they wish to be in communication with one particular master. Do you not think that the cases are exactly analogous?—I do not think they are.

17,857. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Did your association ever confide to any portion of yourselves to discuss a matter as for your association with a particular body of workmen?—No, the association does not discuss the matter directly in that form with the men. In the first place we leave the master to have his own discussion with his own men, but we do not allow the trade union to come between them.

17,858. But supposing that they were to turn the matter round upon you, and you wanted to discuss with a body of men, having appointed certain persons as your delegates. Do you ever do that; do you ever appoint A. B. and C. to discuss a question with the working men; you, I mean, as an association?—That has been done.

17,859. I want to know how you can distinguish that from the trades unions who do exactly the same thing?—But the trades unions are not the working men, I mean the officers of the trades unions are not actually men employed in manual labour.

17,860. That is only as good as to say that the working men trust people who are not working men?—Yes.

17,861. That does not touch the question that I put to you. You say that as an association you have deputed or delegated persons to discuss a question with the working men. Can you distinguish that proceeding from the trade union doing exactly the same thing, namely, deputing persons to discuss a question with the masters?—We might just as well employ counsel to discuss the question with the trade union delegates, and the masters and the workmen would be entirely out of the discussion.

17,862. That does not answer my question. I want to know how you distinguish one set of people from the other?—I distinguish them as I have already said, in this way, that we are simply the masters and they are the workmen.

17,863. I see that distinction; but when the masters act as the working men do, I want to know how you draw a distinction between the two. What is good for you to do, surely is good for the men to do?—The whole of this association of the masters is simply to prevent an attack being made; it is a defensive association to prevent an attack being made upon any special works by the masters protecting themselves by uniting together.

17.864. Supposing that that was the immediate object which you had in view, and that A. B.'s men are turned out of their employ, could it happen that your association should delegate people to talk with A. B.'s men?—Yes it could happen.

17,865. Now I want to know how you can make any distinction between that operation and the trades unions doing exactly the same thing, namely, talking with A. B. about the circumstances of his men?—You cannot stop the operation.

17,866. I am not talking about stopping it, but about the distinction between the two?—There you delegate a third party, and delegate another interest to talk to the masters, but we delegate ourselves.

17,867. Would they not say that their president and their secretary (I do not know that they are really, but do not they say that they are,) are working men?—Certainly not; they cannot say so, because they are not men actually engaged on manual labour.

17,868. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Your secretary is not a master, is he?—No.

17,869. Then he stands in the same relation to you as the officers of the trades unions to the men?—But he never speaks or acts as a delegate.

17,870. Does he not stand in the same relation to you; he keeps the communications open between the masters and the men, does he not?—He keeps the communications open by writing letters when required.

17,871. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Your honorary secretary is an iron manufacturer, is he not?—Yes.

17,872. You merely employ a secretary to do any ordinary writing required?—Yes.

17,873. He has nothing to do with the workmen at all?—No.

17,874. You have no paid agents of any sort or kind to interfere between you and the workmen?—No.

17,875. That is done by the iron manufacturers themselves?—By the masters themselves.

17,876. And if the honorary secretary takes part in that he does so by virtue of his being an iron manufacturer?—Yes.

17,877. (*Mr. Booth.*) Is there not this main difference between your association and the union of the workmen, that the union of the workmen interfere with workmen not desiring to join in union, whereas you, as I apprehend, never interfere with other masters who do not desire to join your association?—Certainly. We never invite anyone to come into it; it is quite voluntary their coming in, and they can withdraw when they choose upon giving notice.

17,878. You do not interfere with any other masters?—Not at all.

17,879. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) But that only says that your proceedings are wiser than those of the trades unions?—No, they are of a different character, with all submission.

17,880. But surely you cannot see any difference in the operation of the two; one is a union of masters to protect their interests, and the other a union of men to protect their interests?—I see a wide difference; because one is a union of paid delegates who are not actual workmen, and who are paid simply for the purpose of the union, whereas we masters simply represent ourselves, and all we ask is that the workmen should represent themselves.

17,881. Then you would not object to trades unions if the president and the secretary and the whole body of their executive were working men?—I do not object to trades unions, provided that they do not interfere between us and our workmen and with our general operations. By all that I have said here I merely wish to imply that I do not believe that, generally speaking, the working classes have benefited by the trades unions. I believe that demand and supply would have regulated the rate of wages equally as effectually as the operation of trades unions.

17,882. Then I gather from that, that you do not suppose that the habits and manners of the working men have been at all improved by their union with trades unions?—I believe not; I believe the contrary. I am satisfied, as perhaps one of the largest employers of labour, that where the working men are brought into contact with myself, and apart from any trade union dictation, it is much better. Much more was done for the men in the iron works before we were so hampered by the union. In every way that we could meet their requirements in a social point of view, in building them houses, and different other ways.

17,883. (*Mr. Hughes.*) No doubt that is so in certain cases; but do you think that there are no masters who would act unfairly to the men if the men were not organized?—Well, I cannot conceive it likely, because I think that now that there is so much railway communication and intelligence passing from one part of the country to the other, the men so ill-treated would very soon be able to find better masters,

and it would not be for the interest of the master to ill-treat or lose his men.

17,884. But it is a difficult thing for men to remove even now, and where there is an excessive competition between masters surely the most natural thing, except where the master is a very wise one, is that the first reduction the master attempts to make should be in his men's wages, and not in his own profit?—But a master cannot reduce the wage he pays below that which his neighbour pays, or else the men would leave him. Allusion has been made to the transport of men; we brought a large number of men from Cornwall and elsewhere, where work was scarce. We have paid their fares for them to the north of England, and the men have refunded us over a period; and we have done the same for men from Staffordshire.

17,885. (*Mr. Mathews.*) As a rule, when an ironmaster was found to be unfairly oppressive to his men, and found to take advantage of them unduly, would he not lose caste with his brethren in the trade?—He would lose caste as not being considered a very sensible man, because he would naturally lose the best of his men; good men will not stop with bad masters.

17,886. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Supposing the result was really to make himself rich, do you think that he then would lose caste for behaving in that way?—Equally so, I should think.

17,887. Then your experience of human nature is very different from mine?—I do not know perhaps precisely what you mean by "losing caste."

17,888. (*Mr. Mathews.*) By "losing caste" I mean that those friendly relations would not exist betwixt him and his brethren in the trade that would exist if he acted with the same care and consideration for the workmen that they do?—Of course they would not, but the man who did that would not show himself to be a sensible, intelligent employer of labour.

Mr. C. M. Palmer

9 June 1868.

17,889. In the first place it would be bad policy?—Yes, it would be bad policy.

17,890. And in the next place it would be unpopular for his position among his brethren in the neighbourhood?—Yes.

17,891. (*Mr. Booth.*) I think we may understand that, so far as your experience and your means of judging go, you think that the operations of the trades unions have been on the whole injurious rather than advantageous to the workmen?—I think that they have been injurious to them.

17,892. You mean with reference to the question of wages as well as in other respects?—I think that the effect has been in some trades to advance the wages more rapidly, but the reaction has come sooner and keener in consequence.

17,893. So that on the whole you think that they have not been advantageous?—On the whole I think that they have not been advantageous. I will take the last strike for instance. If the union had not interfered we would have carried the reduction of wages, and our trade would have continued in a prosperous condition much longer in the north of England, and the men would not have been called upon afterwards so rapidly to submit to one reduction after another.

17,894. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is it your opinion that, irrespective of trades unions, the law which regulates the rate of wages in the long run will regulate them in spite of trades unions; that, in fact, some higher cause than that of trade unionism regulates the rate of wages between employed and employer?—I have no doubt of it; in fact I have given proofs of it. Where we have no unions existing, and where labour has become scarce, we have been obliged to advance wages to bring labour into the district.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. George Bayley examined.

Mr. G. Bayley.

17,895. (*Chairman.*) Were you formerly surveyor under the Board of Trade?—I was.

17,896. And for more than 20 years you have been the principal member of the firm of George Bayley and William Ridley, surveyors and auctioneers, I believe?—Yes.

17,897. Have you had to superintend the building of some Transatlantic steamers for the North German Lloyd?—I have been superintending the building of eight steamers for the North German Lloyd.

17,898. They were built, I believe, by Messrs. Caird and Company at Greenock?—Yes.

17,899. You were down on the Clyde to superintend this building, I suppose?—I went down at intervals of five or six weeks whilst they were being built.

17,900. In what years was that building going on?—From about 1861 to the present year.

17,901. During that time were there strikes among the workmen employed in shipbuilding?—There was a strike at Greenock during that time (I think it was in the year 1866 or 1867), a lock-out as it was termed in the Clyde.

17,902. With whom did the strike begin, what class of workmen?—With the iron shipbuilders. I think they prescribed certain terms to the builders which they declined to give.

17,903. They demanded a rise you mean?—I believe that it was a rise of wages and some internal regulation with regard to the mode of conducting the business in the trade.

17,904. Was the claim resisted?—It was resisted.

17,905. Was it a claim made by the whole class of workmen working for different firms, and a claim made by all at once, or by the workmen of one particular firm?—I understood that a claim was made by the workmen on particular and separate firms, that such and such terms were to be adopted, and if not agreed to they were to cease working.

17,906. As to the other firms the workmen were to go on?—I understood so.

17,907. What was done by the masters?—The masters came to a resolution, as I was informed (and as I found at Messrs. Cairds) to close all their works and cease working.

17,908. So as to make it a general question with the whole of the masters on one side, and the whole of the workmen on the other side, rather than a special question between the workmen and the masters of one particular firm?—Yes.

17,909. How long did that lock-out last?—I think it lasted for five or six months altogether.

17,910. Had you means to observe the operation of that strike?—I was repeatedly in Greenock during the time, and I found that the work had ceased excepting such as could be carried on by the apprentices to the firm. Then men gradually came in giving up the terms which they had prescribed, and coming in upon the masters' terms, that is to say, upon Messrs. Caird's terms.

17,911. During all the time that the lock-out continued was there the option to the workmen to come in upon certain terms?—There was the option to the workmen to come in upon certain terms.

17,912. And gradually they came in?—Gradually they came in. The strike lasted five or six months, from the beginning to the end of it, I think.

17,913. The masters succeeded in the contest, that is, the men came in upon their terms?—Mesrs. Caird appear to have suceeeded in the contest; the works were filled and carried on on the terms agreed between them.

17,914. Has the operation of the trades unions altered the feelings of good will between the employers and the employed according to your observation?—I find that the feelings existing now between the employers and the employed are very different from what they were when I was first connected with the business in 1812. There was a kind of family feeling then; the masters had an interest in their men and the men had an interest in the welfare of the masters.

Mr. G. Bayley.
9 June 1868.

17,915. In large establishments had the masters personal acquaintance with the men?—They had personal acquaintance with the men, with the individual wants and circumstances of the men.

17,916. How many men would be employed at Messrs. Caird's yard in Greenock?—I think altogether something like 2,500 in the whole establishment, the machine works and the building yard.

17,917. And according to your observation there was an acquaintance and friendly tie as between man and man?—I observed that there had been that feeling of personal knowledge between man and master which I am sure is necessary for satisfactorily carrying on any work of the kind.

17,918. Did the masters do anything to help the men? If they help one man, according to your observation, does not that create great jealousy in the minds of others who do not receive the same help?—That depends upon the nature of the assistance rendered. If the assistance rendered was of a pecuniary character it might be very likely to create jealousy; but there is an assistance rendered which might be called a moral assistance, the encouragement of a steady, industrious workman, and he goes from one step to another, and I have known a great many instances in the course of my experience in which such men have become very wealthy members of society and large employers of labour themselves.

17,919. Since the action of the trades unions has that rise from a lower step to a higher been more rare?—I think that it has been more rare, and very much more so. The feeling of antagonism has become very strong, and particularly amongst the less informed and less skilful members of mechanical trades. They are the most difficult to deal with; I refer to the lower grade of workmen, those whom (I would not insult them) I should be disposed to call the unskilled workmen, men who have no mental cultivation.

17,920. (*Mr. Harrison.*) But the unions do not exist among the labourers, do they?—The unions control the labourers. The unions say to masters, "You "shall not employ such and such persons, you shall "employ a skilled labourer," or rather, "You shall "employ a member of the union to do that which an "unskilled labourer is quite sufficient for."

17,921. The shipwrights' union existed during the whole of your recollection, did it not?—No. I was connected with business in 1812; the shipwrights' union commenced somewhere about 1823 or 1824.

17,922. (*Mr. Hughes.*) On the repeal of the combination laws?—On the repeal of the combination laws.

17,923. But they had a private union before, a secret union, had they not?—Not that I am aware of. I was in business from 1820, and connected with it from 1812, and I was not aware of that.

17,924. But there were secret unions in many trades?—Yes, but none in the shipwrights'.

17,925. (*Mr. Harrison.*) The book list of prices was settled with a certain combination among the men in 1812 or 1815, was it not?—No, I think you will find that it was in 1825.

17,926. Are you speaking of the Clyde?—No, my own experience as a shipbuilder is that connected with the east part of England, Ipswich and London.

17,927. (*Chairman.*) Did I rightly understand you to say that you can manage the workmen almost in proportion to the scale of their intellect, that they are easy to manage if they are men of clearer powers of mind?—It is so, and was so previously.

17,928. And were those clearer powers of mind the gift of nature or the result of education, according to your observation?—I should say that they were the result of education of a particular kind, that is of observation.

17,929. I meant was it the result of education by books?—I think it was not so much education by books. But a very singular thing that used to impress me very much with these men who excelled as skilled workmen was, that they were very much disposed to study and applied themselves to books.

17,930. Their faculties were opened by observation first and then they applied themselves to books?—Yes, books were a source of information that they made use of, and very freely.

17,931. Those were the class of men that you dealt with amicably?—We never had any trouble with those people at all. If it was necessary to reduce wages from falling off of work it was only necessary to represent it to them, and they would consent. But when the shipwrights' union came into operation in 1823 or 1824 the men were compelled not only in the river Thames but in the adjoining rivers (I mean at Ipswich) to enter the union, and were forbidden to work if we employed certain persons. We were required to grant certain privileges or perquisites. On the men presenting to me the paper requiring that, (I did not preserve it unfortunately, or I should have brought it with me,) I said distinctly to the men, "I cannot allow you to interfere with the manage- "ment of my business; I shall manage my business "myself, and you are aware that I have always treated "you fairly and honourably, and why do you listen to "these men outside." They said, "We are compelled to go into the union, sir," and the consequence was that they turned out and kept out for four months because I would not consent to the terms.

17,932. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Was that scale contained in this old book which you have put into my hands drawn up entirely from the masters' point of view, or in consultation with the men?—I believe by the men themselves, by the delegates. Some of the names on the first page are the names of foremen—men who became so afterwards.

17,933. But the scale was accepted by the masters?—There was some arrangement come to here in London, but we did not adopt it in the outports.

17,934. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is it the tenor of your evidence that the establishment of unions has not tended to increase the confidence and the friendly relations betwixt the masters and the workmen?—I am satisfied that they have had that result. The feeling is very different now from what it was. I have myself not been in business as a shipbuilder, carrying on my own business, since 1831. Since that time I have been engaged as principal surveyor to Lloyd's for 10 years, from its establishment in 1834; and from that time onwards have been in a position to observe the character of the men, and I am very sorry to say that the skill of workmen as a class is certainly less than it was 30 or 40 years ago.

17,935. I am speaking as to the existing relations?—The feeling between the masters and men of course is that of alienation; the master wants work to be done, and the men come to him with the feeling, "Well, he will cut me down to the lowest point," or the master has the feeling, "They will ask the utmost amount they can."

17,936. Now it is a matter of mere dry interest, without any reference to those friendly relations that you think formerly subsisted between employers and employed?—I think so. I may say that in that strike of 1823 or 1824, when our people stood out for four months, they used to muster at the yard gate in the morning and make their remarks. They would say, "Give us a job, master; let us have some work." I used to answer, "There is work, you can go to it if you like." At length there was a certain operation required—a ship had been hauled up for the purpose of lengthening. I had heard that the men had said, "The boys cannot do it;" but I did the best I could to lead the boys on, and they did it. The men came to me saying, "Will you give us a job, master?" I said, "There it is; you can do it if you like, and you know the price; you know what we have always given." "Oh, about the union?" they said. "I have nothing to do with the union," I said; "there it is, there is the work"; and they went to work the next morning without making any terms, and from that time I had no further strike; but I employed men out of the union at pleasure, and would not be restrained as to the number of apprentices.

17,937. (*Mr. Hughes.*) So far as your experience goes, then, you think that the repeal of the combination laws has had a bad effect upon the relations of masters and men?—I think it has.

17,938. Would you go so far as to wish that the combination laws should be re-enacted?—No. I think that the bad effect has resulted from a misapprehension of the relation in which the parties respectively stand as employers and employed; their real interest must be identical.

17,939. No doubt, if all parties were perfectly wise they would see that?—I think it is honesty more than wisdom.

17,940. Even assuming that the relations are not quite what they used to be, do not you think that on the whole the repeal of the combination laws was a wise act?—I think decidedly so.

17,941. The object of that was to give the work-people freedom to combine?—The object was to remove from them penalties which resulted from a few men agreeing together. They worked in companies in shipyards at that time, 8 or 10 or 12 men together, according to the nature of the business. They would agree among themselves not to take certain work except for so much money, and certain cases occurred in which masters took advantage of that to bring them under the combination laws, and so far I think that the repeal of the combination laws was perfectly right. There is no reason why, if I am with six others, I should be prevented from saying to my five mates, "Such a job is worth 5*l.*, and we will not work for less," but I have no right to prevent another man to take it for less.

17,942. But do not you think that since the repeal of the combination laws masters inclined to take advantage of their men would still be likely to do so?—I cannot say that I have observed that as a general characteristic. I have observed masters who take advantage of their men, but what is the effect? That very policy drives away good workmen from them; a good skilful man says, "I will not go to that man if I can get work elsewhere."

17,943. (*Mr. Booth.*) That is the natural corrective of that evil, is it not?—That is the natural corrective of it. A master who pays his men fairly, according to the price of provisions and circumstances and localities, I have never found to be deficient. We have had a very remarkable illustration of the difference of localities. In 1820, I think it was, we built two East Indian ships at Ipswich, the "Fairlie" and the "David Scott." The "Fairlie" was let to a company who came from Barnard's yard, at Deptford; those men took the ship at a less price than they had received in London, for a similar ship, and Nathaniel Clark was the leading man of that company. Long after that time, when one of the surveyors to Lloyd's Register of British and Foreign Shippers, I asked him how it was that he came down to Ipswich with his 22 mates and took a ship with the great difference of price between what was got at Barnard's and at Ipswich. His answer was: "The facility at Ipswich for carrying "on the work was so much greater, that we earned "more money than we did at Barnard's." And that I think is rather a remarkable case, and Mr. Nathaniel Clark was one of the most active members of this trade union at its commencement, in 1823-4.

17,944. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Has it ever come under your observation that during any recent strike the workmen out on strike have taken any steps to prevent fresh men coming in to take the jobs?—I have heard that, but I cannot say that it came under my personal knowledge.

17,945. (*Mr. Harrison.*) With reference to a question about the time at which that book with the list of prices was drawn up, I was misled by an answer of Mr. Wigram's, in which he said that it was in 1815, but I now learn from our secretary that he has since corrected that, and that he wishes to put it at 1825.—The date is 1825, I believe, and it was before 1825 that this strike took place that I speak of as having personal experience of it. It was universal at that time, that is to say, all employers of shipwrights were called upon to consent to certain conditions. Amongst them this was one, that no man should be employed who was not a member of the union.

17,946. (*Mr. Hughes.*) As surveyor for Lloyd's and for the Government, do you now think that the work is worse done than it used to be 30 years ago? You can get as good work done now surely?—You can get as good work done of course, but you must pay an extra price in time. I think that there are fewer skilled workmen than there were 30 or 40 years ago. I think that the effect of the union has been to create this feeling: "What matters it? Why should I try "to be more skilful than my neighbour, and carry out "the work in half the time that he can do it; I can "only have so much a day." The rules of the union were, "They shall all be paid not less than so much a day," and that, I think, is very injurious. I have been often struck with the thing in connexion with another branch of the business, namely, the smith's shop. At that time I never heard of a union connected with smiths. There every man was paid according to his skill; he was paid 3*s.* or 4*s.* a day, or whatever it might be. There was never any union amongst the smiths, but an emulation to get on, for a man to make himself a better man. And so it was with some companies of shipwrights. These men from Barnard's that I spoke of as coming to Ipswich would not allow other men to come in. They selected their men, and it was something like a point of honour to be a member of the "Royals," as I think they called themselves. It was, in fact, a union of 22 men to make their own terms.

17,947. Twenty-two highly skilled workmen?—Yes; they included, I think, four nearly worn out shipwrights, and it was very much to their honour that they did so.

17,948. You approve of that union?—I approve of that union most heartily.

17,949. Supposing that the unions now made the same test and that the entry depended upon the skill of the workmen, you would think then that they would not be so injurious?—I should not think them so injurious. They would then be injurious, but not to the same extent. But now the effect is certainly this, to deteriorate the quality of the workmen; and from the fixing of a minimum wage there is a disposition, a natural reaction of course, to do as little for the money as possible, and it is embodied in the saying, "Come night, come ninepence."

17,950. (*Mr. Mathews.*) There was no disposition, I suppose, on the part of these superior men you speak of to interfere with any other men building these ships?—Not at all. The men used to be very careful in going through their work. I have here a schedule showing how much should be paid for it.

17,951. (*Mr. Hughes.*) And they extended to two or three old shipwrights; in fact the same advantages which the unions, rightly or wrongly, endeavour to extend to all the old men?—No, these men had been in the yard. There were fewer changes at that time. Men did not go from yard to yard, but remained, so to speak, connected with one yard.

17,952. The conditions of society were quite different then, were they not?—There was something different; we have made much progress now.

17,953. After all, the objects of that small union which you approved of were really only the same as the objects of the great unions now?—They did not attempt to prevent their employer from employing anybody he chose.

17,954. They would not have allowed him to put on the "Fairlie" any man he liked, would they?—Yes; there were certain prices paid for the work. "I will put on so many men to do the top side," for instance, he might say.

17,955. Do you think that Nathaniel Clark and the other 22 men would have allowed another gang to be put on?—Yes; I remember the fact that there were a few men (I think some six or eight) employed to work the top sides of the "Fairlie" at such a price,

Mr. G. Bayley.

9 June 1868.

the list price as agreed. The schedule between the body of the shipwrights and the masters was the schedule on which payment was made.

17,956. And the Royals did not even object to that being done which you have mentioned?—No, they did not object to that. I think it is due to the men to say what they did.

17,957. (*Mr. Booth.*) As far as your experience goes the unions have operated injuriously for the men?—I believe they have. They have driven the work away from the river Thames to an extent which is quite alarming; it is a matter of serious importance.

17,958. (*Mr. Harrison.*) How have they driven the work from the river Thames?—In consequence of the union they have refused to carry on work when there was a hurry for it, and they have refused to allow any other person to be employed than persons connected with the union. I have seen it in many cases which came under my notice when a surveyor at Lloyds; work was stopped.

17,959. Do you mean that the cost of building has become increased?—The cost of building has become increased in consequence of the union, because the union, as I understand it, meet and arrange that such and such prices shall be paid.

17,960. You mean that the union has succeeded in raising the wages?—I do not think they have really raised the wages—not if you take the aggregate earnings of the men, but I think they have diminished them. The wages per day may be raised, but the aggregate earnings are less, decidedly.

17,961. But are the wages per day raised?—The wages per day are raised above what they were in my early recollection.

17,962. Since when? What was the last time they were raised?—I cannot tell you the last time they were raised; but I know that instead of their being as they used to be 5*s.* or 5*s.* 6*d.* a day, the men are now, I am told, standing out for 7*s.* or 7*s.* 6*d.* a day.

17,963. Mr. Dudgeon, Mr. Wigram, and other large builders on the Thames have assured us that the wages for 20 or 30 years had not been raised at all, with the exception of one 6*d.* eight or 10 years ago, which has subsequently been taken off. Is your experience contrary to that?—I think that they must be under some misapprehension as to the actual fact. If they referred to their accounts they would see that 20 years ago the wages were not what they are now. Mr. Clifford Wigram is of course a highly respectable man, but I think that he is under some misapprehension on that matter.

17,964. (*Chairman.*) All the shipwrights, according to his evidence, were paid by the piece, and then they drew a nominal sum?—Yes, the wages for day-work, according to my recollection, have gradually increased. I think it probable that they allowed them to draw 7*s.* a day in 1840 and 1848, because work was plentiful then.

17,965. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Let me direct you to an answer given by Mr. Dudgeon, a shipbuilder on the Thames, at question 16,947. This question was put to him: "Have wages risen much during your 12 years' experience on the Thames?" and his reply was, "No; 24 or 25 years ago I had 6*s.* a day myself as a "working engineer at Millwall, and that is about "what we pay to-day."—That was engineers' work. Engineers were better paid at one time than shipwrights.

17,966. Then, in regard to the engineers, you do not include them in your statement?—No.

17,967. With regard to the shipwrights, we have had if possible more precise evidence than that which I have quoted, but, without referring you to all the questions, can you tell us specifically what was the shipwrights' rate of wages 20 years ago, what it has risen to in the interval, and what it stands at now?—I cannot answer that question upon the instant, but I could refer to documents at home which would show me the precise amount at that time. I was not at all aware that I should have any examination as to the rate of wages beyond the general question. The precise dates of change I cannot give you now upon recollection; not having been engaged myself as a master, paying shipwrights, I cannot speak myself of the amount they have received. I shall be able to give, from my position as a surveyor for the last 34 years, the prices charged per day for shipwrights work; that is the information I can give from documentary evidence that I have access to.

The witness subsequently handed in the following statement:—

"Shipwrights' wages in London, before the establishment of the union in 1824, were 5*s.* per day. After the union, in 1825, wages were raised to 6*s.* per day, and remained so till the Crimean war. During the war as much as 7*s.*, 8*s.*, 14*s.*, or 15*s.* a day was paid, and I am informed that in one instance as much as 20*s.* or 21*s.* per day was paid. At the close of the war wages fell to 6*s.* a day, and remained so until 1866, when they were raised to 7*s.* a day, the present rate.

"On reference to the notes of accounts for repairs, examined by me during the last 34 years, I find that the rate charged has been advanced in most of the building and repairing ports in the United Kingdom since the shipwrights' union has come into operation, particularly at Hartlepool, where shipwrights' wages were 2*s.* 6*d.* and 3*s.* per day in 1830, and remained so till 1840 or 1842. In 1848 the union came into active operation there, and wages were raised to 4*s.* 6*d.* per day, and advanced in 1851–2–3 to 5*s.* per day, and in 1867 to 6*s.* per day. At Bristol, in 1851, shipwrights' wages were charged 4*s.* per day, and in 1866 5*s.* 6*d.* per day. In the Clyde, in 1851, 4*s.* and 4*s.* 6*d.* per day was charged, and this was raised to 5*s.* 9*d.* in 1866; in Liverpool, in 1851, 5*s.* per day was charged, and in 1866 7*s.*; in Sunderland, in 1851, 4*s.* 6*d.* per day was charged, and in 1866 6*s.* 6*d.*; in London, in 1851, 6*s.* 6*d.* per day was charged, and in 1853 7*s.* and 8*s.* 6*d.* It is not the practice in London accounts to charge shipwrights' labour at per day, but in a gross sum; thus, 'Shipwrights' labour, &c., 450*l.*"

17,968. We had it at first-hand. The evidence of the builders who are paying the wages, and the evidence of the men who received them, which is direct evidence?—Perhaps you may have got evidence from them that they have drawn so much a day for so many years.

17,969. We have had that explained. Have you had it explained to you that at one yard in the river till a comparatively recent period they were in the habit of charging in their bills the day's work of shipwrights at 4*s.* 6*d.* a day?—That was a singular thing.

17,970. What is the effect of that?—The effect of that, of course, was to conceal the price paid to the shipwrights. The practice in the yard for many years was that the wages paid to the shipwrights was charged, and so much per cent. profit, and that that amount was divided into day work at 4*s.* 6*d.* a day; a very singular course of proceeding. I never knew but one place where it was so.

17,971. That was a low rate of wages?—Yes; it was much lower than it really was. I believe at that time the actual day wages were 5*s.* 6*d.* a day.

17,972. But we have had it repeatedly in evidence that the rates at which the men draw occasionally vary, that the sum paid at the end of the job is a lump sum, which was stated at the commencement?—Yes, that is so.

17,973. Of course the wages are calculated upon what they receive, not upon what they draw?—The day wages are different from the wages drawn. When they are upon a job they draw upon a certain rate. The day wages are different.

17,974. Perhaps you would explain what is not entirely clear to all of us, I think, at present, namely, what is the advantage of taking a contract on either side, either to the contractor or to the men, to do certain specified work for a lump sum down, and then drawing in the interval? Do you find that the men, if they have drawn out the whole sum and there still remains some days' work over to finish the job, leave you in the lurch, and leave you without having finished it?—I never was left in the lurch; but I am

sorry to say I have understood that such cases have occurred, and in other cases, to their honour, the men have worked out and completed the job without having any wages.

17,975. What is the advantage of the system?—The advantage of the system is to the master, that he can calculate to a tolerable certainty as to the period necessary to complete the work in, that it can be completed by a certain time, and the advantage to the men is obviously this, that if they exert themselves, using head and hands, (for they must have their heads in the work as well as their hands, or else they will make nothing of it,) they then derive the benefit of their intellect as well as their muscular strength; and that is to me one of the great perplexities of trades unions. I have seen it stated by their rules in various works that men shall only do so much work in so much time.

17,976. But the trades union which you have had experience of introduced nothing of that sort?—In such a trade union when a man takes a job he does the best he can, subject to the condition that it is done in a workmanlike manner. That is another reason why a company of men select their own companions.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. Peter James Robson further examined.

17,977. (*Chairman.*) We have already had your statement as president of the Shipwrights' Provident Union; I believe you wish to make some further statement?—Yes. In thinking over my evidence it appeared to me that it might be construed in this way, that in answering some of the questions I was endeavouring to fence. Such was not my object at the time, but in thinking over the answers that I gave I think some of them would possibly bear that construction, and as I had no wish that they should do so, and as I know that the shipwrights have everything to gain by giving a full and free explanation of everything in connexion with themselves and their union, and as some of the explanations that I gave do not now appear quite satisfactory to me, I trust that the Commission will just allow me to go over some portion of it again, and to give evidence with reference to the things that I do not think I put clearly before you on that occasion.

17,978. (*Mr. Hughes.*) We had the question before the Commission of those ships which were taken at 20,000*l.* a piece, or rather were proposed to be taken by the Thames Shipbuilding Company. You stated to us that the shipwrights agreed to do their portion of the work on each of those vessels for 500*l.*, did you not?—Yes.

17,979. You stated at the same time that they did not consent to draw less than 7*s.* a day, but you also stated that they would have been prepared to finish the whole of that work for the 500*l.*, whatever daily sum they drew?—I stated that most distinctly.

17,980. Do you undertake to say, that supposing the 500*l.* had not enabled them to draw 7*s.* a day during the whole of the time which it took to finish those jobs, they would have completed the jobs without exceeding the sum of 500*l.* which was agreed upon as the contract price?—I say that it was the wish of the men to do so, but there are a great many technicalities in reference to our trade, and I wish to put the case before you by an example. I will mention two cases in which I was interested myself. The first was that of a vessel called the "Apelles." I, with 10 others agreed to do the woodwork of an iron vessel for 16*s.* per ton, amounting in the whole to 800*l.* We had no stamped agreement, because we had confidence in the employer for whom we were working; we knew that if in the end there were any surplus he would give it us at the conclusion of the job (we drew at the then minimum rate of wages 6*s.* per day). We had drawn only 600*l.* at the finish of the job, leaving a balance of 200*l.*, which, with extra work amounting to 30*l.*, left us 230*l.*, which we divided amongst ourselves afterwards, and it paid us at the rate of 2*s.* 2½*d.* a day. That is one instance. I am showing now the custom of the trade, and I am going to apply it to this question to which we have referred. Then the other case is this—at the commencement of the present year things were very slack in the Thames; there was very little of shipbuilding and very little repairing just at that time, and what few jobs were in the market there was a considerable amount of competition for them. The employer for whom I worked, Mr. Fletcher, took one of these vessels to repair, and he said, "I have taken "it more for the sake of giving you employment than "for the sake of reaping any profits," and I quite believed him. And he said "You will have to take it at a reduced price." The work was let off into portions. I was asked, with a few others, to do one portion for 42*l.*; that sum was not nearly so much as they have been in the habit of paying, but there appeared to us to be good reasons why we should take it, and we took it at that. But he said nothing to us about any difference in the mode of drawing; we went to work according to the custom of the trade; the minimum rate had risen since the other affair I have mentioned to 7*s.* a day; we drew at the rate of 7*s.* a day while it lasted, and for the last week it only paid us at the rate of 3*s.* 3*d.*; but seeing that we had made a contract we were perfectly agreeable to take what remained to us. And that is the custom of the trade, and evidence could be piled up to show that it is the custom of the trade. But now in reference to this Thames Limited Company, that was not the custom of that particular yard. During the time for which they had held that yard they had never paid less than 7*s.* a day, and the shipwrights who have worked there know nothing about any contract, and the shipwrights generally of the river know nothing about any contract price, there the men being paid by the day. The secretary of the company in giving evidence said, "We issue the "work at contract price, and when there is a "surplus we pay the men, but when there is "no surplus the men refuse to work unless we "continue to pay them the 7*s.* a day." Now what I assert most emphatically is, that the shipwrights generally who go to work at that yard know nothing of this special agreement under which they let the work to one, or two, or six men (according to the size of the vessels). They do it in this way: they say to a man "I want you to build a vessel, what will you do it for?" He says "So much," if it suits them the men sign to do it for a certain sum, but those who go on after them have nothing to do with the question as to whether they make a good or a bad job of it.

17,981. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Are these sub-contractors shipwrights?—They are shipwrights; they have been brought before a meeting of the shipwrights who work at these yards, and they have been asked, "Have you received any surplus?" They have constantly denied that ever a surplus has been paid, or that they took it under any other agreement than 7*s.* a day, and the first time that it has been stated that there has ever been a surplus at all was when it was stated in this room by the secretary of the company. There may have been a few instances of the kind, but I do not think there have been many. That practice which I have described is an innovation in the custom of the trade brought on by them at that particular yard. They work by the day contrary to the general tenor of the work done in the port, which is by the piece. We in London are the only shipwrights who work by the piece; in the rest of the ports in the kingdom it is usual to work by the day and not by the piece. So far as to the custom of the trade. Then that being the custom of the trade, it would have followed that

Mr. P. J. Robson.

9 June 1868.

the shipwrights generally who went to work for them would only have received 6*s.* 6*d.* a day, and not have received any balance at the end, because the company had never paid any balance to shipwrights. They have never paid any balance that has been acknowledged by shipwrights; and when shipwrights that have been on these particular jobs where it was asserted that a balance had been paid, went to the company to ask whether they had paid them any surplus, they received no answer, and were told to mind their own business. This particular contract therefore had a different aspect, looking at it from that point of view. Then in reference to the particular question of doing these vessels for 6*s.* 6*d.* a day, the secretary of the company says, "When the ship-"wrights refused to do the work for 6*s.* 6*d.* a day, "there the matter ended." There it did not end, because a deputation from the society, accompanied by the men in question, appeared before the manager and pleaded that they might have the work, showed him the difference between the working in that particular yard and the working in others, and pledged themselves to do it for a lump sum; and I will put in evidence the usual way in which it is done. Here is a contract signed and stamped in which every particular item is specified, and it is at the option of the employer to stop at any week or to pay at any week the amount of money due for the work performed. That is the system of the trade. The manager was told that his system was not customary in the trade, and that those who would take the job would guarantee him from any loss, for the society was not restrictive so far as that went; if the men had agreed for 11*s.* 6*d.* a ton they would not have objected to their taking it; it is quite immaterial to them, and the best men can do the work cheapest. You may take your work at a price at which you think that you can do it, always having regard to the minimum rate of wages that you shall draw if you draw it by the day. The men wished to see the directors of the company; they asked to be allowed to see the directors to explain to them what was the difference between the rule of their yard and the rule of other yards, and to point out the difference it would make if they took it in their particular way; and the only answer was, "The directors refuse to have any "communication with you except through their "manager," and the manager said, "If you do not take it for 6*s.* 6*d.* a day you will not get it." There the matter, as far as we were concerned, dropped.

17,982. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Are you now speaking of the company?—The Thames Shipbuilding Company.

17,983. And the manager is the organ of the directors?—Yes.

17,984. And your complaint is that you could not see the directors?—I am offering that in opposition to the secretary's evidence that there the matter ended. I say that the men would have guaranteed to have done it by a stamped agreement in such a way that the company should have had no loss. The men were offering to make terms, but the company refused any other terms than their own, which would have been injurious to other men.

17,895. When you say that it would have been injurious to other men, you mean that it would have compelled the other shipwrights in the Thames to have accepted a lower rate than 7*s.* a day?—Just so.

17,986. (*Mr. Harrison.*) What was done was this. They were asked to draw 6*s.* 6*d.* a day instead of 7*s.*; if they had actually gone upon the work they would have drawn 7*s.* for a certain portion of the time, and then as it came short they would have drawn 6*s.*, or even 5*s.* 6*d.*, only for the rest of the time?—Yes. I would like to put in evidence what the company offered to the public. Here is the letter that the company wrote, with the shipwright's answer.

17,987. (*Chairman.*) Will you read only the business part of that correspondence?—The company say this in their letter: "We are just finishing some large con-"tracts which would necessitate the discharge of some "hundreds more of our hands, and being anxious to "avoid this aggravation of the present distress, we "had opened negociations for building some steamers "for a foreign company, which we could only obtain "at a greatly reduced price. Profit was altogether "out of the question, and we could only hope to "escape loss by some reduction in the cost of labour. "We asked our workmen to accept for this especial "job, without affecting any others, a reduction of 6*d.* "per day on the daily wages paid on account of the "contract work, giving them still whatever balance "might remain due on its completion from the amount "settled by mutual agreement. This involved a "reduction of the daily wages of the shipwrights "from 7*s.* to 6*s.* 6*d.* per day, and other classes in pro-"portion. We annex a copy of their reply received "this day absolutely refusing our proposal; we make "no comment on this refusal except that we have good "reason to believe that most of our men would wil-"lingly have accepted our offer but they are forbidden "by their trade unions." The following is the only part of the reply to which I wish to direct your attention: "We beg respectfully" (for reasons which are given in the letter) "to decline your offer of 6*s.* 6*d.* per "day, but are willing to take any work by contract, and "draw the money for the same as the work pro-"gresses." And the men who went to see the manager said, "If it only pays us 5*s.* a day we will do it; it "shall be a matter of agreement between you and us "whether you will leave sufficient in your own hands "so that there shall be no loss to you whatever." They pleaded the case, pleaded for the men, and they were refused it.

17,988. (*Mr. Mathews.*) The inference which we are to draw from that is this, I suppose—that although the men were willing to take contracts which would have paid them perhaps not more than 5*s.* or 6*s.* a day, they were unwilling to take contracts which would have appeared to pay them less than 7*s.* a day, the ordinary rate of wages?—Yes.

17,989. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Was any copy of that letter from the Thames Company sent to the "Times"?—Yes.

17,990. And did you write any answer to that?—We wrote an answer to it and sent it to the "Times," and the "Times" refused to publish it.

17,991. Did you see anybody and ask that it might be inserted?—Yes, and they said that they would take notice of it, and it never appeared. The Mansion House Relief Committee was sitting at that time, and a member of the relief committee who came before them for assistance said, "Because six shipwrights "refused to put up the frames of these vessels 1,400 "men are kept out of employment." That stone was kept rolling by the newspapers until the monstrous assertion crept into one of the papers that when a few shipwrights on the Thames kept 30,000 men out of employment it was quite time that the Legislature took some steps to remove such a state of things. We were advised by the employers, who, as a rule, work amicably with the shipwrights, to take some steps to show the public that we were not at all the cause of this state of things. I was one who went before the Lord Mayor. Our society had previously in going to the Mansion House gone for a different object; we had given 100*l.* to the Patriotic Fund, and I had taken 100*l.* at the time of the Lancashire Distress Fund; and the next time I had occasion to appear before the Lord Mayor was to beg that we might not be charged with stopping the flow of charity in this case, which in fact we were not doing, because the shipwrights, as a rule, are particularly charitable, and give away a large amount in charity to any cause that requires it.

17,992. (*Mr. Hughes.*) When you went to the Lord Mayor did anything happen at that personal interview?—I went before the Lord Mayor and made a statement. If it will not be out of place I will read a portion of it. "The shipwrights altogether "deny that they have been the cause of throwing "workmen out of employment. The following is a "correct statement of facts in reference to the "Thames Ironworks and Shipuilding Company. The

"shipwrights offered to build vessels at a price which "was equivalent to a reduction of 10 per cent. on the "price usually paid for such work, and the directors "of the company agreed to accept their tender, but "refused to allow their shipwrights to draw 7*s.* (the "usual amount) per day. The shipwrights then "offered to draw the money each week according to "the work performed, whatever amount it might "come to, but this was also refused them. It will be "seen that under these circumstances the company "is not justified in declining the contract on the plea "of loss caused by the shipwrights, for it is not the "amount but simply the mode of payment that is in "dispute. It is said by some persons that shipwrights "who are in distress can have work at once at 6*s.* 6*d.* "per day at the Thames Ironworks Company but "it is not correct, for the company, although they "have talked of this price, have really no work at "present ready." That was all that I said in reference to our case; the rest that I said was in reference to the charity; and Mr. Robert Wigram, a shipbuilder, who thoroughly understands the case, spoke on that occasion. "Mr. Robert Wigram, a member of the "committee, said Captain Ford, the managing direc- "tor, had stated that he offered them a reduction of "10 per cent, and that they refused it. They on the "contrary said they were ready to work at a reduction "of 10 per cent., and draw the money they earned, "which would have been a most legitimate arrange- "ment if it had been carried out." It would be carried out according to the custom of the trade. He said further, "The question was whether the ship- "wrights had refused any reduction during these ex- "ceptional times, and whether they were justified in "refusing it. A vessel taken by contract might "stand over for a year or two years. The ship- "wrights could not consent to make a reduction in the "case of any large vessel, the building of which might "occupy a year or two, but they might for a few "months. What little he had seen of union men "himself, whenever his firm had had any question "with them, the men had always looked at the matter "from a sensible point of view."

17,993. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Supposing the shipbuilders on the Thames had said, "Now, putting aside "all contracts, we are willing to open our yards, pro- "vided the shipwrights will work for 6*s.* 6*d.* a day," do you think that if they had made such an offer the shipwrights would have accepted the offer and taken 6*s.* 6*d.* a day?—I can meet that with this answer, that now we will work for 6*s.* a day.

17,994. I am speaking of the particular period that you have been calling our attention to. At that time would the shipwrights have taken 6*s.* 6*d.* a day if they had been offered it?—I am not prepared to say what they would have done.

17,995. Will you give us your opinion upon that point. You are very competent to give an opinion upon it, and you know pretty well what the feeling of the shipwrights was, and whether they would have accepted 6*s.* 6*d.* if the shipbuilders had opened their yards to them at that time?—If the shipwrights at that time had seen that there was no probability of employment they doubtless would have done it. But I explained in my evidence before that it was reported that there were 40 vessels to be built, and under the circumstances they would not have been justified in taking a considerable reduction.

17,996. Irrespective of what the state of the trade may have been, of which the masters of course had much better knowledge than the shipwrights, if the masters had said, "We are willing to open our yards," would the shipwrights then have accepted 6*s.* 6*d.*?—Not irrespective of the state of the trade; they would have taken into account the state of the trade when they gave the answer to that.

17,997. The whole of this transaction that you have been referring to before the relief committee all turned upon that, that the shipwrights had work offered them at 6*s.* 6*d.* a day and refused it. I ask you again if the masters had offered them 6*s.* 6*d.* and opened their yards to give them employment (whether their yards could have continued open is another thing), do you think that they would have accepted that offer?—Seeing that this was something so different from the way in which we were working, I am not prepared to say that.

17,998. (*Mr. Harrison.*) The shipwrights would have considered what they were to receive in wages with reference to the state of the market and what was doing in their trade?—Yes.

17,999. (*Mr. Mathews.*) But is not the state of the market rather a consideration for the employers than the shipwrights themselves?—Well, those who think that the shipwrights do not study these things make a mistake.

18,000. But I suppose that as the interest of the builders was concerned more than that of anyone else in the state of the market they were best able to judge what they could afford?—It was not put as a question of wages.

18,001. I want to know whether the shipwrights would have accepted 6*s.* 6*d.* if they had said that they would have opened their yards to them at that price, because it all turns upon that?—If they had asked them, "Will you change your old system when all "in London work by the piece, will you work by the "day at 6*s.* 6*d.* regardless of contract," that would have required so much consideration among the body at large that I am not in a position to say what they would have done.

18,002. But I suppose that there is an understanding as to what the rate of wages is in the Thames to shipwrights; there must have been a conviction on the part of the employers of labour that 7*s.* a day was too high a wage to allow of their taking the ships, but that 6*s.* 6*d.* would admit of it. I understand from you that they declined to work at 6*s.* 6*d.* a day, and said that they would rather work by contract at what would result in even a lower rate than prejudiced parties who were working at 7*s.* Again I ask you whether if they had offered them the 6*s.* 6*d.* the shipwrights would have accepted it?—At that particular time and for the particular reasons that existed at that time I think they would not.

18,003. (*Mr. Harrison.*) What do you suppose that that 6*s.* 6*d.* a day on the average comes to with a fair workman; what do you suppose it brings out at the end of the year?—About 5*s.* a day.

18,004. You would consider that the average earnings of a good workman are 5*s.* a day spread over the year?—Not the average wage of a workman in the trade, of a man who has to go about and get his living. There may be a few who would get as much as that on the average.

18,005. How much would it represent for the ordinary workman?—27*s.* a week.

18,006. Then the stories we have heard of the calculations based on 7*s.* a day compared with the income of a curate, and that kind of thing, are rather fallacious?—Altogether as far as the shipwrights are concerned.

18,007. (*Mr. Mathews.*) But will you show us the fallacy. At 7*s.* or 6*s.* 6*d.* you may have full work, or may not have full work. If you have full work of course it represents so much the more, but if you are short of work you, like all other classes of the community, must take the rate of wages according to the amount of work furnished you?—Undoubtedly.

18,008. Therefore that question is rather beside the question of the standard rate of wages, is it not?—But the fallacious part of it was comparing, the income of a curate paid by the year with that of the shipwright who gets 7*s.* a day, and only perhaps gets two and a half days' work a week.

18,009. (*Mr. Harrison.*) The statement was that the shipwrights of London refused to work for less than 100*l.* a year. You say so far from that that no shipwright does receive 100*l.* a year?—I do not say that no shipwright does, but a great many do not.

18,010. (*Mr. Mathews.*) The curate may be out of

Mr. P. J. Robson.

9 June 1868.

work; he may be out of his curacy for six or nine months together, may he not?—But he is not so liable to be out of work as the shipwright is.

18,011. (*Mr. Booth.*) Let me ask you whether I am right in supposing that the refusal of the men to take less than 7*s.* a day was made under the influence and with the sanction of the union?—Under the influence and with the sanction of a general meeting.

18,012. Of the union?—Of the members of the union.

18,013. Was the question considered by the union?—The question was considered by the union.

18,014. And did the men refuse it with the sanction of the union?—They refused it with their sanction.

18,015. (*Mr. Harrison.*) We have had some distinction drawn to-day between masters' unions and those of the workmen; and it was stated to consist in this, that the officials of the mens' unions are not like themselves working men. Now, you are president of your society, and I presume that you have worked in your trade yourself?—Yes, I work now. I was out at half-past 3 this morning.

18,016. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You had been doing overtime, I suppose?—Yes.

18,017. (*Mr. Harrison.*) The other officials of the society are *bonâ fide* working men; that is to say, if they are not working at this particular moment they are workmen by trade?—They are. The secretary does not now work at his tools, seeing that there are so many benefits connected with the society that we have to keep a person to do the writing and correspondence the same as the masters' association do, and in our particular case we give a shipwright the job, whereas in theirs they give a clerk; but we are all working men.

18,018. With respect to the wages in London, upon which some doubt was thrown by the last witness, can you give us satisfactorily, from any published or written returns, what have been the rates in London for the last 20 or 30 years?—I can tell you the minimum rate of wages. From 1824 until February in 1866 the minimum rate of wages was 6*s.* per day; it never varied at all. But at that time, seeing that such yards as the Thames Limited, and in fact all the iron companies' yards, were paying 7*s.* a day, and that the masters who employed us in the docks were paying us a sum for the job that paid us at the rate of 7*s.* a day, and that when vessels went out of dock the captain or the overlooker could get men to work for 6*s.* a day, there was an objection raised to that, that we worked for 7*s.* a day in the dock, and that our men might go to work outside the dock at 6*s.* a day, thereby taking a certain portion of the work away from the employer, and we asked that the wages all through might be raised to 7*s.* a day, and it was acceded to immediately by the whole of the employers. But since that time, since that affair of the Thames Limited, we have given way in the building of new ships, also at the instigation of the employers, and our minimum rate of wages in the building of new ships is 6*s.* a day.

18,019. (*Mr. Mathews.*) That is owing, I suppose, to the want of employment?—Yes.

18,020. Wages fell as the state of the trade relaxed?—Yes.

18,021. And if the state of the trade were to revive again there would be a rise in the wages, irrespective of the union?—Yes, irrespective of the union.

18,022. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Are there any other points that you wish to mention?—I wish to say that I consider that our shipwrights' union is less restrictive and less in restraint of trade than any shipwrights' society in the kingdom, and less than any with which I am acquainted; and yet we have been charged with the whole of the sins that are attributed to trades unions, and we feel sore in consequence of that.

18,023. With regard to piece work, you lay no restriction upon that, but it is the custom of the trade, is it not?—It is the custom of the trade, and no restriction is laid upon it at all. If the Thames Limited Company had done the straightforward thing, and supposing that 12*s.* 6*d.* a ton was too high a sum for them, and they had asked the men to do it for 11*s.* 6*d.*, I have no doubt they would have found a company of men to do it. The union does not interfere with any man in taking work, the best man earns the best wages, and provided that he does it on account, or according to his own skill, the union does not interfere with him at all.

18,024. Have you any restriction as to apprentices?—Not the slightest. They are a source of considerable annoyance, but in our rules we have no restrictions on that point; and some of the employers who are speaking a good deal about the distress are still continuing to take apprentices, and are adding to that distress. But as a union we have no restrictions against apprentices.

18,025. And wherever overtime is necessary for repairs and so forth, or finishing a ship under an emergency, the union would put no embargo on that?—Only so far as this: we know that there are times when it is absolutely necessary, on account of the tide, that men should work overtime. One of our rules states that any person meeting with an accident before 6 in the morning, or after 6 at night—that is, while working overtime—does not receive any accident allowance.

18,026. (*Mr. Mathews.*) So that you discourage overtime by that means?—Yes. But in my experience I never knew that fact to keep a man from working overtime.

18,027. I only ask whether it is not an indication of discouragement on your part of working overtime?—It is an indication of that.

18,028. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you think it an evil?—Yes. Of course we know that if we are working overtime, and hands could be put on only by day, it would give those employment who are out of employment. But, seeing that there are necessities in the case, and that sometimes it is absolutely necessary that they should work overtime, the union does not restrict it further than in the manner which I have stated.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. R. Quaile.

Mr. Robert Quaile examined.

18,029. (*Chairman.*) Are you a workman employed in shipbuilding?—Yes.

18,030. Have you been employed in Hull?—Yes.

18,031. Has there been a trade union at Hull, and have you suffered at all from it?—Yes. I was there last week, and I was a prisoner most of the time; not a prisoner in the hands of the police, but for my own safety. When I went down to work the men on strike gathered round us and would not let us work.

18,032. What was the strike about—shipbuilding?—No, platelayers' labourers.

18,033. Was it a strike among the labourers?—Yes; they wanted to hinder us from going to work. They had sent back at their own expense some of the men that left London here to take their places.

18,034. Some of the new men that came to Hull were sent back at the expense of the union?—I do not know whether they were unionists or not, but they were sent back at their expense. They paid their passage back to London sooner than let them work.

18,035. Then had you anything done to you?—Yes; I was not let to work. They put me into the train and forced me back to London, but when I got about 20 miles from Hull I came back again to Hull again, and two of the men that threatened me were imprisoned.

18,036. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What did they say to you?—They used different threats. They said that if I went to work on Saturday night, Sunday night would not see me safe. They said they would throw me into the dock.

18,037. So that, in fact, they threatened to kill you?—Yes.

18,038. What did you do then when you had got back to Hull?—I was brought up as evidence against them. There was a warrant issued against them.

18,039. You said that you went 20 miles from Hull and then got back. How did you get back?—I walked back.

18,040. When you got to Hull what happened to you?—I was sitting on the beach, and a gentleman out of the yard with a policeman came over to me, and the gentleman out of the yard bade me good morning. He said, "There is a warrant out for you, but do not be alarmed." I laughed and said, "It is nothing more than what I expected." He said, "It is nothing but to "give evidence against the men who have threatened "you and prevented you from working."

18,041. How did he know all that; did you tell him?—He knew all the threats that were used to me going to work, coming from work, going to meals, and coming back.

18,042. How did he know?—He could see it.

18,043. Did they threaten you in his presence?—Yes, decidedly, in his presence. He gave evidence at the trial, where they were convicted.

18,044. Where was the threat?—Going to work, coming from it, and going back.

18,045. Was this gentleman from the yard near you when the threat took place?—Yes, more than one of them was with me.

18,046. How was he with you; did he go to take care of you?—It was so close to the gate. The men on strike, when I was going to work, would congregate a few yards from the gate, and there the threats were used even in the presence of the chief foreman of the yard.

18,047. Who were the men that congregated round the gates; what class of workmen?—My own class of workmen—labourers.

18,048. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Men out on strike?—Yes.

18,049. And they wanted to prevent your coming in?—Yes; they said that I came to work under the right wages.

18,050. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Were they members of a trade union?—I cannot say.

18,051. You did not hear that they were?—No, I did not.

18,052. (*Mr. Mathews.*) What is your opinion; is it that they were members of a trades union?—I do not know. They seemed to be of one mind on their own principle, and that was to prosecute and annoy me, and I kept under the protection of two policemen all the time I was there, and was sent back under the protection of one.

18,053. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Were they a body of labourers from the country you are from, Ireland?—They were a mixture of all.

18,054. (*Mr. Mathews.*) From what part of Ireland do you come?—From the county of Londonderry.

18,055. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) All that you suffered was threats; they did not beat you?—That was quite enough. To be imprisoned eight days, and to lie in a garden, as I did, one night without a bed, was not pleasant.

18,056. They only threatened you?—Yes.

Mr. R. Quaile.

9 June 1868.

18,057. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Had you any apprehension that they would have beaten you?—Decidedly, had I returned to work.

18,058. Although they did not beat you, you were under bodily fear that they would have beaten you if you had returned to work?—Yes; the last day I was at work the same gentleman came out when he heard the violent threats they were using about 30 yards from the gate, and took me away, and then they threw stones at both him and me.

18,059. Did the stones strike you?—No, they did not strike either of us.

18,060. Were they thrown at you with the intention of hitting you?—I do not know with what intention they were thrown. I do not like to state that.

18,061. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Your complaint is that you were willing to go to work, but, owing to the labourers' strike in Hull, they prevented you from going to work, and sent you away, and when you got 20 miles from Hull you returned to them again, and then you received the same reception?—When I came back I was put where I could not receive the same reception. I was put in the police guard-room in the station-house, in order that I might give evidence against the two principal men that had annoyed me.

18,062. What were you doing in London previous to going to Hull?—Working in a Government dockyard and victualling yards.

18,063. And who suggested to you to go to Hull?—Colonel Maude. I entered my name.

18,064. You belong to the Free Labour Registration Society?—Yes.

18,065. And the managers of that suggested your going to Hull?—I came to solicit a place.

18,066. And you got the reception you have described?—Yes.

18,067. (*Mr. Booth.*) You could have got work at Hull unless you had been prevented?—Yes.

18,068. Had they any other cause of complaint against you except going to take work which they had refused?—No other cause.

18,069. They entirely prevented you from obtaining work there?—They could not prevent me from obtaining it so long as the masters were inclined to give it, but they acted so that even if the masters did give it I could not remain there.

18,070. You did work for some time?—Yes, for a few days.

18,071. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Was anybody else illtreated besides yourself?—Yes, four or five men have been committed and sent to prison with hard labour for illtreating other men.

18,072. (*Mr. Mathews.*) And there was a conviction in your case?—Yes, two men were sent to prison with hard labour in my case.

18,073. (*Mr. Booth.*) Notwithstanding that, you were not allowed peaceably to work?—Well, these men that were out on strike turned in again to their employment and I came home; in fact I was too miserable to remain.

18,074. Have you any further statement that you wish to make to the Commission?—No.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. JOHN ALLEN further examined.

Mr. J. Allen.

18,075. (*Mr. Booth.*) We understand that you have some further statement which you wish to make to the Commission?—Yes. Since I was here before I have looked for and obtained information which I think will have the effect of saving me from the necessity of going into detail on the various questions put to me then by the Commissioners. I wish to show the action of our association with respect to the regulation of wages and the hours of labour. With respect to the regulation of wages we have adopted the course of attempting to regulate them when we saw that the times and the trade were in such a position that we might appeal to our employers to grant us what we thought was a sufficient remuneration for our labour. We have in some cases succeeded and peacefully; and I may say, with regard to Lancashire in particular, that we have nearly always succeeded in getting an advance of wages when we looked for it with scarcely any trouble, but when I come to Liverpool, London, the north of England, and the Clyde, I feel that the case is a little different from that. There we do not go on so well as we do in Lancashire. It has been stated here that in London within this last 35 years wages have advanced from 25 per cent. to 30 per cent. I will admit

Mr. J. Allen.

9 June 1868.

that in portions of the country they have risen nearly to that amount, but in London they have not. And it has been stated that within the last seven or eight years wages have advanced in London 15 per cent. out of the 30 per cent. that they have advanced in 35 years. Now, so far as the trade which I represent and the society which I represent are concerned, I do not think that in London wages have advanced 10 per cent., or anything at all like it, within this last 30 years. I admit that they have in some cases advanced 10 per cent., in London within the last 30 years, but if I take into consideration the amount of labour done now as compared with the amount of labour done 35 years ago, or 30 years ago, I shall find the labour in excess of the advance of wages granted. I say that much relative to the day work. But if I go to the piece work that has been practised since iron shipbuilding came into operation I shall find this to be the state of the case. I have been in company with a man that has kept an account of the prices paid on iron shipbuilding for this last 27 years. He has been a contractor, that is to say, a sub-contractor, and has kept an account of that kind, and I have gathered this much from him, that in the year 1841, that is 27 years ago, rivetters' wages were in some parts 28*s.* a week; at present they are 30*s.* a week, that is an advance of 2*s.* per week, in some of the shops in London, that is in the boiler shops. But if we go to the iron shipbuilding we find that in 1841, supposing that in a ship of 1,000 tons there would be a piece of work amounting to 20,000 rivets in the shell of the ship, that would amount at that time, when wages were only 28*s.* per week in the boiler shops, to 210*l.* At present, when they say that the wages have advanced so much, we find that the same amount of work would be done at piece work prices now given for 75*l.*; consequently, taking the iron shipbuilding into consideration and the difference existing, we find that in place of the price of labour being advanced it has decreased, so that there would be a difference on one branch alone of 135*l.*, as compared with the state of things in 1841, in favour of the employers now in the construction of an iron ship of 1,000 tons.

18,076. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is the rivetting done by machinery?—No, not in iron shipping.

18,077. The same mode of rivetting existed in the previous cases as exists at present?—Yes. Then if I take three other branches and take that difference into account I find a balance in favour of the employers now in a ship of 1,000 tons of 405*l.* over and above that which they had when their wages were 28*s.* per week, or 10 per cent. less than what they are at present. Now, about 14 or 15 years ago the wages in Liverpool in the iron shipbuilding yards were 24*s.* or 26*s.* per week; at present, that is to say since the last reduction, they are 28*s.* per week. Well, I find that when the wages were 24*s.* or 26*s.* per week the men put in 120 rivets for a day's work, that is 120 for 4*s.* 8*d.* or for 4*s.* At present for 28*s.* per week they put in 180. Here, then, there is 50 per cent. advance on the amount of work done, while there is only about 10 per cent. advance in the wages. I think that that statement will do away with the idea that the wages have risen so much as far as the iron shipbuilding is concerned. When they say that we have advanced the wages so much per cent. we find by a strict examination of the accounts (and I have had the accounts from the offices of the various shipbuilders in London), that in place of an advance of wages of 10 per cent. being given we have fallen back about 50 per cent. when we consider the amount of work done. There is another statement that has been laid before this board to which I should like to refer. Some men have said this in effect: "I have an opinion in my own mind, " and I think the operation would be perfect, if apart " from the unions a better class of men would locate " themselves where there was a better demand for " their labour at a higher price;" that is as much as to say that the unions interfere with the skilled workman and will not allow him to locate himself in a place where there is a call for his labour at a better price.

18,078. (*Mr. Harrison.*) I do not think that it has ever been suggested that the unions have interfered with men going from one part of the country to another?—But it means that. It has been put before you that it is desirable that the better class of men should locate themselves where there was a better demand for their labour at a higher price. To interfere with that would be in direct opposition to the principles of the trades unions; for, as I have stated here before in my evidence, we have even paid men's railway fares to take them to an employer at a distance when he required men and when we had men to send to him. Then there was another question, namely, How it was that so many firms on the Thames closed, and why they became bankrupt? Now I must say that though there have been firms that have closed their operations on the Thames they have in many cases removed elsewhere to go on with their operations, and that not, as has been stated here, because they could not make money enough here. There have been some of them that could make money and perhaps did make money, but left it to others to take care of it for them. That I am sorry to say is the case. There are employers who apart from the trades unions, if they had had that judgment that they ought to have had in carrying on the business of their firm and had not trusted so much to others, would have been perhaps in a position to-day which is now occupied by those whom they trusted. Then questions were asked as to what the operation of the societies is, and how it affects the employers and workmen. Now, as far as the feelings existing between employers and workmen are concerned, I must say that trades unions certainly have not created a better feeling than what there was existing previous to their coming into operation, and the reason of that is very obvious. The men look for a little more wage, and the employers like to keep what they can get.

18,079. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You say that trades unions have not created a better feeling; have they created a worse?—I believe that they have in many instances, but in a great many instances I believe they have created a better feeling with many of the employers who feel inclined to consult with the men on matters affecting the interests of both employers and employed. There is certainly a great antipathy existing between employers and employed where the employer, as a matter of dignity of trade or dignity of person, will not condescend to meet their workmen, or meet the officials belonging to the trades unions. It has been stated to the Commission that the officials of the trades unions have done such and such things (of course bad things), but I believe that if the thing is looked at in the right light, and if it is taken into account in an unprejudiced form it will be found that the principals of the trades unions always advocate a peaceable form of action.

18,080. I can understand the objection on the part of the employers to meet the officials of the trades unions, but do you know any instances where the employers have objected to meet their own workpeople and discuss the question of wages with them?—There are instances of that, but I would beg not to be pressed to name any person.

18,081. I do not ask you to name the people, but are the instances numerous that have come under your observation of the employers of labour declining to meet their own workpeople and discuss the question of wages with them?—They are not so numerous where they have refused to meet their own workpeople as they are where they have refused to meet deputies from the workpeople. In answer to some other statements that have been made I may say that the officials are in general men belonging to the trade, and are men who are placed in that position by the workmen of that trade, and the men consider that whereas one of them might be discharged from a shop through being pointed out as a leading feature in a movement the official could not be, because he is placed in a position,

and kept there by them. I know a case, for instance, where I was engaged in a strike, and I was opposed to that strike because I thought that we could not gain our object, although the object was a very honest one on the part of the men. As I say, I was opposed to that strike, and though I was opposed to it they appointed me as a deputation to wait upon my employer; the consequence was that I was hunted through the country, and even after I obtained a situation here in London my employer happened to see me in that situation, and he applied at the office to get me discharged, although I had been opposed to the steps the men had taken. It is the case that men in general have an objection to see their employers in case of a dispute for fear of the employers taking an undue advantage of them, consequently the men fall back upon the officials of their society; and here the employers disagree with our view of the case A question has been put to me with regard to apprentices. I may say that in Liverpool at present there are three apprentices to one journeyman employed. One may calculate that there are 400 men belonging to our trade walking about Liverpool and Birkenhead idle to-day, and if I take three people as depending upon each of those 400, we shall have 1,200 persons out of employment, and the question is, which of the two evils is the greater? Shall we have an excess of youth, that is to say apprentices, in the trade at work and throw all those men and their families out to suffer want? or shall we destroy the youths, throw them out of work, and have so many of the working men and their families supported?

18,082. Do you think that if the apprentices were to be thrown out of work it would necessarily follow that the shipwrights would be put in at full wages? —Yes. As to the iron shipbuilders, I believe that if there were not so many apprentices employed the men would be employed.

18,083. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Then do you think that it would be just to destroy the apprentices in order to keep these people alive?—I do not think it would be just to destroy them all.

18,084. It would be just to destroy some of them? —As far as the evils go I should say let us take the less evil of the two.

18,085. I want to know whether you would justify the Legislature which should say, "Yes, we know that "the law which we are about to pass will destroy so "many young men; we cannot help it, we must do "it." Would you justify the Legislature in doing that?—No, I could not wish for any act of any Legislature to do any injury to any person.

18,086. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you mean that so many young men had better not enter the trade which is already overstocked?—Yes. The state of the matter is this: They are both great evils, but I think that the greater evil is at the side of the poor men with their families, because there are so many more of the poor men with their families out and suffering than there are of the youth employed in their places; consequently the greater evil must be with the poor men and their families.

18,087. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What would you recommend to have done with these young men who have no other means of subsistence, but think that they could get it in an honest way by taking to that trade? —What I would do if there was a possibility of doing it would be to carry out emigration.

18,088. You would banish those men?—I would not banish them; they would be free men and live in hopes of having a better prospect before them.

18,089. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is there anything to prevent their emigrating now?—Yes.

18,090. What?—Poverty.

18,091. Is it your theory that Government should be asked to provide means for sending these people out of the country because the trade happens to be slack just now?—Not because the trade happens to be slack just now, but if it became slack for a certain period, and there was an over-abundance of labour stocking the market, if we could form a system to lessen the labour and so lessen the poverty through this country by placing them in a more comfortable position elsewhere, I think that it would be an act of charity; it would be doing humanity in general a great service.

18,092. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) But do not you think that that is very much like putting salt upon the bird's tail?—No, I do not; you have to wait to catch the bird, but you have poverty around you at all times.

18,093. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Then would you advocate the doctrine that in every time of depression of trade Government should take upon itself either to support the men or to send them abroad?—After it had come to a certain pitch. I think that from the Poor Law guardians, and the applications that would be made to different quarters under some code of laws with certain regulations, Government might be generally put in a position to know when the natural limits were exceeded at home.

18,094. Would you send out the elder workmen or the younger workmen?—Certainly I would not send out the old men.

18,095. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Why not; you are talking of mischief, why should you not get rid of the greatest mischief?—When I speak of old men I consider that I am an old man myself, though I am not very old.

18,096. "We have too many of us in this room, throw him out of window;" is that the sort of proceeding you advocate?—I would not advocate that.

18,097. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Supposing that we were to send out by the aid of Government all the surplus hands that could not find work when trade was slack, would you bring them back again when trade revived? —That is giving it a very wide scope. I have not given it such a wide scope, I merely suggest that certain regulations may be adopted, whereby the Government of the country may be led to judge aright on the question.

18,098. You say that a large number of men in the shipbuilding trade are out of employment in Liverpool. Do you know the Clyde or any other shipbuilding districts, so as to be able to say whether they are equally short of employment there?—I believe that on the Clyde they have plenty of trade, and also on the Tyne.

18,099. But in Liverpool they are very short at present?—In Liverpool and in London they are very short.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to Tuesday, June the 23rd, at 11 o'clock.

INDEX OF WITNESSES.

	Page
Allen, John	44
Bayley, George	59
Divers, Frederick John	26
Dudgeon, John	20
Palmer, Charles Mark	51
Quaile, Robert	66
Robson, Peter James	47
Samuda, Joseph D'Aguilar	11
Smith, John Paterson	42
Steele, Robert, jun.	32
Wigram, Clifford	7

LONDON:
Printed by George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode,
Printers to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty.
For Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

REFORM
PALL MALL

TENTH REPORT

OF

THE COMMISSIONERS

APPOINTED TO INQUIRE INTO THE

ORGANIZATION AND RULES OF TRADES UNIONS AND OTHER ASSOCIATIONS:

TOGETHER WITH

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
28th July 1868.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY GEORGE EDWARD EYRE AND WILLIAM SPOTTISWOODE,
PRINTERS TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.
FOR HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE.

1868.

CONTENTS.

	Page
COMMISSION - - - - - - - - - -	iii
REPORT - - - - - - - - - - -	v
MINUTES OF EVIDENCE - - - - - - - -	1
INDEX OF WITNESSES - - - - - - - -	120

COMMISSION.

VICTORIA R.

Victoria, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith.

To Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Sir William Erle, Knight; Our right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin Thomas George Earl of Lichfield; Our trusty and well-beloved Francis Charteris, Esquire (commonly called Lord Elcho); Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Sir Edmund Walker Head, Baronet, Knight Commander of Our most Honourable Order of the Bath; Our trusty and well-beloved Sir Daniel Gooch, Baronet; Our trusty and well-beloved Herman Merivale, Esquire, Companion of Our most Honourable Order of the Bath; Our trusty and well-beloved James Booth, Esquire, Companion of Our most Honourable Order of the Bath; Our trusty and well-beloved John Arthur Roebuck, Esquire, one of Our Counsel learned in the Law; Our trusty and well-beloved Thomas Hughes, Esquire, and Frederic Harrison, Esquire, Barristers at Law; and Our trusty and well-beloved William Mathews, Esquire, greeting.

Whereas it has been represented unto Us that it is expedient that inquiry should be made into the several matters herein-after mentioned.

Now Know Ye, that We, reposing great trust and confidence in your ability and discretion, have nominated, constituted, and appointed, and do by these Presents nominate, constitute, and appoint, you, the said Sir William Erle, Thomas George Earl of Lichfield, Francis Charteris, Esquire (commonly called Lord Elcho), Sir Edmund Walker Head, Sir Daniel Gooch, Herman Merivale, James Booth, John Arthur Roebuck, Thomas Hughes, Frederic Harrison, and William Mathews, to be Our Commissioners for the purposes of the said inquiry.

And We do hereby enjoin you, or any Four of you, to inquire into and report on the Organization and Rules of Trades Unions and other Associations, whether of Workmen or Employers, and to inquire into and report on the effect produced by such Trades Unions and Associations on the Workmen and Employers respectively, and on the Relations between Workmen and Employers, and on the Trade and Industry of the Country; with power to investigate any recent acts of intimidation, outrage, or wrong alleged to have been promoted, encouraged, or connived at by such Trades Unions or other Associations, and also to suggest any improvements to be made in the law with respect to the matters aforesaid, or with respect to the relations between Workmen and their Employers, for the mutual benefit of both parties.

And for the better discovery of the truth in the premises, We do by these Presents give and grant unto you, or any Four of you, full power and authority to call before you, or any Four of you, such persons as you shall judge necessary, by whom you may be better informed of the truth in the premises, and to inquire of the premises and every part thereof by all other lawful ways and means whatsoever.

And Our further Will and Pleasure is that you, Our said Commissioners, do, with as little delay as may be consistent with a due discharge of the duties hereby imposed upon you, certify unto Us from time to time, under your hands and seals, your several proceedings in the premises.

And We do further will and command, and by these Presents ordain, that this Our Commission shall continue in full force and virtue, and that you, our said Commissioners, or any Four of you, shall and may from time to time proceed in the execution thereof, and of every matter or thing therein contained, although the same be not continued from time to time by adjournment.

And for your assistance in the execution of these Presents We do hereby authorize and empower you to appoint a Secretary to this Our Commission, to attend you, whose services and assistance We require you to use from time to time as occasion may require.

Given at Our Court at St. James, the Twelfth day of February 1867, in the Thirtieth Year of Our Reign.

By Her Majesty's Command.

S. H. WALPOLE.

TENTH REPORT.

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

We, Your Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into and report on the Organization and Rules of Trades Unions and other Associations, whether of Workmen or Employers, and to inquire into and report on the effects produced by such Trades Unions and Associations on the Workmen and Employers respectively, and on the Relations between Workmen and Employers, and on the Trade and Industry of the Country; with power to investigate any recent acts of intimidation, outrage, or wrong alleged to have been promoted, encouraged, or connived at by such Trades Unions or other Associations, and also to suggest any improvements to be made in the law with respect to the matters aforesaid, or with respect to the relations between Workmen and their Employers, for the mutual benefit of both parties, have held several meetings, and humbly beg leave to submit to Your Majesty the evidence given before us at our meetings held upon the 23d and 30th days of June, and upon the 1st, 14th, 22d, and 24th days of July 1868.

(Signed) W. ERLE, Chairman.
LICHFIELD.
ELCHO.
DANIEL GOOCH.
H. MERIVALE.
JAMES BOOTH.
J. A. ROEBUCK.
THOMAS HUGHES.
FREDERIC HARRISON.
WM. MATHEWS.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

RETURN OFFICE PALL MALL

TAKEN BEFORE THE

ROYAL COMMISSION

APPOINTED TO INQUIRE INTO THE

TRADES UNIONS AND OTHER ASSOCIATIONS.

1, Park Prospect, Westminster, Tuesday, 23d June 1868.

PRESENT:

The Right Hon. Sir WILLIAM ERLE.
The Right Hon. the EARL of LICHFIELD.
Sir DANIEL GOOCH, Bart., M.P.
JAMES BOOTH, Esq., C.B.
JOHN ARTHUR ROEBUCK, Esq., Q.C., M.P.
FREDERIC HARRISON, Esq.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR WILLIAM ERLE IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. ROBERT LEWIS examined.

Mr. R. Lewis

23 June 18

18,100. (*Chairman.*) You are of the firm of Lewis, Sons, and Parker, tailors, of Saint James's Street, are you not?—Yes.

18,101. You have been in business for nearly 30 years?—I have.

18,102. And are you well acquainted with the regulations connected with the trade?—I am.

18,103. Has the action of the trades unions been brought under your attention, particularly in 1867?—We were put to great inconvenience through the action of trades unions at that time. A strike was declared and kept up for a considerable period, which created very great inconvenience.

18,104. Perhaps it would be best if you would tell us what you consider the most prominent points of interest in respect of that strike?—The whole affair is so full of dates and numbers and facts, that I should be saving the time of the Commission if I just refer to the document a copy of which I have already submitted to the secretary. The first question put to me in the printed questions is this, "Has the institution "of trades unions according to your experience tended "to facilitate or improve the dealings and relations "between workmen and their employers, or the "contrary?" I have made this reply: "In my "opinion the institution of trades unions does not "tend to facilitate or improve the dealings or relations "between the workmen and their employers, but on "the contrary has, according to my experience in the "tailoring trade, been the sole cause of disaffection, "and the trouble that has been created. In support "of my opinion I beg to illustrate the injurious effects "of trades unions in the tailoring trade by the "following short history of the strike in 1867, and "the circumstances preceding it. For upwards of "30 years past the operative tailors of London have "been paid by piece-work, so much for each garment; "the prices having originally been fixed by a calcu-"lation based upon the number of hours in which an "average workman could and did up to that time "ordinarily do the work at 6*d.* per hour; alterations, "repairs, and items not provided for being paid for "as nearly as could be calculated according to the "same scale. This calculation of time has come to "be called technically 'the London log,' and the "system was adopted to overcome the dissatisfaction "felt by clever and expeditious workmen at not being "able to earn more than slow and inefficient ones "under the previous existing system of daywork. Its "result has been to increase considerably the earnings "of industrious and skilful men, and to lower those "of the opposite class. Under this arrangement "matters proceeded until the spring of the year 1866, "when the master tailors of London received a circu-"lar from the London Operative Tailors' Protective "Association, (a copy of which, marked A, is ap-"pended,)* requesting an advance of 1*d.* per hour in "the rate of payment, and an answer by a given day. "A meeting of masters was hastily convened to con-"sider this application, the statements set forth in it "duly considered, and a committee appointed to act "on behalf of the masters generally as it should "appear best to them to do. This committee col-"lected statistics from about 30 of the leading firms "in the west end of London, by which they ascertained "that accidents and exigencies of business had gra-"dually produced variations in the rate of payment in "different shops; but having by these means learned "the average prices paid they recommended the "general adoption of a new scale, giving an increase "of about 10 per cent. upon this average. They "further recommended that the announcement of this "advance should be made by each master to his own "men, in preference to making it to the union. "Their recommendations were very generally adopted, "and the advance was received without objection by "the workmen, excepting in the case of three firms—

* The Appendix to the witness's printed Statement, which had been previously circulated among the Commissioners, will be found at the close of his evidence (p. 8). As the greater part of the statement itself is quoted in the oral evidence, it is not reprinted here.

r. R. Lewis.
June 1868.

" Messrs. Poole, Stulz, and Morgan—where, from the " fact of exceptionally high prices having previously " been paid, the increase of 10 per cent. upon the " average was found to give comparatively little " advance." It was, I may explain, 16 or 17 per cent. higher than some houses had been paying. " A " strike against these three houses followed, and the " other masters feeling that they were bound in " honour to support them, determined upon closing " their shops until an arrangement was effected, " which was done in about 10 days by a further con- " cession on the part of all the masters; and this " agreement as to the future rate of payment in the " trade was signed by the masters and the represen- " tatives of the London Operative Tailors' Protective " Association, at St. James's Hall, and has since been " adhered to on the part of the masters. Its effect " has been an increase of about 15 per cent. upon the " rate of wages paid by the leading houses." I will just say here that that is still adhered to on the part of the masters. We have practised no inquisitorial method of ascertaining the facts from one another except what has casually come out. There may have been exceptions to that which I am not aware of; but those friends that I am intimately acquainted with adhere to it strictly on principle. " The matters " above alluded to led to the formation of the " Master Tailors' Association of the United King- " dom, which was established on the 1st of Septem- " ber 1866, with the objects, as set forth in the rules, " of 'the interchange of information on all matters " ' connected with the trade generally, the holding " ' of free and friendly communications with the " ' representatives of the journeymen, with a view " ' to the avoidance of strikes, and at the same " ' time to secure the prompt and united resistance to " ' any attempt on the part of the men to enforce " ' unreasonable demands, or to limit the free action of " ' any individual master.' By this association, on the " 5th of January 1867, a communication was received " (a copy of which marked B is appended), signed by " the representatives of the London Operative Tailors' " Protective Association, and of the Amalgamated " Society of Operative Tailors, proposing that an " endeavour should be made, by a committee of masters " and a committee of workmen, to arrange an uniform " time log for the United Kingdom, for the purpose of " avoiding the constant occurrence of such disputes " for want of such a standard. This proposal was " after consideration assented to on the part of the " masters' association (though with some doubt on " their part as to its practicability), and a committee " of masters acquainted with the subject was appointed " for the purpose. At the first stage of the negotia- " tions the chairman of the masters' committee in- " troduced a proposition for arbitration in case of " disagreement, and pressed it upon the workmen's " committee, who, however, stated that in their opinion " it would prove impracticable and useless. Two " meetings took place, and sufficed to show the " masters' committee that there was not the slightest " possibility of any good being done, and that the pro- " position had been nothing more than a device to " obtain the sanction of their association to a 'time " log' bearing no relation to the actual number of " hours required for the performance of work by " average workmen, and that it was a plausible pre- " text, under the pretence of a desire for symmetry and " uniformity, to obtain a further increase of wages " both in town and country. Under these circum- " stances a dead lock took place, and both parties " referred to their general committees for instruction. " The masters determined that unless the workmen " would accept, with some slight modifications, where " palpable errors could be clearly demonstrated, some " such standard of time as had been recognized at the " meeting at St. James's Hall in April 1866, when the " agreement for an increase of wages was made and " signed by both parties, as before referred to, and " had previously satisfied masters and men when " considerably more work was put in the various " garments (some of the garments certainly), they " must abandon the matter. The operatives' com- " mittee replied that by far the greater part of the " log submitted to them by the masters would re- " quire substantial additions, and insisted on pro- " ceeding with the matter as before forthwith. The " negotiations were then broken off, the workmen " complaining of a breach of faith on the part of the " masters, and endeavouring to persuade the public " that they were only seeking an adjustment of time " and not an increase of wages, to realize in fact, as " they put it, what had been nominally conceded to " them the year before; whereas they had, as has been " shown, obtained a tangible increase of 15 per cent. by " fair and open negotiation, and were now endeavouring " by indirect means to obtain at the very least as much " more. It will be proper here to state that very few " practical master tailors believe in the possibility of " establishing either an exactly uniform rate of the " time to be allowed by all houses in one town, or of " an invariable calculation of the time taken to make " similar garments in various places. In the former " case the master doing the most fashionable class " of business, and obtaining the highest prices, will " naturally require the most pains taken about his " work, and have to pay more, because of the extra " time taken to do it neatly; and in the latter " it will be obvious that, although a coat for a " country farmer may be made in a certain number " of hours, it by no means follows that the same " description of coat for a peer or M.P. can be made " in the same time. The master tailors, therefore, " feel that they have gone as far as they can on the " road to uniformity in recommending the assimilating " as they have done the rate of payment in London " houses of an admittedly similar class. Following " the breach of negotiations, the master tailors of " London received on the 18th of April 1867, from " the president and secretaries of the London " Operative Tailors' Protective Association, and of " the Amalgamated Society of Journeymen Tailors, " a circular dated the 16th April, 1867 (a copy of " which marked Appendix C is annexed), informing " them of the failure of the attempt to establish an " uniform 'time log' by the means already tried, and " stating that they had no resource (a time log being " indispensable to the requirements of the trade), but " to enclose for adoption one of their own, and re- " questing an answer stating the willingness of the " masters to pay to it by 2 p.m. on Saturday the 20th, " the intervening day, the 19th, being Good Friday. " This circular received very little attention; the " masters having by this time become fully aware of " the real question at issue, determined to resist the " further interference of a trade union between " themselves and their workpeople, or to make any " advance upon the prices agreed to in the previous " spring between themselves and the operatives' " committee, under whatever disguise it might be " sought, or by whatever means it might be at- " tempted to be enforced. On the following Monday, " the 22d April 1867, a meeting of the workmen " (nearly all of whom were by this time members of " the union) was held at the Alhambra, when a strike " was declared against 88 of the principal employers " of London. Denunciatory speeches were made; it " was openly stated by the leaders that a system of " picketing would be at once commenced to prevent " others who might be willing to do the work these " men had left from undertaking it, and that a weekly " levy of 2*s.* per man would be made upon every mem- " ber of the union for their support during the strike. " The number of men thrown out of employment by " this proceeding was nearly 3,000. Their means " of subsistence, instead of their ordinary earnings of " from 30*s.* to 50*s.* or more per week, were reduced " to an allowance of 15*s.* or 20*s.* a week at first, which " very soon diminished to irregular amounts of some- " times less than 10*s.*, and ultimately to nothing at " all. Many respectable men eventually had to break " up their homes, and were with their families

" reduced to great distress. Many who had worked " for long periods with the same firms had to " sacrifice all connexion with their former masters, " frequently very much against their own will, but " powerless to resist the dictates of their union. Some " went into the country, others emigrated, but a large " number remained parading the streets as pickets to " prevent members of their own body from returning " to their employment, or others from supplying their " places, and this they continued to do until August. " The position of the masters may be shortly described. " Attributing the difficulties of the preceding year " and these later ones almost solely to the interference " of a trade union between themselves and their " workpeople, with whom they had previously been " able to adjust matters satisfactorily for 30 years " without this interference, and being a second time " placed in the difficulty of having their businesses " all but brought to a standstill at the commencement " of the busiest season of the year, they naturally " resented such interference, and resolved thenceforth " to employ no professed members of any union, but " to stand out for the principle that masters have a " right to employ any men they please, and workmen " a right to work for any master they choose, upon " terms that may be agreeable to both, without the " dictation of a third party. Their difficulties at " first were considerable, not from any want of work- " people willing, and even eager, to supply the places " of those who had left them, but principally from " the action of these latter, who by walking up and " down in front of their houses, and by interfering " with the would-be applicants in various ways, con- " trived to terrify them in some cases into bringing " back work they had undertaken, in others to make " them almost afraid to venture beyond their own " doors, so that for some time most of the work had " to be taken to and fetched away from the workpeo- " ple by the foremen and porters. The system of the " pickets was, first to attempt to persuade or bribe " those working to cease doing so; where this was " ineffectual, to abuse and annoy them by calling them " disgusting names, to threaten them with bodily in- " jury, sometimes by letter (as shown in the Appendix " marked D), and frequently to assault and severely " injure them. It was a common practice for them " to assemble towards evening around the premises " of any master who was fortunate enough to have a " few men at work in his shop, and upon their " leaving off work for the day to assail them " with hootings, abuse, vile and filthy epithets, " and frequently with personal violence. In some of " the principal streets, such as Bond Street, St. James's " Street, Sackville Street, Savile Row, Conduit Street, " Clifford Street, and Princes Street, as many as 20 " or 30 would be seen lounging about at one time; and " towards evening, as mentioned above, sometimes " from 100 to 200 would keep the whole neighbour- " hood in excitement and uproar for an hour or two. " To such an extent was this carried on that the in- " habitants were forced to ask the advice and assist- " ance of the magistrates towards the abatement of " the nuisance, and extra constables had to be kept on " duty in consequence. The Appendix marked E gives " a record of such of these outrages as were prose- " cuted; many more, however, took place in which " the parties assaulted and abused were afraid to come " forward, and others where the assailants were " not found. The annoyance and intimidation at " length came to such a pitch that the masters deter- " mined to seek redress from the law, and acting upon " the advice of Messrs. Vallance and Vallance, of " Essex Street, who had been retained by them for " the prosecution of such cases, and for their guidance " generally in important matters, summonses were " applied for and granted by Mr. Knox, of Marl- " borough Street, against several of the leaders, and " upon the 24th June the president Mr. Druitt, the " secretary Mr. Lawrence, and several conspicuous " members of the union, were committed for trial for " conspiracy, the indictments being laid under the " 6 George IV. c. 129. On the 10th July they were " brought up for trial at the Central Criminal Court, " and the trial postponed until the next session, at " their request, on a distinct pledge being given by " them, through their counsel, that the pickets should " be withdrawn. This pledge was most shamelessly " broken; the union deciding that the leaders had no " authority to make it, deposed them, and elected " others to fill their places, who continued the system. " This led to an application by the masters for further " summonses against the new leaders, which were " granted without hesitation, and on the 17th August " these also were committed for trial. The trials " commenced before Mr. Baron Bramwell on the 21st " August 1867, when Messrs. Druitt, Lawrence, and " Adamson, the leaders, were found guilty of con- " spiracy. Their successors, Messrs. Bailey, Shor- " rocks, and 13 others, were tried on the 22d and 23d " August, and were also found guilty of conspiracy " and intimidation by picketing. The law being " thus declared and vindicated, the masters had no " desire to press for punishment, and the learned " judge, after emphatically endorsing the verdict of " the jury, ordered the accused to find bail to come " up for judgment when called upon. Immediately " afterwards the pickets were withdrawn and the " strike came to an end, as it would have done long " before but for this method of coercion applied by " the unions. Seeing, then, that for 30 years the " trade had gone on quietly without the assist- " ance of any union, masters and workmen ad- " justing their own differences, and that during that " period large numbers of men had earned such wages " as enabled them to lay by something with which to " start them in business for themselves" (I should like to add that they had earned such wages and had earned for themselves such a character as to obtain support and credit from the wholesale houses—I would say that the character that they earned for steadiness, and honesty and sobriety was of more consequence than the money that they were enabled to save), "that the " effect of the union has been to create discord " between employers and employed, to set one class " of workmen in antagonism against another, to place " 3,000 men in the streets for upwards of four " months, to the great injury of themselves and their " families, to render them reckless and desperate, to " cause many of them to be committed to prison for " assaulting those who were willing to do the work " they had refused, and that the business of the masters " had for two successive years been seriously affected " by their actions—I will conclude my answer to this " question by repeating that in my opinion the insti- " tution of trades unions does not facilitate or im- " prove the dealings and relations between workmen " and their employers." I confine my observations entirely to the tailoring trade; I have no means of judging of the effects in other trades.

18,105. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) With reference to the employing of non-union men, I should like to know whether now at this present time you have any difficulty in employing non-union men, and whether when employing them any interruption takes place to the men themselves whom you employ?—I think very little, if any. I have heard of none in my own workshop.

18,106. So that in fact you think that the influence and effect of the trades unions in your particular trade has for the present at least died out?—I think so; the whole affair appears to me to have collapsed, and is only kept up I think by an attempt at continued agitation. There are a few of the original leaders who are doing their best to restore the thing to life.

18,107. Can you give us any account of the way in which that agitation is now carried on?—I really am not so well informed on that matter as to be able to say anything worth your listening to, I am sure.

18,108. Then why do you say it is being carried on?—From the printed reports in the "Beehive," for instance, and conversations.

Mr. R. Lewis.

23 June 1868.

18,109. (*Mr. Booth.*) Do you in fact stipulate with your men that they shall not belong to any union?—We stipulated when men came to work for us after this strike that whoever came must be a non-unionist. It was announced in the windows that non-unionists were wanted. As I have described in the first answer in my paper, we resolved that we would employ none but those that were non-unionists. We of course had a feeling that when the difficulties were over we did not want to ride roughshod over any rules, or that sort of thing; but we adopted this principle, upon men applying for work we told them that we had been so annoyed by unionists that we did not intend to employ any more. "We do not ask you not to belong to a union," we said; "but as our determination is "not to employ unionists, whenever you join a union "we expect that you will tell us;" they said they would, and all the men that we have employed have gone in upon that condition.

18,110. Upon the understanding that you employ none but non-union men?—Yes.

18,111. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Have any of the men whom you have employed first as non-union men, after they have come to you told you that they have joined the trade union?—Not one.

18,112. Look at question 7 on page 4 of your paper: "What, according to your observation, has been the "effect of trades unions on the character and the "well-being of the workmen," and in addition to that I would ask, What upon their skill?—I have said, "detrimental as regards their character, since it appears "to lead them to the coercion of those who disagree "with them, and to their well-being, by leading them "to seek by combination the achievement of magnificent impossibilities, to the neglect of the legitimate "and certain means of advancement by industry and "perseverance."

18,113. Now will you give your attention to the last part of the question I put, which was, Have you remarked any effect produced by the trades unions on the skill of your workmen; has their skill deteriorated in consequence of any habits or manners derived from their connexion with the union?—That is a question that is so general, and my experience is so small in the matter, that I can scarcely say anything worth your listening to in answer to that, I think; but I will just say what my impressions are, namely, that from the short time that the men of our trade have been under the government of trades unions the effect has not ripened so as to become of any great consequence; but I have this impression, that men had become more reckless and careless about their work, and in point of fact I think there was a feeling something like a point of honour that they must not do too much or do it too well beginning to show itself, or a feeling of that kind.

18,114. That having begun to show itself, has that effect ceased since the last proceeding with respect to the trade union?—Entirely.

18,115. And the men now are as diligent and careful as they were before?—Quite; but I should still wish to repeat that the thing had gone to no great extent in our trade, because the trades unions had had an influence but a very short time.

18,116. (*Mr. Booth.*) Your present relations with your workmen are satisfactory?—Perfectly.

18,117. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) There is another important question relating to the amendment of the law. "What are the points in which the present law "relating to combinations among workmen or their "employers is defective?"—I say in answer to that, "I am of opinion that as the law has now been vindicated by the steps which were taken by the "master tailors to test the legality or illegality of "picketing and intimidation by members of the union. "and as the defendants were convicted, the law is "sufficient for all purposes, as it will furnish, in my "judgment, a satisfactory corrective of all such interference in future. The leading statute upon "regulating the conduct of masters and workmen is "the 6th George 4, chapter 129. The principal "defect in the Act in its practical application is that "a 10*l.* bail only can be required by the magistrate."

18,118. If a 10*l.* bail only can bring a man to justice, or drive him away altogether, would not your object be attained?—The 10*l.* is easily obtainable, and if it is a dangerous case there is a temptation to the man to run away.

18,119. If he does run away you would get rid of him altogether?—Yes.

18,120. Do you think that a mischief?—I like things to take their due course, leaving him in the hands of the law. I do not wish to be severe upon him then; there is no tendency in the magistrates or judges to be harsh.

18,121. (*Chairman.*) Is it 10*l.* upon being committed to take trial?—Yes, I think it is upon being committed to take trial that the magistrate can only ask 10*l.* bail.

18,122. (*Mr. Booth.*) Does it appear to you that the facility with which they obtained bail through the instrumentality of the union made the men less careful to observe the law than they otherwise might have been?—It is a very general question; it becomes a matter of opinion only. I can only look at it as being part of a system that throws round them as much protection as possible in every way, and therefore assists in easing them off.

18,123. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) In your trade are you at all aware of any instance in which an attempt has been made to form an international trade union?—I know very little about it; all that I know I have stated in my printed answer: "I am not aware of "any instance, beyond the public reports in 1867, of "the co-operation or assistance the journeymen obtained in Paris, Belgium, Geneva, and America, "and the attempts then made to form an international "combination. I have read a report in the public "organ of the operative tailors of a speech made by "Mr. Druitt, then president of the London Operative "Tailors' Protective Association, to the operative "tailors in Paris on strike, on or about the 11th "April 1867, as follows: 'With reference to English "'workmen, be assured that no member of our asso-"'ciation will respond to any invitation that may be "'offered by the employers of Paris, and that work "'discovered in London belonging to any Paris "'establishment would be struck to instantly the "'fact was discovered.' And I have read other "speeches of similar import in the public journals." But I have no special knowledge on the subject.

18,124. (*Chairman.*) Did Mr. Druitt mean to say that the international co-operation was for the interest of the English tailors, that if work from Paris was sent to London to be done, it would be struck against immediately?—Yes, in London.

18,125. That they would maintain the strike in each country?—Yes, that they had sympathy with one another.

18,126. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Do you know whether much money was collected abroad in support of the strike in London?—I think not, but I have no means of exact knowledge of the matter at all.

18,127. (*Mr. Booth.*) With regard to the question of picketing, you have no doubt that workmen who were ready and desirous to work for you were effectually prevented through the pickets from so working? There is not a shadow of a doubt of that. From the first day of its commencement we had in our case plenty of applications for work, but very few had courage enough to come to the shop to fetch the work, or to work in the shop.

18,128. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Have you any means of ascertaining whether the men who so offered were competent workmen?—We got them in by degrees immediately, because though they could not come into the shop, in many cases we found some courageous enough to brave it all. As to their competency, we find in almost every case that they are the same men

whom we retain still from choice; they do very well for us and they are very satisfactory workmen.

18,129. Had you ever employed those men before?—They were strangers, I think, in almost every case. I am speaking now of the period before the strike was concluded; since that men have come in that I have seen in our shop four or five years before; but we have steadily resisted taking any men back that went away at the strike. We told them so when they went away. There were some that had been with me a quarter of a century, and we were on excellent terms for a long while, and had been glad to serve one another for a long while; and I told them, "This "is the second time a difficulty of this kind has oc- "curred; if you go away this time, I have consulted "my partners, and we have made up our minds you "shall not return to work again."

18,130. In any of those cases where men went away did you endeavour to ascertain whether they went away from being threatened?—For myself I have no very strong opinion as to the effect of the mere threats held out by trades unions. I think it is the general influence they bring to bear that is important.

18,131. You do not think that the men left you through terror, but through the moral influence of their fellows?—Yes.

18,132. And that effect you punish by not employing them again?—Yes.

18,133. (*Chairman.*) By "moral influence" do you mean merely that they found that they were surrounded by fellow workmen who showed signs of ill-will which they dislike?—It would vent itself in that way generally; and as I have said in answer to one of the questions in the printed paper, they classed the trade into two divisions, calling those men who went with them "flints," or honourable men, and the others "dungs," or dishonourable men.

18,134. Then they showed signs of contempt and ill-will; that is the extent of the pressure?—I believe so. There would be exceptional cases of assault; indeed there are many of them, of which I have appended a list.

18,135. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) I was going to ask if there were not cases of personal violence towards men and even women?—Yes. A great many of violence towards men, and some of violence towards women; but I cannot do better than refer the Commission to the Appendix, in which the list is contained of proved cases.

18,136. (*Chairman.*) Do you attach much importance to disrespectful words used by men in a strike towards others?—It naturally leads to something far worse, quickly.

18,137. At all events it is the end of a peaceful industrious life if a man is insulted every time that he shows his face in public?—No doubt, and especially if it lasts for four months. I have no doubt myself that picketing is the beginning of rattening, as rattening leads to something more violent. I think that they are all of the same family. I have furnished "a "chronological statement of some of the commitments "and trials incident to the strike." I may say for myself, if you will allow me to express my opinion, that I never attached much importance to the danger of threatening letters. Threats might have come in the way of anonymous letters, perhaps, very often.

18,138. (*Mr. Booth.*) But you know that these letters were in fact received?—Yes, we know that.

18,139. (*Chairman.*) In Appendix D there is a threatening letter; do you know who received that?—It was received by Mr. Smallpage of Maddox Street.

18,140. And he was one of the masters' association?—Yes.

18,141. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Let me call your attention to a question on page 6: "Is it in your opinion desi- "rable that courts of conciliation or arbitration, "composed of employers and workmen, should be "constituted for settling disputes between employers "and workmen?"—My answer is, "Speaking for my "own trade, I cannot see how such courts could be "useful; already there exists a strong necessity for "workmen to remain with good employers, and for the "latter to retain good workmen, and each must make "any reasonable sacrifice of opinion to preserve a "connexion equally desirable to both; whereas the "knowledge that there was a court of appeal beyond "this necessity might, and in my opinion would, tend "to render both less careful to avoid disputes."

18,142. Then the question I would wish to put to you on that matter is, Do you think that in any arbitration—a court of conciliation of two parties—the masters on the one hand and the workmen on the other come upon equal terms to that arbitration; do you think that the responsibility of the workman is equal to the responsibility of the master?—I am inclined to think that it would be so; but I have only to repeat, in answer to that question, a remark that I made before. I am imperfectly acquainted with the history of any such cases. I have heard of none, except that with which the name of Mr. Mundella is associated, and as to the practical operation of the thing I would only refer to the experience obtained there. I think that the difficulty is to get the parties together, and to get their agreement to abide by the verdict that they come to.

18,143. (*Chairman.*) To make the award of the arbitrator obligatory upon the parties?—Yes. In order to make a thing of that kind effective it becomes a work for Parliament, and not for casual evidence such as I can give.

18,144. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Would your opinion be that the establishment of a uniform time log for the tailors of a certain district of London would be an unreasonable thing?—It might perhaps be a little unreasonable. Our association, however, consented to take part in attempting to do that; but I never had a strong opinion of the feasibility of it myself individually.

18,145. As a matter of fact, the time log varies very much indeed with different shops in the same street; in Bond Street, for instance?—Quite so; there are shops varying greatly, at any rate within a quarter of a mile. You can get your coat for 2*l.* 10*s.* at one shop, and the same coat to look at would cost you six guineas at a quarter of a mile distance. Of course I need not attempt to explain to any reasonable being that the workmanship in the two cases is not alike any more than the quality of the cloth; the prices of the cloths varying—the one being 12*s.* a yard, perhaps, and the other 26*s.*

18,146. I do not by the light of that understand the objection given in your paper to the possibility of establishing a uniform time log over the country. In the second paragraph, at page 2, the objection to establishing a uniform rate appears to be stated thus: "Although a coat for a country farmer may be made "in a certain number of hours, it by no means follows "that the same description of coat for a peer or M.P. "can be made in the same time." If the London operatives were endeavouring to have a uniform rate it would be very much against their own interest, would it not?—I think, in the first place, that they are attempting an impossibility.

18,147. But the argument bears the other way, surely, does it not?—I do not quite understand how it does.

18,148. As I understand it, a coat is taken as say 30 hours' work, the rate per hour being uniform?—That is, uniform in a small district only, a little bit of the west end of London.

18,149. Then it is proposed by the London men that there should be a uniform time log, that is to say, that the same number of hours should be allowed for a coat in the country as in London. Then if a country coat can be made in a shorter number of hours, say in 20 hours and not 30, the London workman who attempted to establish a uniform time log was doing it against his interest, was he not?—No, for the interest

Mr. R. Lewis.
23 June 1868.

of those who were making the inferior article. He would be endeavouring to lift up to a higher level those that would be too weighty for him to carry.

18,150. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Would it not also be for the interest of the inefficient workman, because the payment for the hour being the same there is no reference to the quality of the work in that hour, and therefore the inefficient workman would receive the same sum as the efficient workman?—Yes, but you see that does not come directly into operation with us, because we do not pay by the hour.

18,151. (*Mr. Harrison.*) As I understand it, it was proposed by the London men to make the same number of hours' work payable upon a coat in London as in the country. Then I say, on the face of that, that was a thing which was disadvantageous to the London man, because according to your showing the country coat is made in a fewer number of hours, and the London man would have had to make his coat or to be paid at the rate of 20 or 25 hours instead of 30?—I have already said that all that was introduced to mystify the question. The whole question, as it came practically before us, was that the men wanted to be allowed in London a great many more hours for making a coat than they ever had been allowed before.

18,152. But that is not the argument in this paper; is not the argument in the second paragraph of it based on a misapprehension?—I say there, "It will be proper "here to state that very few practical master tailors "believe in the possibility of establishing either an "exactly uniform rate of the time to be allowed by all "houses in one town, or of an invariable calculation of "the time taken to make similar garments in various "places." To me it is perfectly plain that one coat is only to be compared with another by having the same name, they may be quite different things, and if so then away goes uniformity; they cannot be all alike if they are all different.

18,153. You do not seem to see the source of confusion that has been introduced into this paper, and which I confess has not yet been cleared up?—Well, I have tried to clear it up to some gentlemen before who knew nothing about the business, and they cannot understand it.

18,154. The men demand a uniform time log, that a coat shall be made in the same number of hours in London as it is in the country, and you answer, "That is "impossible, because a country coat takes so much fewer "hours to make than a town coat." The answer is, therefore, that the men were asking something for their own injury?—In the first place, if there were to be a uniform time allowed for making every coat, Parliament would have to settle the quality of the cloth, the number of stitches, and such things.

18,155. Why Parliament?—Because no one else would have the power, and I doubt whether they would.

18,156. It is a matter of agreement, is it not, between a number of firms and a number of workmen?—Yes; but then you see the thing is infinitely varying ten times a day with as many orders possibly. The coat of the last half hour and the coat of this half hour are not the same sort of thing at all, and do not consist of the same work.

18,157. Do you mean that this follows then, that the working tailor never can know what his wages are to be for making a coat in a given shop, because he has received a certain price for making the same coat in a shop next door?—Unless he has inquired before making the coat what is the usage there, which he can do readily.

18,158. Then in point of fact you mean that there never has been any uniformity in the trade?—Never, and if the Commission will allow me to say so, I venture to say there never will be.

18,159. What then becomes of the argument that the tailors were paid at the rate of 7*d.* an hour, or any other price an hour, because that represents nothing uniform?—If you look at the beginning of my paper you will see that I say, "For upwards of "30 years past the operative tailors of London have "been paid by piece-work, so much for each gar-"ment; the prices having originally been fixed by a "calculation based upon the number of hours in which "an average workman could and did up to that time "ordinarily do the work."

18,160. That is as to the prices, but the question is whether the hours in which the work was to be made were uniform in say the houses in the same street?—I have already answered that even in the same street the kind of coats made varies considerably, and therefore the time that they require to make them varies considerably.

18,161. Then there never was any uniformity?—And never will be, unless you get an Act of Parliament or something else that will compel all persons to have the same amount of work in their coats.

18,162. When the associated master tailors entered upon negotiations upon the basis of a uniform log, they did not at all consider that it was an impossibility, did they?—I have said in my evidence that they did. Will you allow me just to repeat this: "Two meetings "took place, and sufficed to show the masters' com-"mittee that there was not the slightest possibility of "any good being done, and that the proposition had "been nothing more than a device to obtain the sanc-"tion of their association to a 'time log' bearing no "relation to the actual number of hours required for "the performance of work by average workmen, and "that it was a plausible pretext, under the pretence "of a desire for symmetry and uniformity, to obtain "a further increase of wages both in town and "country." Now it is simply that, stripped of other things.

18,163. I was not speaking of a uniform log for the country, but a uniform time log for the west end of London. I understand that a number of west-end tailors did associate together, and did propose a uniform time log for that district?—They offered to go as far as they possibly could towards producing this symmetry and uniformity by going on to discuss a rate, if the workmen's committee were disposed to do it, that should be adopted by the neighbouring firms, some 30 or 40 tailors about the neighbourhood.

18,164. You do not see any impossibility in that?—No, that is just possible, though I have not any very great faith in it.

18,165. As a fact, at the time of the strike a first-class London workman going into a first-class house in Bond Street, or Conduit Street, and receiving a first-class dress coat, was paid for that work at one price, and if he went the next day and produced the same article for a first-class house adjoining in the same street, and put in precisely the same work, he was paid at a different rate, was he not?—I think not to any extent. It is impossible to bring about exact uniformity in any matter of that kind, because the whim of the wearer, or the suggestion of the foreman cutting out, or anything of that kind, makes some little variations. There may be few and trifling variations not worth speaking about, perhaps, but otherwise I think the work is pretty much the same about our neighbourhood.

18,166. You say, alluding to Messrs. Poole, Stulz, and Morgan, "where from the fact of exceptionally high prices having previously been paid"?—That was so, I think.

18,167. In their shops there was a higher rate of wage than in many other shops?—I think that came out; that is not of my own knowledge, but I believe it to be the case. There is this safeguard always, that when a man goes into a shop he can ascertain if he likes the price of the garment that he is going to make before he makes it, and he need not make it unless he likes.

18,168. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) As a matter of fact, have the wages of the operative tailors risen since the strike?—Yes. I put it down at 15 per cent., and that I think is about the fact.

18,169. Do you attribute that to the strike, or to the mere operation of trade?—You will remember that I said that immediately the thing was mooted the master tailors met and agreed to give an advance of about 10 per cent. upon the average of some 30 houses, so that I think, if I may use the word, they were very squeezable, in consideration of the rise of rent, and other things.

18,170. Do you think that the strike did squeeze them into the 15 per cent.?—The resistance that was carried on against these three houses made it appear to me and to many of my neighbours a palpable thing that we could not allow them to have their business stopped, and that we must bring about some arrangement with the men.

18,171. Then I may conclude that in that case the strike did lead to a rise of wages?—Yes, in that case; but I would add that in my opinion if the demand had proceeded from their own shops instead of from the union many of the masters would have conceded it more freely. In this last case where the strike continued for four months it led to nothing of the sort; and if I may go back to the strike of 1834, dictated by the trades unions of that day, it also resulted in nothing but heavy loss to the men. Three strikes have occurred in my memory; two have been fruitless, and one has produced the effects that you have just now learnt.

18,172. Then I may conclude that the last great strike of four months really has led to no rise in wages?—None. It has led to the introduction of machinery more extensively.

18,173. Has the sewing machine been at all introduced into your trade?—Yes, considerably.

18,174. Has it lessened the price of the garment to the wearer?—No, but it has given a far larger quantity of interior ornamental work in the inside of the coat, in the padding and lining, which we who are accustomed to the trade rather like to see.

18,175. The customer derives no advantage from that?—A man of taste for such ornamental work would think he did.

18,176. (*Chairman.*) Would a sewing machine sew up a plain seam?—Yes.

18,177. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Do you employ a good many women?—Not a great many. The labour of women was increasingly introduced for the same reason. We were compelled into it.

18,178. During this strike did the women join the strike?—Yes, I think they did to a considerable extent; they had a separate meeting, perhaps one or two, but Mr. Druitt will be able to inform you as to any particulars of that kind much more exactly than I can, because my knowledge is only derived from reports in the papers.

18,179. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You were speaking about strikes just now. The strike of 1866 was simply successful, was it not?—Yes, as I have said in one of these replies, it brought about a negotiation which terminated in a meeting at St. James's Hall.

18,180. It obtained the result of a rise of wages?—It did.

18,181. With regard to the number of men in the union just previous to the strike, at what proportion do you estimate the number of unionists to non-unionists in the trade?—Do you mean when they were at the height of their success, when they declared the strike at the Alhambra meeting?

18,182. I mean the number in the union, not those on strike or strike pay, but the members of the established union?—I am not well informed on that point, but from what I can guess I should think there must have been something like 6,000 or 7,000 unionists among the tailors in London at that time.

18,183. Out of how many?—Out of 25,000, I suppose.

18,184. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You mean men?—Yes, I think they were getting on to 35,000 hands altogether, men and women.

18,185. Is there a great difference in the skill of different hands in the trade among the operatives?—Nothing can be more various; a man can earn up to as high as 3*l.* a week by working hard, whereas another man equally industrious cannot earn more than 25*s.*; nothing can be more various. It is just as one man can write much quicker and better than another.

18,186. (*Mr. Harrison.*) With respect to these anonymous letters which have been put in, have you anything which remotely connects them with any person authorized on the part of the union?—I should think not the slightest; personally I have not the least knowledge of that, and I am not aware that anyone has, and for myself I did not mention them just now, as considering it of any great consequence whether they were read or not, because I think that at most they could only prove a general feeling that was aroused from the agitation going on at the time. It might have been some ill-tempered fellow or some half-tipsy fellow that wrote them, or something of that kind.

18,187. I think it came out at the Clerkenwell trial that some of the Irish tailors who were concerned in the Clerkenwell outrage had been out of work at this time?—Yes.

18,188. You do not think, as I understand you, that there was any connexion between these letters and any person authorized by the union?—I have no suspicion at all of the sort.

18,189. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Have you any information to give the Commission as regards trades unions about the time of 1832?—I have alluded to the effect of strikes upon wages in answer to one of your printed questions, and I have named a strike in 1834 that produced no advantage to the men but only loss, inasmuch as they were out of work for several weeks, and even months, I believe. With regard to the condition of the trade at that time I may read this short statement: "Trades unions were zealously set on foot about the "time of the Reform Bill of 1832. Up to that "time the tailors had a well-organized union of "their own in London, consisting of from 17 to 20 "houses of call, with from 100 to 800 members "each, every house of call being represented by "one person at a town committee that held frequent "meetings, the decisions of which were final. The "tailors, however, caught the feeling for and merged "into a general trade union, the declared object of "which was to enforce a universal rise of wages, and "the shortening the time of labour. The unions "ultimately decided that each trade" (that is to say, masons, bricklayers, &c.; there was then a large trade union, I think, quite as extensive in point of numbers as it ever has been up to the present day), "should strike separately, and be supported by the "whole until they obtained success. The tailors "were up to that time to a great extent paid by the "day, and owing to their practical organization it "was decided that they should strike first. Accordingly in the spring of 1834 a strike in that trade "was declared for, I believe, an advance of 1*s.* a day "wages, and a reduction of two hours a day in time;" that is to say, whereas they had 6*s.* before for 12 hours' work, they struck for 7*s.* a day for 10 hours' work. "This strike lasted several weeks, but resulted in a "complete failure, and so ended the boasted work "that the trades unions of that day were to accomplish. The formerly well-established trade union "of the tailors was completely shattered by the ill-"advised strike they had been put forward to make. "Instead of obtaining for themselves any advantage, "their own system of management which had worked "well for an age was completely demoralized; house-"of-call or society men ceasing to keep up any dis-"tinctive rules, society men and non-society men "working indiscriminately together. At length about "the year 1858 an attempt was made to reorganize "a union that should have some power, conducted by "one committee, with one code of rules, and one "secretary."

Mr. R. Lewis.
3 June 1868.

18,190. (*Mr. Booth.*) Did that grow out of the building strike in 1858?—I think it was much about the same time, but I cannot speak very positively. It was about that time when the feeling became pretty general and the tailors came under its influence. "The "former houses of call had come to an end. After "a lengthened canvass of the trade a union was effected "and carried on with tolerable success for four or five "years, a portion of the contributions being set aside "for a sick fund; the rules were, I believe, duly certified. The contemplated provision for the sick, "however, failed, and the tailors joined the agitation "that had again been set on foot generally for trades "unions. Pamphlets were circulated, and a canvassing carried on amongst them which brought "about the strike and lock-out in the spring of 1866." I merely thought it might be within the wish of the Commission to hear a slight sketch of the state of things that preceded the 1866 affair.

The witness withdrew.

Appendix to the Statement by Mr. R. Lewis, referred to in the foregoing evidence.

APPENDIX A.

Circular Letter addressed to the Master Tailors of London by the London Operative Tailors' Protective Association.

"United to support, not to injure."

London Operative Tailors' Protective Association.

At a delegates' meeting of the trade held in Cambridge Hall on Tuesday the 6th inst., it was resolved that this committee should present the following memorial for your consideration, and to request that the advance asked should take effect from Monday the 12th of March:—

Memorial to the Master Tailors of London.

Gentlemen,

We, delegates of the operative tailors of London and its neighbourhood, beg most respectfully to request an advance of one penny per hour on our present rate of wages; the increased cost of living renders this course absolutely necessary, and, impressed with the justice of this request, we submit it to your consideration, feeling assured that your answer will be given with due regard to its equity, and upon a fair consideration of the grounds upon which it is based.

Whilst employers of labour in other trades have granted an advance from an innate conviction of its imperative necessity, we trust that master tailors will evince the same practical sympathy with their employés.

We cannot resist the conviction that as a trade we have been treated with an exceptional want of consideration, which must be deemed unjustifiable, subject as we are to a number of drawbacks totally unknown in other trades; for instance, the men working in shops are practically compelled to have the greater portion of their food in the workshop, thereby increasing its cost; the outdoor workers are also subject to expenses for which they receive no indemnity, having to provide light, fuel, workshops, and messengers, and in common with indoor workers have to wait hours, frequently days, unemployed until the various garments in hand are fitted on: this is a practical injustice. Men are expected to wait the convenience of customers calling or that of employers to wait upon them, thus men's time is virtually taken up waiting the leisure of customers or employers, for which they receive no remuneration. These evils, in common with many others, to which we desire to avoid alluding, are perhaps to some extent unavoidable, but it must be conceded that they furnish an indisputable justification for an advance of wages.

In support of our claim we might quote actuaries, physicians, and publicists to prove the unhealthy, harassing, and unremunerative character of our trade, which makes many seek to escape it by adopting other callings, or by emigration; the emigration statistics last published show that 1,500 tailors left Great Britain within the year. We think we are justified in assuming that if those men had been fairly remunerated at home they would not have left, and when we reflect that it requires a combination of the rarest qualities—ability, persevering industry, combined with almost superhuman self-denial—to realise out of a working tailor's income a sufficient sum to emigrate, we can then fairly estimate the loss to the trade of such a body trained to its requirements, possessing that native ability characterised by elegance, combined with solidity.

In asking an advance of one penny per hour we express the general desire of the trade, and we wish to base that request upon its absolute justice and indisputable necessity. We would prefer to have it conceded upon such grounds than as a reluctant concession to superior argument or convincing statistics, being prepared, if necessary, to discuss the minutiæ of the question. We at the same time desire to avoid protocoling and grievance-mongering as much as possible. In conclusion, we trust it will be borne in mind that we have allowed the dull season to pass without troubling you when the slackness of trade might render our request inopportune; we have now, at the opening of the busy season, to submit our request, hoping it will receive fair consideration, knowing it cannot be deemed unreasonable or illtimed.

On behalf of the meeting,
Mathew Lawrence, Chairman.

We beg most respectfully an answer to the above at your earliest convenience.

On behalf of the committee,
Mathew Lawrence, President,
Charles Green, Chairman.

"Green Dragon,"
King Street, Regent Street, W.,
15th Feby. 1866.

APPENDIX B.

Letter received by the Master Tailors' Association of the United Kingdom.

Manchester, Jany. 5th 1867.

To the Committee of the Master Tailors Association of the United Kingdom.

Gentlemen,

At the meeting of your association held in St. James's Hall you expressed "That the object of the association be, the interchanged on all matters connected with the trade generally, the holding of free and friendly communication with the representatives of the journeymen with a view to the avoidance of strikes!" We, the representatives of the Amalgamated Society of Journeymen Tailors and the London Operative Tailors Protective Association, fully appreciating and being desirous of meeting you in the spirit and fairness of your resolution do address to you this communication.

At your meeting you generally expressed a desire for a fair time-log to become general in order that the same time be paid for making a garment all over the country irrespective of what amount is paid per hour in the different places. We fully agreed with those principles, they being an exact expression of "resolutions" previously come to by the members of our associations. And we have here to request that you appoint a meeting with us to make arrangements for the carrying out of those principles.

Gentlemen, you will see the necessity for having a proper time-log in as concise but still explicit a form as possible; framed to set at rest the many disputes, whether they be in the form of lock-outs or strikes, which have been going on for some considerable time. And in the spirit of your resolution the proposition of such a log, properly considered and agreed to by you the representatives of the masters, and us the representatives of the journeymen, tailors, will have a tendency to put an end to those painful proceedings called "lock-outs or strikes." We desire it; you in your resolution expressed the same, desire and we trust that you will name an early day when we can arrange for a meeting.

We are, gentlemen, yours respectfully,
MATTHEW LAWRENCE, Chairman,
PETER SHORROCKS, Sec.,

on behalf of the Joint Committee of the Amalgamated Society Journeymen Tailors and the ondon Operative Tailors Protective Association.

APPENDIX C.

CIRCULAR LETTER addressed to the Master Tailors' Association by the Amalgamated Society of Journeyman Tailors and the London Operative Tailors' Protective Association.

LONDON OPERATIVE TAILORS PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION.

"United to support, not to injure."

To our employers, Committee Rooms, 38, King Street,
GENTLEMEN, April 16th 1867.

OF the numerous resolutions submitted to a conference of master tailors last year, the one most freely discussed, and which found greatest favor as being of vital importance to the general interest of the trade, was that which deemed an universal time-log for the United Kingdom of the greatest necessity. As this necessity has long been recognized by the operatives of the kingdom, their executives willing to act in concert with the masters, who had formed an association, volunteered to take part in the accomplishment of this great work. A message to that effect having been sent to the committee of the masters' association by a joint committee of the London Protective Association and the Amalgamation of England, a reply was received favorable to the proposition, and agreements were accordingly entered into by the joint commttee of employers and employed, by which they were bound to freely discuss a "time-log," and in the event of any difficulty arising the two chairmen were to retire, and exercise a power vested in them of calling a third person as arbitrator in the matter of dispute. Such a difficulty occurred, and after two or three adjournments the masters' sub-committee declined to discuss a log in detail, they never having referred the matter to arbitration as the agreements set forth; and they submitted that the only course to which they would consent was, that though they were the committee of the masters' association of the United Kingdom, and had so freely ventilated their opinions on the advisability of a universal time-log, they would only discuss a time-log for London with the representatives of the operatives of the London association alone.

Gentlemen, a time-log being an arrangement indispensable to the present requirements of the trade, we have no other alternative but to present the enclosed log for your adoption. A reply by Saturday next, April 20th, at 2 p.m., announcing your willingness to pay to it will greatly oblige us, and save considerable trouble.

We would respectfully draw your attention to the fact that we do not seek an increase in the rate per hour, but simply the adjustment of the time necessary to realize that which was but a nominal advance.

Signed on behalf of the Amalgamated Society and the London Operative Tailors Protective Association,
JOHN ADAMSON, President of the Amalgamated Society.
GEORGE DRUITT, President of the London Association.
ALFRED BAILEY, Vice-President of the Amalgamated Society.
WILLIAM NEAL, Member of the Executive Council.
MATTHEW LAWRENCE, Acting Secretary.

APPENDIX D.—Copies of LETTERS RECEIVED during the Strike.

(Copy of a Letter to a West End Firm.)

Gentlemen,

There is a deep laid system of Blood about to be put in force upon the Firm of the 1st Master Tailors that it can be carried into effect for employing Non-Unionists.

Beware for yr. life & theirs. I am forced at present to hold my tongue, but I cant countenance Blood.

Gnt.

NO MURDERER YET.

Saturday.

M. Abrams

We A Lot of tailors on Strike Are Given to under Stand that you Are takeing our Work under Prise We Write just to Let you know that you had Better Beware for We All Swear to to Be Revendge on you you Ought to Be Ashamed of your Self As We Are All Got familys to keep As Well As you Butt We Ave All keeping A Good Watch for you As there is Not A irishman in London What Would do this Except A few Butt We Are A Going to See What We Are Going to do As We Are All desperite Men So you had Better Look for your Life

no more At Present

MEN ON STRIKE.

(Copy of a Letter to a West End Foreman.)

Mr.

you nead not think that you are going to keep ununion men to do your work as we are determd to get them all out of work by hook or by crook; they are a mean sperrited lot of humbuggs or they would not work for a shop that is on strike we will spoile you of the lacey ——— you have who defie uss at present: one of the men you have got if you do not give him sack on Saturday next we will give him something for him self so you had better get red of him or by the Living God we will stab and murder him the ——— for letting us at defieence his name is . or so you will do well to get red of him as son as posserble or look to it for we mean to have him out first if you do not sack him he shall not do any work for we will hunt him down for his cheak.

i am shour your heart is with the men that air on strike as you must let this man go or we will kill him by God we will and all the others in thear turn we will not let a ——— man of them be at work never fear we shall get the day yet and we will give your ——— something for all this so gook to this if you want to escape our vengens and sack this man above all others but you must sack all in thear turn or we will know the reysen why.

we will spoil all your men.

APPENDIX E.

Chronological Statement of some of the Commitments and Trials incident to the Strike.

1867. 24 April. John Woolfender, Thomas Seckroyd, and William Graccy, three operative tailors on strike, charged before Mr. Tyrwhitt with acting as pickets and forcibly molesting Ann Newland and searching her bundle when coming out of Mr. Poole's shop, and by intimidation endeavouring to force her to leave her work.

Prisoners ordered to find bail, each 5*l*., to keep the peace for six months.

N.B.—The case was watched by and bail was procured by Mr. Partridge, the vice-president of the London Operative Tailors Protective Association.

Same date. John Clarke, a journeyman tailor on strike, charged before Mr. Knox, at Marlborough Street, with acting as a picket, and following a master tailor and annoying him and his workmen in the street.

4 May. Thomas Lawrence, Thomas Sanson, George Burns, Benjamin Tolks, and William Mansworth, charged before Mr. Knox, Marlborough Street, with acting as pickets and molesting and intimidating a non-unionist, and sentenced to three months' hard labour.

N.B.—Four of the defendants gave notice of appeal. Mrs. Lacy, a sixth defendant, was discharged.

10 May. William Jelly and John Hall, charged before Mr. Knox with conspiring to intimidate Margaret Rattenbury, a tailoress, and committed for trial at the Central Criminal Court.

15 May. Thomas Geary committed for trial at the Central Criminal Court for conspiracy to intimidate a non-unionist and force him to leave his work, and threatening to knock him (the non-unionist) down wherever they met him.

18 May. William Turner, unionist, committed for being drunk and disorderly, and annoying John Rogers, another unionist journeyman tailor, who had abandoned the strike and gone back to work, and had ever since been annoyed by mobs led by defendant.

29 May. Joseph Reardon, a union man, convicted at Marlborough Street, for entering the shop of a master tailor on pretence of getting work, and threatening and molesting a non-unionist while engaged at work. Gave notice of appeal.

29 May. William Connolly committed for trial at Central Criminal Court for conspiracy with others to intimidate Joseph Hope and force him to leave his work, and for a brutal assault.

One of the defendants absconded, and a reward of 20*l*. offered by the Master Tailors' Association for information leading to his apprehension.

2d June. John Oliver, journeyman tailor, residing at Greenwich charged with desertion of his wife and two children; his only excuse was he had no work, as he was "out on strike." Sentenced to three months' imprisonment.

3 June. Ellen Meade, convicted of threatening and molesting a non-unionist workwoman to prevent her from working for her employer. The following statement is extracted from the evidence of the prosecutrix:—

"On Saturday last I met the prisoner in Wardour "Street, when she said to me, 'Well, Mrs. Mills, you are "'doing the dirty work, are you?' I asked her what she "meant, and she said, 'Why you are fetching work from "'shops that are on strike.' I asked her if that had "anything to do with her, and she replied, 'Yes, it's "'all to do with me; it's all such stinking hussies as you "'who are keeping men out of their work, you stinking "'cow, and when the strike is over you'll be off, and "'there will be no work for you. You are a . . . . "'When the strike is over I will do for you.'"

The prisoner's brother was a journeyman tailor, and a sort of corporal of pickets.

10 June. Sitting of the Central Criminal Court. The Recorder charged the grand jury as to the law of combinations and strikes.

15 June. William Jelly, convicted of a conspiracy to intimidate Margaret Rattenbury who was supporting her children and husband in a consumption by her earnings as a tailoress, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

15 June. William Connolly, convicted of an assault on Joseph Hope, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

17 June. Several charges and committals for intimidation and assault upon non-unionists. These cases were heard by Mr. Knox at Marlborough Street.

18 June. James Whelan and Thomas Edwards, charged before Mr. Knox, at Marlborough Street, with conspiring to intimidate John Ortziefen, a journeyman tailor, and for a brutal assault upon him. Committed for trial at Central Criminal Court.

21 June. Application to magistrates at Marlborough Street for summonses for conspiracy to impoverish certain master tailors against Mr. Druitt, chairman, Mr. Lawrence, secretary of Operative Tailors' Association, and Mr. John Adamson and several others members of the Amalgamated Society. Six summonses granted by Mr. Knox.

24 June. Messrs. Druitt, Lawrence, and several other members of the Amalgamated Society of Operative Tailors were committed by the magistrate at Marlborough Street for trial at the Central Criminal Court for the conspiracy charged in the summons.

6 July. Application of Mr. Coleridge, Q.C., for a certiorari to remove the trials for picketing from the Central Criminal Court to the Court of Queen's Bench. Refused by Mr. Justice Lush.

10 July. At Central Criminal Court, Messrs. George Druitt and others brought up for trial, and at their request trial postponed to the following sessions, on a distinct pledge being given by their counsel that the pickets should be withdrawn.

13 July. The President and Secretary of the Master Tailors' Association summoned before the magistrates at Marlborough Street for an alleged conspiracy to prevent and endeavour to prevent certain journeymen from hiring themselves, and accepting work and employment. Application supported by Mr. Coleridge, Q.C., the counsel for the prosecutors, and dismissed by the magistrate as being totally unsupported by any evidence.

26 July. James Meagher, a journeyman tailor and active picket, charged before Mr. D'Eyncourt at Marlborough Street, with threatening, molesting, and endeavouring to intimidate John Riley, and thereby to induce him to leave his hiring and work; very violent language used. Prosecutor had some time previously broken his arm, and the prisoner had threatened to break the other arm, and prevent prosecutor ever working again. Sentenced to three months' imprisonment.

The pickets not having been withdrawn, application made to the magistrate for summonses against the new leaders.

17 August. Messrs. Bailey, Shorrocks, and others committed by the magistrate at Marlborough Street for trial at Central Criminal Court for conspiracy.

21 August. Trial at Central Criminal Court of Messrs. Druitt, Lawrence, and others. Messrs. Druitt, Lawrence, and Adamson, the leaders of the union, found guilty of conspiracy.

22 and 23 August. Messrs. Bailey, Shorrocks, and 13 others tried, and 12 of them found guilty of conspiracy and picketing.

Same date. Dorval Edgeberg tried for conspiring to intimidate, and for a cowardly assault on Isaac Kaiser for working for a shop on strike.

James Whelan and Samuel Edwards tried for a violent assault on John Ortziefen. Whelan found guilty and sentenced to three months' imprisonment.

Sept. 8. Edward McDermott, a journeyman tailor, summoned before Mr. Tyrwhitt, at Marlborough Street, for assaulting John Murphy, another journeyman tailor, who was lame, and threatening to drive a knife through his heart, and striking the prosecutor several times in the face.

The defendant had four other persons with him.

Sentence: six weeks' imprisonment with hard labour.

Sept. 24. James Glyn, John Glyn, and William Glyn, tailors, summoned before the Lord Mayor for threatening, beating, and molesting John Engright, a journeyman tailor.

James Glyn sentenced to seven days imprisonment and the other defendants fined.

Nov. 21. Theodore Medro, a unionist, surrendered in discharge of his bail to take his trial at the Middlesex Sessions for assaulting and dislocating the shoulder of Henry Brunswick, another journeyman tailor and unionist, who had gone back to work.

The cause of quarrel was that Brunswick had gone back to work when he ought to have held out, as he the defendant Medro had done.

Mr. Robert Bennett examined.

18,191. (*Chairman.*) Will you state what firm you are a member of?—Of the firm of Bennett & Company, Conduit Street.

18,192. How long have you been in business?—About 20 years.

18,193. In that neighbourhood?—In that neighbourhood.

18,194. You have heard the account given by Mr. Lewis of the late strike in your business?—I have.

18,195. And his paper, I understand, represents very much the opinion of yourself as well as Mr. Lewis, Mr. Wain, and others that have taken a part in that affair?—Quite so.

18,196. Do you wish to add anything to the answers which Mr. Lewis has given?—I should like to make a few additions to his evidence. Mr. Lewis was asked a question as to the masters refusing to employ non-unionists, and their reasons for so doing. I wish to add to what he stated that there was a further reason for employing non-unionist workmen after the strike had taken place, namely, that some few of the workmen who had been in our employ before had remained with us, and they naturally pleaded that it would be very much against them if we were to receive the unionists back to hunt them away at the conclusion of the affair; and we promised those workmen that they should never be subjected to any annoyance of that kind, and bound ourselves for that reason to keep our shops for the future as non-union shops in support of the men who had worked for us and stood by us during our difficulty.

18,197. That assumes that if you had admitted unionist workmen to work with non-unionist workmen who had abided by you the unionist workmen would have made the non-unionists uncomfortable?—It assumes a belief on the part of the workmen that they would have made them uncomfortable, and that I endorsed that belief.

18,198. They felt that; you thought that feeling on their part justifiable, and said, "I will protect "you"?—Yes. Then a question was asked of Mr. Lewis as to the willingness of good and skilful workmen to work for us during the strike had it not been for the pickets. I am of opinion that good workmen were willing to work for us at that time from instances that came under my observation. I can mention the case of a man who had previously been working for us, who was ostensibly engaged as a picket walking up and down in front of our house while he was actually still doing work for us. I have seen that man start off to follow one of our porters to see where he took the work to, when he perfectly well knew that it was going to his own house, and that he was going to do that work when he was off picket duty.

18,199. What was his purpose in doing that?—He was being paid and supported as a picket as being on strike against us, whereas he was actually at work for us at his own house. His duty as a picket was to follow the porter and see where the work went to, and to thwart its being done, whereas his duty to himself and to his family was to go and do the work.

18,200. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) That was the means which he took to blind the union?—Yes.

18,201. (*Chairman.*) He got paid by you and he got an allowance from the union as well?—I know what he got from us. I can only imagine what he got from the others. Then with regard to the abuse that the men met with who continued to work, I may state that one man that worked for us even in our shop during the whole of the strike, and who went backwards and forwards night and morning, was systematically annoyed and hissed at both ways till his life became a burden to him; he became thin and melancholy.

18,202. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Did the man leave you?—No, he remained with us the whole of the time.

18,203. (*Chairman.*) How long did the system of continual execration last?—It lasted during all that time.

18,204. Five or six weeks?—As long as the picketing was continued, about four months. I may also state that other men who had worked for us in the shop up to that time still continued to work for us at their own houses. They had the will to work for us, but they had not the courage to face the pickets, and they sent little children and women backwards and forwards with their work hoping that they would not be annoyed.

18,205. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Were the little children and women annoyed?—No.

18,206. Was that simply because they were overlooked, or was it that there was such a feeling on the part of the men as prevented their annoying them?—I hope that there was a feeling on the part of the pickets that they would not annoy them. Then there was another matter spoken of to which I should like to refer, namely, the uniform time-log. I wish to make it perfectly clear that the Master Tailors' Association of London and the master tailors generally never did believe in the possibility of the attainment of a uniform rate of payment or of the calculation of a uniform rate of time within which work should be made. The proposition for that came from the workmen's association.

18,207. (*Chairman.*) Will you explain a little more that first proposition. Are there not a certain class of coats that are first-class coats, and a certain class of workmen able to make those coats in about an average time, so that you might have got an average basis of wages?—We never were asked even to do that. The question that came before us was to make a uniform time-log for town and country, and that was insisted upon; and upon our finding (that which we had imagined we should find), after being willing to try it, that it was impossible, thereupon it was insisted upon that it should be done or that we should be struck against. After we had met the thing in a fair and friendly way and tried to do it, and had found it impossible, it was insisted that it should be carried out, and thereupon a strike ensued.

18,208. Was Mr. Druitt, or were any of the men who were prominent in making this requirement, employed at first-class houses and acquainted with the great variety of work, and great variety of prices, and great variety of wages?—The committee of workmen who met us certainly were men who by their experience should have been well acquainted with the state of the trade generally.

18,209. Is there anything else that you wish to state?—I would simply add that it has occurred to me, during Mr. Lewis's examination, that a poor man could never get a coat at all if the master tailor who sold it to him had to pay the same number of hours for making his coat, or the same price for making his coat, as would have to be paid for making one for yourself for instance, or for any gentleman able to afford a higher price. Then, as a farther argument against uniformity, I may state that, taking six houses in the same street, one master may get 6*l.* for a coat, another may get 5*l.* for a coat, and another may get 4*l.* for a coat, and necessarily they will have to pay different prices, and necessarily a different number of hours' work will have to be put into the coats.

18,210. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Do you pay a man who makes a large coat and a man who makes a small one the same amount?—Where there is any glaring disparity we pay an extra price for the large one, and we do not take anything off for the small one.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. G. Druitt.

23 June 1868.

Mr. George Druitt examined.

18,211. (*Chairman.*) Of what society are you the secretary?—The London Operative Tailors' Protective Association.

18,212. About how many members has it?—The number of the members at the present time does not exceed 1,000.

18,213. What is the highest number you have had?—We used to call ourselves 10,000, but I expect that financial members, members within the meaning of the term as interpreted by a financial test, never exceeded 7,000.

18,214. (*Mr. Booth.*) When you say "used," what period do you refer to?—Prior to the strike of 1867.

18,215. Immediately prior?—Just so.

18,216. (*Chairman.*) When was the society established?—On November 10th, 1865.

18,217. And was it established upon any question that was of interest to the workmen at that moment, or was it a defensive measure that it was thought prudent to adopt without any particular aggression?—Absolutely defensive from circumstances that had been accumulating for a great number of years. I have prepared a few suggestive notes strictly in accordance with the paper which I had sent to me from the Secretary of the Commission; and I think it would perhaps facilitate the business of the Commission if you would allow me to read them, and of course I am subject to any questions the Commissioners may ask me. In the paper sent me I find first, "The history, "organization, and objects of the trades unions or associations (whether of workmen or employers) now in "operation." I will deal first with the history. The history of this association is this: "It was established "at the end of the year 1865, in consequence of the "employing class of the trade being principally in the "hands of capitalists, 'adventurers,' and not practical "tailors, and who in order to realize enormous profits "were gradually reducing the prices paid for various "garments, and requiring extra work put in the "same, while the price of all the necessaries of life was "rapidly increasing. It thus became evident that "something must be done on the part of the operatives to meet this state of things. A meeting was "called by a few of the men working in some of the "reputed best shops, and it was unanimously adopted "at that meeting, which was largely attended, to form "a committee whose business it should be to produce "the draft of a plan for establishing an association of "the whole London trade, including out and in door "workers. The plan proposed was accepted and acted "on by the best workmen in the trade, and the association was established on the 10th November 1865. "Prior to this a state of disorganization had existed "among members of the trade for upwards of "30 years." (That is dating back to the last strike in 1832, spoken of by Mr. Lewis.) "There were "several 'call-houses,' a system degrading in the last "degree to all who were subject to its rules, it being "a remnant of the barbarism known as 'statute fairs.' "Men out of work were compelled to hang about the "tap-rooms of public-houses, so long as they had the "misfortune to be out of work, and Sunday night was "not made an exception to the rule; any man being "absent when his name was called was placed at the "bottom of the list. Employers would send to this "call-house for six or eight men at a time when frequently they only required two and would keep "them only partially employed to the week's end, and "then tell them they had no more work for five or "six of them, the men so served having lost several "days' work waiting. When a man had a call to a "certain shop he had no choice but to go, whether he "liked the employer or his foreman or not, the only "alternative being losing his call or turn. And if "there happened to be 70 or 80 men of the call-house "to which he belonged, each of those 70 or 80 would "have the preference before it came to his turn for "another call in consequence of his having taken some "objection, probably founded on experience, to the "employer or foreman of the firm where the call came "from. The system, too, was pernicious, inasmuch as "bribery had more to do with the calls than efficiency "of workmanship, and numerous were the victims in "the persons of young men fresh from the country and "without friends at these slave markets. Applying "for work" (that is from shop to shop) "was not "allowed, and if any man did so the employer would "ask, 'What house do you belong to?' If the man "rejoiced in the freedom of what is now called non-"unionism he was insultingly told to 'go and put his "name down.' At the present time many employers "when applied to for work insolently demand that a "man shall forego his union proclivities before they "will allow him to earn his living in such employers' "firm." Such is the short note that I have made with reference to the history of the association. The next matter as stated on the paper is the organization. "This association is so organized as to exclude no "practical tailor above the age of 18, whether "working on the premises of the employer or at his "own house, but those whose characters will not bear "investigation. Should any such obtain admission, "the following rule (the 30th of our association) "gives the committee for the time being power to "deal with them on discovering the facts of the "case:—'*Expulsion of Members.* (1.) Any member "'having made a false statement on his first appli-"'cation to the committee for admission to the "'association, such statement having a tendency to "'deceive the committee, shall, on the same being "'discovered, be expelled. (2.) Any member being "'convicted of an offence which the general com-"'mittee shall, by resolution, declare to be disgraceful "'or criminal shall be expelled.' It is governed by "a committee and officers elected by the members. "For convenience it is divided into branches, each "having a committee and officers. The West End is "the central district. Prior to the strike" (that is the strike of 1867), "we had 17 London branches, "numbering at one time 7,000 members. We make "a point of extending our organization not only to "those of our own trade, but we join with all other "trades for the purpose of extending our protective "influence, and assisting one another in our respective "difficulties. We are in league with the tailors of "England, Ireland, and Scotland. We assisted by "money and advice the tailors of Paris, and I in the "presence of nearly 8,000 men in that city ratified a "contract of mutual support financially and morally "between the two associations. A similar contract "was also entered into in London before a body of "over 8,000 between us and Berlin, and I am now "negotiating for a consolidation of the tailors of the "United States and Canada with this country. We "are also an affiliated society of the International "Working Men's Association, and to the United "Kingdom Alliance of Organised Trades, a body "numbering over 60,000—a society solely for defensive purposes, giving assistance only in cases of "lock-out; the leaders in all of which societies or "associations being appointed by a majority of the "members in open meeting." Such is the note that I have made upon its organization. We next come to its objects. "The objects of this association is made "manifest in the first rule thus. Rule 1 enacts: "'The objects of this association shall be to use all "'legal means to obtain a just and remunerative "'price for the labour of its members and to protect "'them against injustice in cases of dispute arising "'out of the trade, and to raise funds for their sup-"'port in case of sickness, and for the burial of the "'members and members' wives in case of death." Such is the note on the objects. We next come to the second section of the paper, "The action of such "associations." First, with respect to "the regulation "of wages and hours of labour." As to the regulation of wages: "The only action we take with reference "to the regulation of wages is to endeavour by

" appealing to the fairest of all known systems—" arbitration, or to the more doubtfully just—the " law—to induce employers to abide by their own " self-imposed contract, the log." The log I have is a copy of the one agreed to, already referred to by Mr. Lewis, but I need not do more than read its conclusion, which is simply a copy of our law with regard to disputes. "It was agreed that all disputed inter-" pretations of this log should be submitted to " arbitration. Attention is directed to the following " article of the association:—(Arbitration 17.) This " association being established upon principles of " strict justice, having for its object the protection " and furtherance of the interests of employer and " employed, it is desirable that all disputes which " may arise between them should be submitted to arbi-" tration, as the most speedy and equitable way of " arriving at a conclusion, and it shall therefore be " the constant aim of this association to see that this " desire be, as far as possible, carried out. The arbi-" trators shall consist of an equal number of employers " and employed, whose decision shall be final, the " disputants first subscribing minutes of submission, " binding themselves to abide by the same; or an " agreement, binding them to enter into a regular " submission when required." This was the log agreed to on the 5th of April 1866, and signed by Mr. Brown of Princes Street, and Mr. Landon of New Burlington Street, on behalf of the masters' association, and by the then President and Secretary of the association which I now represent. Then as to the regulation of the hours of labour: " The London Association has not yet made " any move with reference to the regulation of the hours " of labour in consequence of the fluctuating nature of " the West End trade. I having myself worked in the " West End have worked 15 and 18 hours per day. In " the season 32 hours' work frequently has to be done in " four and five hours." I would observe here that the masters are in no way responsible for this arrangement. In fact, I have been engaged frequently in completing orders for gentlemen which in the ordinary course of things should have taken a week to finish, that have had to be finished between 10 o'clock in the morning and 7 the same evening. "In Scotland and some towns in " England the men endeavour to keep to a regular sys-" tem, but employers and their foremen strive hard to " break through such a salutary system. For a man to " leave his work to go to his dinner subjects himself to " dismissal." Now the next question is the action of our association with regard to the supply of workmen (stipulations as to non-members, apprentices, &c.) As to the supply of workmen: " Members of our " association are allowed to work in any shop without " reference to the character of the men in the same " shop." Of course it will be readily understood that when I speak of the character of the men in the same shop it has reference to their union or non-union proclivities. " No rule or stipulation as to apprentices or non-members." We do not enact in any part of our rules that there shall be a limit to the number of apprentices, or that a member of the union shall not be allowed to work with a non-member.

18,218. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You say that you do not do that by your rules; do you do it by your deeds?—Certainly not. We lay down a code of rules that we strictly adhere to in every case, as I shall presently show. In reference to disputes that have arisen where our members have been found to be wrong by our own committee, a verdict has been given on behalf of the employers. I have already submitted a copy of our rules, and I have now a copy in my pocket. What you find in our rules is simply the principle upon which we act, and any member of the executive violating in any degree these rules holds himself amenable to the general body. Then we come to " the conditions of labour (piecework, overtime, &c.)" The conditions of labour in the West End of London, or in the London district (our district embraces the postal district of London), is " mostly piece work. No stipulation, but " day work not recognized as being more or less " unjust to both parties." It very frequently happens that under the day working system one man may be perfectly competent to earn for his employer the rate of wage allowed per day, but it is quite within the bounds of probability, nay experience has told us over and over again, that where there is one of such a character there are three or four who, either from incapacity as to workmanship, or from a want of industry, have not been able to do an amount of work in a given time to satisfy the reasonable demand of the employer. Hence we hold as a rule that piece work is the more just towards both employers and employed. Then we come to the question of " strikes or lock-outs." " The association operates to the " prevention of strikes except in cases of extreme " injustice backed by extreme obstinacy; and in " such cases we regard a strike only as the least of " two evils." I may add here that the association acts in this way: A dispute arises, it may be on one side or the other; information is laid before the executive of the association I represent; the whole detail of the case is gone into. Were usage such that no union existed, but that they settled these matters themselves, the great probability is that the men—worked up perhaps by personal feelings towards an employer, or (which is more frequently the case) by personal feelings towards a foreman for whose actions in a great many instances the employers are not responsible—would resort at once to the expedient of a strike before trying to settle it by more conciliatory measures. Since our association has been established we have had two or three such cases, in which we have conferred with representatives of the masters' association. The matter has been discussed to a satisfactory conclusion, and satisfaction has been given to all parties concerned. When I say " satis-faction has been given," at all events, whether they have felt satisfied or not, the men, on the part of the men's association, have acted strictly in accordance with the verdict of that united committee. So we deal with strikes and lock-outs. Now we come to the third section of this paper, viz., the " effects of the action of such associations." And, first, as to " trades." I have never found in any single instance, that is to say where employers have been animated only by a desire to do that which is right and to be bound by reason, that the operation of our association has been anything but what could be desired. In fact I can freely endorse the evidence given by Mr. Green, the famous shipbuilder, in this respect. He said that he had always found the best men to be union men, and that he had always been able to carry on his business very satisfactorily with the operation of the union on his men. Now, as to " the social condition of the workmen," I think that it cannot be denied that anything that tends to raise the price of a man's labour justly tends to ameliorate that man's social position; and I can only illustrate that in this way, by taking the poor slop-workers of the East End, and comparing them with the operative tailors of the City, and West End, that is to say, members of our union. One of the latter can take a lodging—it is very rarely that he goes into the full dignity of a house—he takes a lodging in some of the outskirts; he takes a pride in educating his children, and having his domestic economy so regulated as to be a credit to himself. On the other hand, with regard to the man in the East End, I think it would be altogether out of place for me to attempt to describe to this Commission, whose experience must have been great, what that man is like. He works at home; he may have one room; in addition to its being his kitchen, sitting-room, and bedroom, he turns that one room to the convenience of his employer by taking his work home. Of all the businesses in which a man can engage there is none perhaps so much calculated to disturb the equilibrium of his comfort as the tailoring business. He wants all the space; he monopolises all the light; he monopolises all the fire; and in addition to that he has to supply by his wife or children, if he has any, the duties that ordinarily devolve upon the class of persons known as " trotters," whose essential business it is to attend to these matters. Hence, looking at the man who has more wages, who is a member of a

Mr. G. Druitt.

23 June 1868.

union, and can hold his own against the selfishness of a certain class of employers, his social position must, perforce, be very superior to anything that can be expected of a man who has only his individual self to oppose to the wealth and influence of an employer for whom he may work, no matter how unscrupulous that employer may be in his demands. Furthermore, I would just mention that on my communicating with a trade unionist in some part of the country, he declared to me that he owed the whole of his educational position (and it was not much at the best), and that of his family, to being a unionist, to mixing with other men, and to taking example of other men; and he assured me that prior to being a member of the union to which he belonged he could not so much as write his name; and though the letter in which he was detailing to me the advantage which he had gained from association with his fellows was not such as perhaps would pass a civil service examination for a Government office, it was nevertheless a very creditable composition. The effect of the action of our association upon the "individual relations of employers and workmen" is the next point. I have certainly taken a very prominent part since I became acquainted with the working of unions in promoting their interest and influence. I worked for many years in what is ostensibly called the first shop, not only in London or in England, but the first shop in the land. Now it was well known right through the firm what part I individually had taken; it was known, moreover, that the men there to a man were members of the association which I now represent, and, though to give you an idea of the number of persons employed there, I may state that at the time of the strike 500 men were called out of that firm, I never heard of a single instance in which there was anything like dissension or bickering, if we may so term it, between the principals of that establishment and their men in consequence of their being attached to a union. In the fourth section of the paper we have "the practicability of establishing courts of arbitration." Now the only objection that I have ever found raised against courts of arbitration has been raised by the employers themselves. I remember on one occasion, when engaged with a sub-committee of the masters in an attempt to settle some dispute that had arisen, a copy of the laws and constitution of the association which Mr. Mundella has brought to its present perfection was placed in my hands by the president of the masters' association, Mr. Lewis, for my opinion. I looked carefully over them, and on returning him the copy, I gave him as my candid opinion, that such a constitution was calculated, beyond all other measures, to put an end to the many disputes that must necessarily arise in a trade of such complexity as the tailoring trade. We, during a strike which lasted over 26 weeks, were continually urging that the matter might be settled by arbitration. It involved a principle, and we were perfectly prepared at any moment to lay the whole of the minutes of that dispute before arbitrators who should decide, and, whether that decision was for or against us, we were perfectly willing and anxious to abide by its results. I may say (as the gentleman is not present now I will mention it, as I might not have done had he been present) that a member of this Commission had also interested himself in this matter, and had offered to be an arbitrator.

18,219. Was that Mr. Hughes?—That was Mr. Hughes, and he was backed up, I may say, by Mr. John Stuart Mill. Another gentleman, a very influential member of the Saint James's vestry, came to me and asked the question, Will you arbitrate? I replied that nothing was nearer our most sanguine wish and expectation than that the matter should be settled by arbitration; and so anxious were we that the matter should be arbitrated upon that we would even accept the editor of "The Times," with all his known proclivities against unionism, and, as working men interpret it, against their interests generally, provided that the case should be fully arbitrated upon before several gentlemen whom we could rely upon. I therefore hold (and it is the opinion held by over 860,000 unionists in the three kingdoms), that the establishment of courts of arbitration in which both parties had confidence would do more to settle the differences arising (and no matter how well regulated either the employing or the operative portion of a trade may be, they must arise between employer and employed), and would be more effectual in settling disputes, than all negociations of any other sort whatsoever. We therefore are firmly of opinion that the establishing of courts of arbitration is quite practicable, and it certainly is within the province of reason that those appealing to them should take the decisions given, whether for or against themselves.

18,220. That being your statement, and that being the statement of your feeling, how do you explain the fact that occurred during this arrangement that was proposed in January 1867? I am told that there was a meeting between the masters and the operative tailors in London, and that at the first of the negociations the chairman of the masters' committee introduced a proposition for arbitration in case of disagreement, and pressed it upon the workmen's committee, who, however, stated that in their opinion it would prove impracticable and useless?—It was especially by that portion of Mr. Lewis's paper that I was taken by surprise, as I stated just now, and it was in reference to that that I stated that it would be necessary that I should produce documents to explain the facts. I will give you a cursory explanation now, but his statement is so at variance with what I hold to be the facts of the case, that I would sooner substantiate it upon documents exchanged at the time. I would explain it in this way. During that interview I took shorthand notes of all that transpired. I took Mr. Lewis's suggestion down, "In the event of a hitch occurring what course should we pursue?" when it was unanimously agreed that arbitration should be resorted to. Now the sitting was nearly at an end; there was a member of the men's committee, who in a very courteous manner suggested that the confidence he held in the gentleman deputed by the masters to settle this matter was such that it would not be necessary to make any formal resolution to that effect; but it passed as an understood thing, that in the event of a hitch occurring arbitration should take place. That was the last business of the evening, and we left the meeting with that firm conviction, that in the event of a hitch occurring arbitration should take place. Subsequently, when the strike was threatening, I wrote to Mr. Lewis asking that the thing might be settled without the use of such means as a strike. I offered him the use of my own shorthand notes, subject to the scrutiny of his own shorthand writer; and a copy of that letter I now have in the copy-book of the association, but I received no reply to it. As I have said already, before the strike took place we made repeated appeals for arbitration, in order that such a course might be avoided, and it was never adopted.

18,221. Then I gather from your statement that you entirely dissent from the accuracy of that statement of Mr. Lewis's, and say that the direct contrary is the truth?—Yes, I dissent from that statement as positively as a man can dissent, and, of course, subject to the arrangement that was made just now, I propose putting in a paper upon the whole of that evidence. I wanted to give the Commission my opinion or evidence upon the circular sent to me. If you have no further questions I will proceed to the next item, and then I shall have done. I have said that in the opinion of our trade, also in the opinion of the 860,000 unionists, courts of arbitration are necessary.

18,222. From what do you derive that number?—860,000 is a rough average of what we call the trade unionists of the kingdom; there may be more, but not less. The next section refers to "the working of co-operative societies and industrial partnerships." I am not prepared to offer any definite evidence upon that, any more than to say that several such societies have been established as the result of strikes, and that they seem to work very successfully. The sixth and last section is "the adjustment of the law affecting trade associations." Now this number of men that I have

already spoken of feel very strongly on this question. They feel that the law, as affecting combinations, is certainly against the operative in every sense. The 5th of George IV. is a law enacted certainly to suppress many of the combinations, and no less than 13 Acts of Parliament, dating from the 33rd year of Edward I. up to his then Majesty's reign, have been enacted to meet the case, but the worst part of those laws still exist.

18,223. What do you call the worst part?—The worst part is simply this, that as we tried the case in which we made Messrs. Lewis and his friends the defendants, it was held by Mr. Tyrwhitt, the sitting magistrate at Marlborough Street, that the law under which we laid the indictment, the Act of 6th of George IV., was only one that affected employed, and would not affect employers as subjects of the Queen.

18,224. How did you lay your information before the magistrate, and what was it that you complained of?—The complaint was this. There was one shop in the city that was struck, or rather not struck at that date, but about to be struck in consequence of its having been found that, though they professed to employ non-union men, (to which we had not the slightest objection,) they were employing union men and getting union men to do the work in their shop that union men in another part of the town refused to do. It was held that under such circumstances those men should be struck. It had not come to the fact that they were struck, but the employers taking advantage of information that they had received, issued a circular to say that such and such men employed by such and such firm should not have work given them by any other masters. They had no complaint with any other master, but the masters had entered into what we understood we were indicted for, namely, a conspiracy; two or three had planned together that they would deprive two or three men of the means of subsistence, because those two or three had acted in a contrary direction to the will of the two or three masters.

18,225. That is the conspiracy you complain of on the part of the masters?—Yes.

18,226. You think it wrong?—Yes.

18,227. Then it is wrong on the part of the men, I suppose?—The law has proved it to be wrong.

18,228. All that you want the law to do is, that the law should be applied to the masters as well as to the men?—No, we do not want anything of the sort; we want the law to be so regulated that each man and each master shall know his exact position with reference to combination, and that is what does not exist now; for though there is a combination law existing now it is only on one side.

18,229. That is a very wide statement, but what I want is what you complain of; do you complain of the law which applies to the workman not applying to the master?—Just so.

18,230. You, therefore, not complaining of the law as it applies to the workman, but your complaint being that it does not apply to the master also, do not want the law altered with regard to the workman?—We want the law to be altered in every respect as applying to both. We want them each to understand their respective positions.

18,231. I want to know what you want the law to do; do you want that law entirely repealed?—We want, if the law applies to us in a certain form, that without reference to being employers or employed, as subjects of the Queen, it should apply to employers in the same sense.

18,232. That is what I put to you. You do not want the law to be repealed as regards the men, but to be applied to the masters?—That is a subject to be taken under consideration in another place; we apprehend that the law is not equal.

18,233. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) In what respects does it not apply to the masters?—I have shown that we take the two cases to be similar. For instance, I and my colleagues were indicted for conspiring against certain master tailors, and a certain claim was put in that they had lost so much money in consequence of the conspiracy originated at our hands.

18,234. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What was that conspiracy?—As far as I could understand, it was being chairman of a meeting of over 8,000 beings, and hearing resolutions put, and submitting those resolutions to the meeting, and those resolutions being acted upon.

18,235. It makes all the difference what the resolutions were, because you might have met for dethroning the Queen (I merely put that as an illustration). What was the resolution?—That is just where I was taken by surprise by Mr. Lewis's paper, and in my paper those resolutions have to appear. I could tell you the spirit of the resolutions. The first was, that those assembled heartily endorsed the action that had been taken by their appointed delegates, and they were willing to abide by the result.

18,236. What had the delegates done?—That would be another part of the paper, into which I am not now prepared to enter fully. The delegates had done this: they had seen by a report of the meeting held by the masters, at which their association was organized, that the masters were of opinion that a time-log was abolutely necessary. Now it must be borne in mind that a time-log was absolutely necessary for the welfare of the trade. We had felt it for many years, but had made no advances towards the masters until we saw their opinion so clearly and unmistakeably expressed. When we saw that we sent a communication which is given in the appendix B. of the paper that Mr. Lewis read from:—"At your "meeting you generally expressed a desire for a fair "time-log to become general in order that the same "time be paid for making a garment all over the "country irrespective of what amount is paid per "hour in the different places. We fully agreed with "those principles, they being an exact expression of "resolutions previously come to by the members of "our associations, and we have here to request that "you appoint a meeting with us to make arrange-"ments for the carrying out of those principles."

18,237. Was that the delegates' conduct which the meeting endorsed?—Yes.

18,238. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) You are referring to a case which was tried, and in which the men were convicted of conspiracy. What was the case, and when tried, and before whom?—The case tried was that I and two others had conspired to injure certain master tailors in carrying on their business. It was tried at the Central Criminal Court on the 21st of August. It was tried before Baron Bramwell; he was not the judge on the rota for that month, but it was tried before him, and a verdict was given against us. We discovered the next day that though the jury was trying us for a conspiracy to injure two or three individuals, the very jury had in itself the elements of perjury, and a conspiracy to defeat the laws of the land.

18,239. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Do you not consider that that is very strange language to use?—I simply use it as it was used in the press at the time. I will explain how it was. A man attended on that jury in the name of his master; the warrant officer detected him in the fact, and he positively swore that he was the man. He sat upon the jury, he heard all the evidence, and he gave of course his portion of the judgment of the twelve. The man was subsequently indicted before the Recorder, the clerk of arraigns using the very words that I have used, that the jury who had tried us had been guilty—or rather, as far as this man was concerned, had been guilty—of perjury and a conspiracy to break the law of the land. But at all events by such a jury as that we were convicted of conspiracy.

18,240. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) You have also referred to a case which was dismissed when the men took proceedings against the masters; what case do you refer to?—I was interrupted in going into it just now; it was Mitchell and Harris, I believe, a firm in Cornhill. Their men being members of our association it was notified through a circular issued from the masters' association to other masters that they were not to be

Mr. G. Druitt.

23 June 1868.

employed, because they had taken certain action against Mitchell and Harris.

18,241. By whom was it tried?—It only came for hearing before Mr. Tyrwhitt of Marlborough Street, and he refused a summons giving us leave to move under the vexatious Prosecution Act. We consulted Mr. Coleridge and Mr. Ribton, and under their advice we acted. We held by virtue of that fact, as by judgments given in other cases, that the adjustment of the law affecting trade associations is essential.

18,242. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You have not explained the conspiracy that you were charged with?—The conspiracy was this: I as their president, another man as secretary, and another man as assisting us as president of another association, were charged with conspiracy against Poole, Stulz, and Lewis, and several other firms named.

18,243. What was the conspiracy? The word "conspiracy" is merely a legal term for certain things to be done. I want to know the things that you were charged with doing?—We were charged with interfering with these masters in the performance of their trade.

18,244. That was the general phrase; but what was the act with which you were charged?—The only fact that I can ascertain at all was, that we were nominated as leaders of a certain action, a strike for instance.

18,245. What was the evidence given of the acts that you had done?—The only evidence that was given was deposing to police-case facts, of men who had committed assaults and had been already punished for those assaults.

18,246. Then you were charged with instigating men to commit breaches of the peace?—Yes, just so.

18,247. Were the masters ever charged with anything of the same sort?—Well, that is a matter of opinion.

18,248. Were the masters ever charged with instigating persons to commit breaches of the peace?—They were not charged with that, but they were charged with being the instigators of men losing their daily sustenance.

18,249. That you know is one of those rhetorical phrases to which I am very much unaccustomed. I want to know what the masters were charged with. Was it with saying this: "That man has been upon the "union; I have discharged him, or he has discharged "himself; we hope that you will not employ him." I suppose that is all the masters did?—I am not certain that the circular was qualified with any hope of the sort; as far as I recollect it, it went out as a fiat that they were not to be employed.

18,250. You know that a fiat can only be made by superior power; what superior power was there on the part of Mr. Lewis to compel others not to employ certain people; it could only be the expression of a desire or wish that they would not employ people who had done certain things?—Exactly.

18,251. That is what you liken to a conspiracy, instigating the people to break the peace?—We had not instigated people to break the peace; the indictment, as shown by the summons granted against us, was that we were guilty, so to speak, of ruining these master tailors.

18,252. I suppose that you were charged with conspiring to injure certain persons, and in proof of that the evidence was given that you had instigated people to break the peace, to prevent people from going to serve these gentlemen whom you were charged with conspiring to injure. Was not that the case as a matter of fact?—That was the evidence given, and this was his lordship's remark upon it. He said, "Brother Ballantine, you are now giving evidence "as to that with which these men are not charged; "they are not charged with assault."

18,253. Why did he not stop that evidence?—He withdrew it then, and gave no more of the same kind of evidence; but it was upon evidence of that kind that the jury gave their verdict.

18,254. I want you to make that clear as a matter analogous to the charge that you brought against the masters of issuing a circular to other masters, which was simply to say that they hoped they would not employ certain men. I want you to make out the analogy between the two cases?—I have made that out clearly as I apprehend; it clearly appears to me that if I am charged with conspiring with other persons to injure the pockets of Mr. Poole and other masters, and we charge the masters by their circular with conspiring to injure the pockets of Joe Brown and others, it is the same thing; it is only a question of degree.

18,255. But if the men were charged with conspiring to break the heads of other men for instance, that would not be an analogous case?—We were not charged with that; we were charged with conspiracy to injure these people in the progress of their trade by holding meetings and passing resolutions. Of course with reference to Mr. Lewis's paper itself, I will prepare one on the subject; but that I think is all the evidence I am prepared to give now.

18,256. In the earlier part of your statement you made use of something like this phrase: you asserted that the trade had been absorbed by adventurers and capitalists, and therefore you struck?—We did not strike on that account; that was part of the system that led to the association. I will just explain that a little more in detail. There are several of the principals of the West End firms that are not tailors at all.

18,257. That is to say, they choose to use their capital in the trade?—Yes.

18,258. There is no harm in that, is there?—Not the slightest, but what I object to is this: a man employing his capital and embarking in a sphere of industry of which he is totally ignorant, offers me prices infinitely below the real value of my labour. I have a perfect right to refuse them, and by myself of course I have no power individually as an employed man against a wealthy employer. Now it comes to the question, Shall we allow this trade to which we have been bred and born, and which we have practised so long and made a living by it, to degenerate, so that no man can possibly get a living; or shall we take any means to show these people that they are really not acting in consonance with their own interests, and certainly are acting in opposition to ours?

18,259. Supposing that A. and B. being tailors want capital, and C. D. lends it to them, is there any harm in that?—No; but that is not the case.

18,260. What is the case?—That instead of the tailor going to the capitalist, the capitalist turns tailor himself.

18,261. What harm is there in that?—No further harm than that it deteriorates the price of the labour.

18,262. Suppose I bring in a certain quantity of capital into the tailoring trade, what have you to do with that?—Nothing in the world.

18,263. And suppose I say to A. B. and C. D., "I "want you to make this garment for me, and I will "give you so much for it, under the price that you "have been accustomed to;" if those men accept it what business is that of yours?—Not the slightest.

18,264. Then why use those hard words, "deteriorating the trade," and "taking the bread out of people's mouths." The man merely uses his capital in the way that he thinks the most beneficial to him, does he not? What has a third party to do with that?—A third party has nothing, I apprehend, to do with that, but a man may say, "I cannot get a living "at the prices you offer, though previously, when this "trade was in the hands of a man who understood it, "I could. Individually we are powerless against "you, hence we combine."

18,265. Why can he not refuse to work for him?—Because he will go to the next place.

18,266. Those people you will picket?—Not at all; picketing has nothing whatever to do with the question as to the history of the origin of this association,

and that I shall show in my paper. I am convinced that the masters present will bear me out in this, that there are now firms in the west end of London that are injuring their trade by this line of conduct, going into the trade of which they are totally ignorant, and making things at infinitely less price than they should and than their real value, because they take it out of the labourer's mouth or hands, and the other men who are paying proper prices are undersold by this system of trading.

18,267. That is competition, is it not?—You may call it what you like, it may be competition; but it is starvation to the men made the subject of it.

18,268. Would you have the Legislature lay down rules for trade that should subject people to certain penalties if they competed one with the other?—Certainly not; we would not have the Legislature interfere in this special point; we would say this, Let the master and the man make such arrangements between themselves as they feel to be right on both sides, and then let us both try to keep to those arrangements.

18,269. Is not that shutting out the world at large from interfering with your trade? Is not that making you a sort of monopoly, and saying to the world, "At "least do not bring in any capital, we will keep the "monopoly to ourselves"? is not that the result?—I apprehend that that is not the result at all. It is simply saying in plain terms that twelve pence is the value of a shilling, and that a shilling is of the value of twelve pence.

18,270. To go to another matter. Before the strike what was the number of the unionists?—I have already noted that in my statement as 7,000 members.

18,271. What was its number after; what is it at the present time?—I also stated that, about 1,000.

18,272. If that has been the result of the strike what good has the union done?—Just this. The question which I shall have to take note of more fully was in two parts. We wanted a uniform time-log. The masters prepared a time-log, and said to us, "Here is the log, you must accept it as it is, subject only to very slight modifications." Now that log on the whole was a reduction; it has been estimated at 25 per cent., but it was not so much as that. I think the reduction might safely be estimated at 15, or between 12 and 15 per cent. Now it was understood that that was to be the log to which we were to work. When the strike was over we certainly had not got a uniform time-log, which was more a masters' matter than ours, but we had resisted the masters' log; hence whatever per-centage there was of reduction we had saved that to the members of our association. I have not heard of a single instance in which the masters have put forward their log.

18,273. Before the strike there was a certain price for a certain garment, has that price been changed?—Yes, in many instances it has. And here is one case that I was going to allude to with regard to arbitration. There was one employer that took part in compiling that statement, but as soon as the statement got into full operation he said plainly to us, "Well, I do not care what Poole or Lewis pay, I will not pay it." The Commissioners are of course aware that a gentleman may have two or three tailors; so that this man was working for the same customers as his fellow-tradesmen, and he said positively, "I will not pay so much as the price that we have agreed to in the log." Now it was our duty as an association (as I apprehend that the masters' association would have backed us up in this if we required it) to see that he paid the same as they did according to agreement. Now one firm had a military job not reckoned in the log at all (and here is the great bone of contention that the log made did not calculate for), and when the man, after carefully considering the time and labour in it, charged 1*l.*—a charge which other firms which I know personally in the same trade would have paid, and less than what any of the gentlemen here to-day would have paid—the master scratches this amount off and puts 9*s.* instead of 1*l.*, as the value of that man's labour.

18,274. You have gone a great way from my question. I asked you if the prices that were paid before the strike were not the same prices as were paid after it?—Just so.

18,275. Therefore that strike did no good whatever?—I hold that it resisted a reduction.

18,276. Was there any attempt at reduction before the strike?—The log in itself was such an attempt.

18,277. But the log was what you asked for; there was no pretence on the part of the master to make a log unless you asked for it, was there?—I beg your pardon, I have already shown that the proposition for a log originated with the masters.

18,278. Then I am to understand that you assert in contradistinction to Mr. Lewis that there was a determination on the part of the masters to lower the prices of wages before the strike?—Just so, by the substitution of their own log under the guise of a time-log.

18,279. And you will bring evidence of that?—Yes, that is what I must have time to do, to produce those various documents.

18,280. Then I may draw this conclusion, that in your view the strike really resisted a lowering of wages, which did not take place after the strike, but which would have taken place in your belief had there been no strike; that is your estimation of the good done by the strike?—Yes.

18,281. (*Chairman.*) What branch of the trade were you bred in; you have worked as an operative tailor, have you not?—Yes, in every department. I am acquainted with every garment that the human form wears, either man or woman, that is made in the tailoring trade.

18,282. It seems as if there were different classes of employers, and different classes of workmen, and different classes of wages. Some garments are extremely cheap, for instance, in the outfitting shops in the east end of London. You have never had any work of that sort, I suppose?—Nothing of that sort.

18,283. You have always been in the fashionable part of London?—No, because I have an interest in a business of my own, which is a second-rate business, for clerks and middle-class people that do not come up to the west end trade.

18,284. You can get a coat in Fleet Street, for instance, for 2*l.* 10*s.* Do you make such garments?—I do not know that ever I was engaged in so low a trade as that. I could undertake, however, to make such a contract that I would not lose anything by it; but I do not regard those as a fair sample of the tailoring trade.

18,285. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Is that second-rate business you speak of in the west end or in the east end?—It is in neither, because it is one of the southern suburbs. I also hold an interest in a West End trade of a similar sort, but it is not of such an extensive nature as to come up to what I have worked at as an operative. For the last several years that I have been engaged in that way I have worked, as I said before, in Poole's. I was in the firm at the time the strike occurred. I was in the firm at the time of the last arrangement.

18,286. By "in the firm" you mean in the shop?—It is the phrase we use. I worked for the firm as an operative.

18,287. (*Chairman.*) Therefore you must have had experience of very different rates of wages, as it seems to me?—Yes, in every part of the kingdom. The proposition that I have alluded to will, of course, have to appear with regard to a question mooted by Mr. Harrison, in respect to a uniform time-log.

18,288. How do you reconcile that fact of different rates of wages with a time-log?—We hold (and it was a proposition first held by the masters) that if it takes 30 hours to make a coat in London it will take 30 hours to make the coat in Liverpool, Glasgow, or Belfast (those are their own words). Now, of course, the surrounding circumstances (as set forth in this paper of Mr. Lewis, in regard to the farmer's coat, for instance) are different. The time paid is the same; but in London we are supposed, for our extra care, to have 7*d.* an hour, while in Chester they only have 3½*d.*

18,289. Is that the same article when it is finished?

Mr. G. Druitt.
23 June 1868.

—Essentially the same, if the customer demands it. I know many customers for whom I have worked at Poole's, who also have things made at Smith's in Chester; but living is much cheaper in Chester than in London, in that whereas we get 7*d.* in London they get 3*d.* or 3½*d.* in Chester; while with regard to the class of trade spoken of in Mr. Lewis's paper, namely, the farmer's coat, I may say that in Suffolk the tailors do not get above 2½*d.* or 3*d.* an hour. But the same number of hours are paid; it will take the same number of hours, but the quality of work put in is not up to the standard as required in West End firms. So, not by taking off the number of hours, but by reducing in many instances more than by half the price paid for the hour, the thing is brought to an equality.

18,290. Does it require greater skill to do work in West End houses than elsewhere?—No question of it. It is manifest from the very fact which I have set forth in a previous answer, that very frequently 30 hours' work has to be done in five. Now if the men engaged upon that work were not very skilful men indeed the garment would never be done for the amount which it should be.

18,291. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What do you mean by 30 hours' work being done in five?—The coat is just roughly put together; a gentleman comes in at 12 o'clock in the day, tries it on, and says, "I want it by 5 o'clock." At 12 o'clock nothing more has been done to it than roughly tacking it together. As many men are put upon the coat as will get it done by near about the time mentioned. In fact I have been engaged with three others in sewing up one seam. Now, unless each man knows his place, and just the length and sort of stitch he ought to draw, you may imagine what that seam would be when completed.

18,292. Then, when you say that 30 hours' work must be done sometimes in five, you mean to say that you increase the number of men, and thereby increase in fact the number of hours?—Not necessarily increase the number of hours at all—there is only 30 hours paid for it; if 10 men can be put upon it there is still only 30 hours paid for. Now any of the gentlemen present will bear me out in saying that, unless these men are skilled and well-trained men, trained to the ways of the firm, that amount of work could never be done in the time.

18,293. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) You stated that the strike of 1867 prevented a reduction of wages?—Yes.

18,294. What ground have you for stating that?—Simply from the presentation of the masters' log (which I will file in my paper) in comparison with our own.

18,295. But you did not strike to prevent a reduction; you struck for an increase of wages, did you not?—No, quite the reverse. I will show, I hope conclusively, that the last lock-out reduced us, as Mr. Lewis hinted this morning, in Poole's, in many instances, considerably. The arrangement suggested by us (and in stating this it was the only justice "The Times" ever did us throughout) would in those tweed suits that gentlemen go to the sea-side in have been a saving to Mr. Poole on every suit of about 6½ hours, that would have been 6½ sevenpences saved to him on every suit. Now it happens often in the season that in that firm alone 70 or 80 orders are taken in a day for such things as that, and there might have been 70 or 80 times the amount I have stated saved to the firm. The trade had got into that confusion that it was necessary some general arrangement should be made with reference to the time to be paid for these various articles; but the rate per hour was always to be a matter regulated between the employer and the employed; as long as he paid the time it was quite a matter of indifference to the association, whether he paid 6*d.* or 7*d.*, if the man liked to take it. There are other details with regard to the arrangement of 1866 that it will be necessary for me to go into when I deal exclusively with that subject.

(*Mr. Lewis.*) I would observe, in order to put the Commission right, that remarks made at a public meeting to form an association, our Master Tailors' Association, by casual attendance generally invited, are constantly alluded to as being the decisions of the Master Tailors' Association, and Mr. Druitt has done so to-day in every instance. The remarks made at a meeting called to form an association which was then commenced to be formed are a very different thing from what that association is responsible for after it has been formed. Some gentleman made a speech and expressed his views upon the country, whom we had never seen before and have never seen since. Mr. Druitt has attributed all this pertinaciously to the Master Tailors' Association. Mr. Druitt, in another part of his remarks, has talked about a reduction that the masters wished to make. Now we pay up to this time what we have always paid, and we have never asked for any reduction—the log agreed upon between the masters and men at St. James's Hall in 1866. It never entered into the thoughts of the masters in any way to make a reduction of 6*d.* The masters never thought of doing it, and when the masters submitted their log they never dreamt of entering into the preparing of a log except for this reason, that having to confer with the journeymen about the details of a log, they were obliged to prepare some memorandum to talk about, but they had nothing to ask in the way of a reduction. To corroborate that view I may state that our at annual meeting that took place in February this year one of the sentences introduced into the Report was this: "The committee, "notwithstanding the losses and annoyances to which "employers have been put by the late unreasonable "demands of the operatives and the unwarrantable "measures by which these have been attempted to be "enforced, would nevertheless earnestly recommend "a strict and honourable adherence on the part of the "masters to the terms agreed to between them and "the journeymen at St. James's Hall in April 1866, "which terminated the then pending dispute, and "yielded a fair and liberal rate of wages, far above the "average rate paid anywhere else but at the West "End of London." That was in February. A great many of our members were anxious that expression should be given to a thought like that of which I have been reading the words. But we thought that that perhaps was hardly enough, and after the general meeting had been held, one of the committee meetings afterwards, to which committee the management of the affairs of the association has been mostly left, passed this resolution: "That whereas this committee "finds that many members wish to embody fully in "practice the principle so long and so successfully "contended for by our association, that masters should "be able to employ what men they please, such men "being willing to work for them, and on terms such "as they themselves and their workmen mutually "agree upon, it is desirable that, simultaneously with "the closing of the guarantee fund, all those who, "during our struggle for freedom from the dictation "of the trade union in April 1867, signed the paper "pledging themselves not to exceed in their payment "of wages the terms agreed upon in April 1866, at "St. James's Hall, be now held to be free from any "obligation involved by their signatures to the pledge "of 22nd April 1867." Thus setting them free to pay as much as they pleased. Now that does not at all chime in with the view enunciated by Mr. Druitt that we were seeking for a reduction of wages.

(*Mr. Druitt.*) I cannot answer for any resolution passed by the masters of which we had no cognizance. The fact, as declared on the log I qted omfruo just now, is clear that in the arrangement of this log the two associations agreed. Consequently I hold that it was quite incompatible for one association to say, "We look upon that arrangement as so much "waste paper," without consulting the interest of those who took part in making it law. If they are not responsible for this log, and they enter into an arrangement that gives them liberty to pay more, they consequently give their members liberty to pay less, which is now being done in many firms, even those whose names have been attached to this document.

(*Mr. Lewis.*) The first resolution that I read strongly recommended the members of the Master

Tailors' Association not to depart from the agreement, including the advance at St. James's Hall. The first resolution strongly recommended nothing less to be paid, and the second allowed more to be paid. As I said in an early part of my evidence, we do not take upon ourselves to put any coercive pressure on any of our men; we want to maintain our own individual independence. We recommend them not to pay less than the St. James's Hall agreement.

(*Mr. Druitt.*) There was one question asked me as to the number of the members of our association. Now, Mr. Lewis will agree with me that their association is called the Master Tailors' Association of the United Kingdom. I did not notice that the Commission asked him the number of their members.

18,296. (*Chairman to Mr. Lewis.*) How many members have you?—I should not be able to answer the question accurately, but I may say roughly and generally that I think they never exceeded 200, or something of that sort.

18,297. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Are their numbers now as large as they have ever been?—Not quite, I should say; but the only rule by which we have to estimate the numbers would be the subscriptions paid last September, so that we cannot answer exactly for the numbers now. We might answer upon that list of subscriptions indeed, for they are members still.

18,298. (*Mr. Booth.*) I understand you distinctly to contradict the statement of Mr. Druitt that the strike of 1867 had any effect in preventing the master tailors making a reduction of wages?—No doubt a reduction might have been made among the aggregate numbers, for of course we cannot answer for the way in which any individual man whom we do not take cognizance of conducts his business. A few of us in the neighbourhood who had the same sort of business merely associated for the purpose of advising one another to adhere to that advance which was granted in 1866, and it never entered into our heads to make a reduction, or talk about a reduction even.

18,299. So that, as far as your knowledge extends, the strike was entirely without beneficial effect to the men?—Entirely; it was very detrimental; there must have been thousands and thousands of pounds thrown away.

18,300. But nothing gained?—Nothing gained.

(*Mr. Druitt.*) Mr. Lewis is of course perfectly aware whether the log was ever presented. I am speaking upon that log of which I have a copy, and which was given to me by the secretary of the masters' association, and the only data I can produce before this Commission are in comparing the time with that and the rate paid not by time but by money of this log, that was agreed to in 1867. Now, of course if Mr Lewis says that they prepared a log and never intended to hold by it after presenting it to the men's committee, I am not responsible for that.

(*Mr. Lewis.*) I would just remark upon the principle of the preparation of this log, which I said was prepared not with the desire of asking anybody to work on it, because we had no wish to stir in the matter, but the consideration of that question of the log having been forced on us we were obliged to have some data to enable us to talk about the various details (and they are very numerous and some of them very small, coming down from 7*d.* to $3\frac{1}{2}$*d.* and so on, and even $1\frac{3}{4}$*d.*) We simply produced that printed log that Mr. Druitt talks about as having been put in his hand by our secretary for our own use (just as the copy of the evidence might be printed here for the use of the gentlemen round the table) to enable us to talk to the journeymen's committee about the various questions. We had no idea whatever of making a log or asking for a log to be adopted. But further than that, I may just say that that log itself, if it had been put forward as a log to be adopted, which it never entered into our heads to do, was in every respect simply this; it was adopting the present number of hours allowed for making the respective garments without any change; it was adopting them as they stood, and it was simply apportioning to them 7*d.* instead of 6*d.*, so as to put the log into a reasonable form according to the then circumstances, to be similar in every respect in point of principle to that which existed two years before at 6*d.* an hour; we made no change whatever.

18,301. (*Mr. Roebuck to Mr. Lewis.*) Then I understand that that log was not a lowering of wages, but in fact a raising of wages from 6*d.* to 7*d.*?—The rise had taken place the year before, and we were merely reducing it into terms to suit the present, 7*d.* per hour instead of 6*d.* per hour. If we had been asked by the journeymen's committee at that time to show them that we intended no reduction, we should have been most happy to do so; and the best proof that nothing of the kind was intended is the fact that nothing of the kind has taken place—not a farthing reduction. I can speak for my own house and my friends here positively. We have not had a thought of paying less than 7*d.* an hour, but simply a rearrangement as to the number of hours.

18,302. So that when the negociations commenced there had been no suggestion on your part of any intention to lower the rate of wages?—Not the slightest.

18,303. Therefore with regard to the suggestion that you had made an attempt to lower wages, that suggestion as a reason for their entering into the negociation is an incorrect one?—Quite so; it follows I think very clearly and unmistakeably from the way in which I have shown you the fact.

(*Mr. Druitt.*) Mr. Lewis says that the log proposed was simply turning this log before me into a log of time. Mr. Lewis knows that while there are not more than 15 or 20 items here, the log proposed occupies 24 pages; while there are a number of garments, habits, and so forth, that custom has set a price upon which are dealt with in that log which have not come into this log at all.

(*Mr. Lewis.*) There is this fact that enables us to walk out of court, that we did not put it forward, and had not intended to put it forward.

18,304. (*Earl of Lichfield to Mr. Lewis.*) Have you any documentary evidence to substantiate your statements with reference to the men having refused arbitration?—It was just as I said just now in allusion to another point. Mr. Druitt, and the gentlemen who speak generally and write in the newspapers on that side, attributed the remarks made at the public meeting to form the association (by the gentlemen who came there accidentally from Edinburgh, and Manchester, and Liverpool, and Birmingham) to our association, and placed the responsibility of those remarks upon us. With regard to the question of arbitration, it was mooted at the log committee. I happened to be present on the part of the masters and of the persons who were appointed to attend the log committee, and Mr. Druitt was present on the part of the men. Early in the business, at the time that Mr. Druitt has alluded to, I thought if a matter of that kind was to come to anything, we had better start with an article for arbitration. I thought that a practical way of going to the business, and I stated as much. I held in my hand an article for arbitration that I had drawn out with a view of proposing it, provided that it was received favourably. I hold the same paper in my hand now that I held then, as containing suitable articles for arbitration:—"Both parties hereby agree "to refer any disputed points to an indifferent person, "whose decision shall be final, and abided by by both "parties; such person to be chosen at the beginning "of the conference, under the signatures of both com- "mittees." That was objected to. I have got some memoranda here as to the words used, but it is not of consequence to read them; it was objected to, and passed over. Then Mr. Druitt says, "It was agreed "that all disputed questions should be referred to "arbitration." How that comes as a sequel to the other I cannot imagine, only in this way, that

Mr. G. Druitt.
23 June 1868.

the rule existed in the protective association which Mr. Druitt represents to-day, and he alludes to it as having been agreed to by our joint committee in 1867.

(*Mr. Druitt.*) No, distinctly not.

(*Mr. Lewis.*) Then it does not come into the question in any other way, because there was certainly no arbitration agreed to except the allusion in the rule.

(*Mr. Druitt.*) I think that the gentlemen on the Commission will remember that what I said was this: Mr. Lewis suggested that some provisions should be made in the event of dissension arising with reference to arbitration, of which I have a note, and a person then on the committee said that he thought we need not make any provision, as it would be distinctly understood that in the event of any hitch arising arbitration would be the best means of settling it, prior to which it would be competent for Mr. Lewis and me, as representing the two committees, to try and settle it by ourselves, and if we could not agree the arbitration would then take place. Mr. Bowater, on the masters' part, replied that he was very satisfied with the first day's work, and had not the slightest doubt that each day would be as satisfactorily concluded. The documents have been asked for. I would undertake to say that Mr. Lewis has none of the sort. I have only the shorthand note that I took at the time; but it was distinctly understood by the parties there engaged that arbitration should be the course resorted to if the suggestions of Mr. Lewis and myself for settling the matter should fail.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to Tuesday next at 11 o'clock.

1, Park Prospect, Westminster, Tuesday, 30th June 1868.

PRESENT:

The Right Hon. Sir WILLIAM ERLE.	JAMES BOOTH, Esq., C.B.
The Right Hon. The Earl of LICHFIELD.	FREDERIC HARRISON, Esq.
Lord ELCHO, M.P.	WILLIAM MATHEWS, Esq.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR WILLIAM ERLE IN THE CHAIR.

Dr. G. Lloyd.
30 June 1868.

Dr. GEORGE LLOYD examined.

18,305. (*Chairman.*) You are of the firm of Messrs. Lloyd and Company, of Birmingham, are you not?—Lloyd and Summerfield.

18,306. Are you acquainted with the Midland Association of Flint Glass Manufacturers?—I am chairman of that association.

18,307. When was it established?—In 1858.

18,308. Was it established in consequence of a strike coming on?—Yes.

18,309. How long had that strike been going on?—Perhaps two months or thereabouts.

18,310. Were the proceedings in the course that we have heard of, namely, the men striking against one or two particular firms, and in consequence of that leaving the workmen of the other firms to support the men that were on strike?—Yes.

18,311. In consequence of that did the employers form the association of which you became the chairman?—They did.

18,312. Did they resort to what has been called on the part of the employers the "defensive measure" of a lock-out?—Yes.

18,313. To prevent firm after firm being broken by being taken singly?—That was the case.

18,314. How long did the hostility continue between the masters and the workmen?—The strike had continued from two to three months before the lock-out was resorted to, and about three months after that the matter was by compromise terminated.

18,315. What was the immediate question in the strike?—It was chiefly concerning the number of apprentices employed by the masters; the workmen insisted upon a more limited number than the masters thought it desirable or necessary to employ. In consequence of some of the employers having more apprentices than the union recognized according to their rules those houses were put upon strike, as it is termed.

18,316. What was the number that the unions recognized?—One apprentice to three chairs (as it is technically called) or sets of men who are employed together. In that branch of the glass trade four persons, that is two full aged men, and a young man, and a boy, constitute a set or a chair, and it is necessary in the performance of their work, so it has hitherto been considered, that those four should be associated together in order to make any article small or large. That is the custom of the trade, and an old one.

18,317. And as I understand you, three chairs were to be allowed one apprentice?—Yes, three of those sets were to be allowed one apprentice.

18,318. Then the masters resisted that, and the strike came and the lock-out?—Yes.

18,319. And after the period that you have mentioned what happened?—A compromise took place by which it was arranged that the trade should have one apprentice to two chairs, which was a gain on the part of the employers of one apprentice, that is to say, from one to three to one to two.

18,320. Have things gone on peaceably from the time that that arrangement was made?—There has been no strike or lock-out since that time. There have been occasions of disputes and threats of strike; but nothing that I am aware of has occurred within the experience of the Midland Association.

18,321. And have the apprentices been continued in that proportion of one apprentice to two chairs?—In that proportion.

18,322. The chair consisting, as I understand you, of two effective workmen and a young man and a boy?—Yes.

18,323. Have the trades unions of the working men produced any effect that you have noticed upon wages and hours, and the supply of workmen?—Yes, a very considerable effect. The influence of the union has been such as to raise the price of labour during the time that it has existed. Perhaps it will be better for me to state our experience since the termination of that lock-out for the last 10 years. It is estimated, but I am not sure, that such a scale would be applicable to the whole of the trade, although, as far as the experience of the Midland Association goes, I believe it would be substantially correct that there has been a rise of the wages of the skilled hands and those more or less skilled, of from 5 per cent. to about 20 per cent., that is to say, the wages of the skilled hands have been raised to the extent of 5 per cent., those of the next grade to about 10 per cent., and those of the next grade below to about 20 per cent.

18,324. Are the last grade children?—Yes, little boys either treated as apprentices or actually apprentices—their wages are nominal often.

18,325. Have these different classes of workmen separate unions, pursuing their own distinct interests?

—There is only one union in the kingdom of flint glass makers, but there are branches in various districts. For instance, there is a branch in Scotland, and in the northern counties of England, and there are districts, as they call them, in the Midland counties and in London.

18,326. And are each class of these workmen, both the skilled workman, the middle workman, and the boy, all members of the union?—Not all members, because there are some who are not members at all, that is workmen of the inferior grades, but the majority are members of the union.

18,327. I want to ask whether they were all admissible to the union, because it would seem that they were persons who could not subscribe at the same rate; a skilled workman would be capable of subscribing a larger sum than a boy, would he not?—Yes, their subscriptions are regulated according to their grade.

18,328. Has there been an alteration in the hours of labour?—The nominal hours of labour remain the same, that is six hours at a time. The custom of the trade is to work six hours, with an intermission of six hours for rest, and then to return to work for six hours, so that in the 24 hours 12 hours are occupied with intermissions of six.

18,329. (*Lord Elcho.*) For how many days consecutively?—Four days, or perhaps four and a half days, that is beginning with Monday morning and terminating on Friday morning or Friday at noon, rarely working after time.

18,330. The furnace is kept up, I suppose?—It is always kept up, because after working preparation is made for melting the glass to commence on Monday morning, so that the operation goes on uninterruptedly from Monday morning till the time of leaving off. There are two sets of men; one is on for six hours and goes off for six hours, and then another comes on for six hours, so that intermission that I spoke of is brought about.

18,331. Do those who prepare the furnace for the next Monday's work work on the same system?—They work 12 hours, they are treated as labourers and they are not glass blowers, they work for 12 hours and go away for 12 hours.

18,332. (*Chairman.*) Are the men paid chiefly by piece work?—By piece work, that is the rule of the trade, which is calculated according to the number of different articles produced in a given time.

18,333. So much for each class of article?—Yes.

18,334. You name an article, and so many of those articles are paid for at a certain rate?—Yes.

18,335. Does each article go through the hands of different sets of men or is the article completed by one chair?—It is completed by one chair.

18,336. Then it goes to be ground?—That is another operation.

18,337. Has the number of workmen been diminished; has this process of making labour scarce by keeping out apprentices succeeded in Birmingham so as to make the supply of labourers scarce?—There has been a scarcity of labour up to a very recent period, and it has been increasing ever since the termination of the lock-out which has been spoken of.

18,338. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You speak now of skilled labour?—Yes, and even of the unskilled, that is the third grade. With regard to those who are employed in glass blowing, there is first the skilled man who is the workman; the next grade is the servitor; and the third is called a foot maker, a name which does not exactly describe what his operation is except as regards one particular article, which is making the foot of a wine glass, for instance, or a goblet; but he commences the first stage of gathering out of the melting pot the piece of glass finally to be produced as the finished article; passing through his hands to a certain extent it is then handed over to the servitor, and from him it is handed over to the workman, and it is rather in the second and third grades that the increase in the price of labour and the scarcity of it has occurred.

18,339. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You were, I think, going on to say by what the scarcity has been caused?—That has been brought about partly by skilful management on the part of those who regulate the supply of labour, I mean the union, and partly by other causes, such as other countries, America for instance, requiring them, and their having been induced to emigrate. It being a skilled trade, a workman is not to be made in a few days or in a few weeks, or even in a very few years, but it takes time; and if a large number think it right to emigrate, the spaces that they occupied will not be filled up very easily. Consequently a scarcity is felt, for after all the flint glass trade is a small trade as compared with some other trades, and being skilled labour a man in that trade is a long while in perfecting from the commencement to an accomplished workman.

18,340. (*Chairman.*) Is there hereditary transmission; do many of the sons follow the same trade for generations?—Sometimes they do.

18,341. Not to a great extent?—No, I have known many instances in which the sons have not followed the trade of their parents for some reason or other.

18,342. Has the manufacturer been able to raise the price of the article in proportion to the increased price of labour?—The price of produce has very uniformly receded, that is to say, it has been diminishing at the same time as labour has been advancing.

18,343. (*Mr. Harrison.*) What as to the cost of production?—The cost of production has increased.

18,344. I mean excluding labour?—The materials fluctuate. I think that there is not any very material difference in the cost of materials now compared with what they were ten years ago.

18,345. Then profits have diminished?—Profits have diminished, but I would not represent it as altogether due to the price of labour or the scarcity of labour, because foreign competition is an element.

18,346. (*Chairman.*) Has that come in to any ascertainable extent?—Very much so, and is increasing daily almost. There are many articles now which are introduced from the continent in flint glass which formerly were inadmissible partly because they were of inferior quality, and partly because they were inapplicable to the English market and were more expensive. Now the quality is improving, and the cost of production and labour is greater in England than it is abroad.

18,347. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Have you any idea of what the proportion in the value of an average finished article is between the raw material and the labour?—About two thirds would be labour and other charges, and one third the raw material.

18,348. The raw material is cheap?—The bulk of it is sand, which is rather less in value now than it was 10 or 15 years ago; but then it is of very superior quality, hence the quality of glass now is very superior to what it was 10 or 20 years ago.

18,349. Chiefly from the better quality of the raw material?—Yes, and that particular material.

18,350. Labour forming that proportion of the value, anything which interfered materially with the price of labour should operate in raising the price of glass?—Yes.

18,351. But if it does not raise the price of glass owing to other circumstances, any interference with the value of labour is an important element in the case?—Yes.

18,352. (*Chairman.*) Have the terms upon which the employers and the employed deal with each other within the period of the last 10 years changed according to your judgment, because it has been said that the relation between the employers and the employed in the experience of many employers was much more amicable a few years ago than it is at present?—There is an improvement certainly in that respect, but there is very great room for still further improvement. The relations are still often very unsatisfactory, indeed, antagonistic, and there is wanting a greater degree of cordiality and mutual interest in order that each should be placed relatively in a position in which they could feel more satisfaction in working together. I daresay that there may be grounds of discontent on

Dr. G. Lloyd.

30 June 1868.

the part of the men towards the masters, but there is certainly still existing considerable ground of discontent on the part of the masters towards the men in consequence of that absence of mutual interest; so that there is a feeling rather of apprehension frequently if not constantly before the employers' minds of something that ought to be removed, which is an obstacle to their carrying on their business satisfactorily and successfully.

18,353. Have you any apprehension of being deprived of labour by a sudden stoppage of your men; is that the feeling of anxiety that exists in the employers' minds?—Not a sudden stop of the whole number of men. I should first state that in working those sets which I have spoken of it is absolutely necessary, if we are to work profitably and advantageously, that the whole of the chair should be completed. Now we are very apt to have broken chairs, that is to say, one or two of the set may be absent for a considerable time. We feel that a constant source of inconvenience and a source of loss. We feel, too, that this is an evil. It frequently happens that a man is suddenly called away, or he gives notice without giving any ground of dissatisfaction that he is about to leave, and on making inquiry he perhaps may inform his employer that he leaves because he is about to better himself and go elsewhere; he does not allege that he is other than satisfied with his then employment, but that he is, I may say, desired to go somewhere else; he is wanted somewhere else and he goes. When a man leaves in that way we may be kept and are kept frequently a very considerable time before we can get one equally satisfactory to the one that has left; and when one does come to fill the position he is invariably desired to apply for an advance of wages. It is ascertained what the wages were of the man who has left, and it is the policy of the union that the man who is to replace him shall require as much wages as the man who has left; and experience very often unfortunately proves that he is not worthy of the amount of wages that he receives, and consequently great dissatisfaction is felt, and it becomes frequently necessary that he should retire; and then the same difficulty occurs over again.

18,354. You attribute that to the action of the union?—I do.

18,355. A skilled workman without any reason that the employer knows of wishes to better himself, and goes, and the substituted workman though inferior in skill requires higher wages?—Yes.

18,356. And you suppose that that can be arranged so as to be profitable to the men by the aid of the union?—Yes, we consider that it is done by the skilful management of their own affairs.

18,357. You only know the result; you do not know what the arrangements are which the union makes?—No.

18,358. (*Mr. Booth.*) The union objects to your taking in a man's place another man at a lower rate of wages than he was receiving?—Yes.

18,359. (*Chairman.*) It is one union for the United Kingdom, as I understand you?—Yes.

18,360. And the workmen almost all belong to the union?—A very considerable majority. The number of non-union men is comparatively small. In certain districts there are almost no non-union men, in other districts there are more or less; but I imagine that, taking the whole country throughout, a considerable majority in every manufactory consists of union men.

18,361. (*Mr. Booth.*) Do the non-union men work in sets of their own?—They are mixed sometimes, that is to say that one or two members in a set may belong to the union and the others not.

18,362. Do the union men object to working with non-union men?—Sometimes they will not do it. I believe I may say mostly they object to it.

18,363. (*Lord Elcho.*) Have you found less objection to working with union men since your association has been formed?—The objection always did exist and it exists now.

18,364. Did the objection that the union men had to working with non-union men ever lead to a strike?—Yes.

18,365. Was that before your association was formed?—Before our association was formed.

18,366. Has it led to strikes since your association was formed?—I think not. There has been no general strike, nor I think any actual strike in our association that has taken place since that was terminated.

18,367. Were master manufacturers obliged before your association was formed to turn off non-union men on account of the objection of the union men to working with them?—Yes.

18,368. Have they since that association was formed been obliged to do so?—I am not aware of any case since.

18,369. (*Mr. Booth.*) Are you now allowed freely to take in non-union men?—I should say not freely; that is to say it is a hazard, and a master having but few non-union men would be careful of introducing another even if he could find another suitable to his purpose.

18,370. (*Lord Elcho.*) What is the subscription to your association?—10*l.* a year per member.

18,371. Are you bound to contribute to the funds of your association a certain sum for every man in your employment?—No, the subscription to the masters' association is 10*l.* a year only.

18,372. How many members of that association are there?—About 19 or 20.

18,373. So that your funds really amount to 190*l.*?—Yes.

18,374. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Is there no defence fund besides?—There is no defence fund now. At first we had a fund of 100*l.* at the strike that occurred in 1858; but since then the defence fund has not been maintained or increased.

18,375. (*Lord Elcho.*) Was that a fund of 100*l.* from each subscriber?—Yes.

18,376. At present you have no fund to support each other in case of difficulties and lock-outs?—No, excepting this way: there will be a small sum accruing because our annual expenses are much smaller than the annual subscription of 10*l.* each member, so that we have a few hundred pounds in hand.

18,377. Are you aware that the shipbuilders in the Clyde have an association consisting of 23 members, each of whom subscribes to the general fund at the rate of 4*l.* per head for every man and boy in his employment?—I was not aware of that.

18,378. You have nothing of the kind in your trade?—No.

18,379. And there is no question of establishing it at present?—No.

18,380. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You could call up the defence fund, could you not?—We are not pledged now. If a defence fund were required to be raised it would be necessary to form a new resolution. In fact I may say that the association when first established was intended to be only temporary; we only contemplated defending ourselves through that strike; and then it was a question whether we should dissolve, but the aspect of affairs was such that we did not think it necessary. At the same time we have never taken any step which could be considered hostile or in any way provocative of enmity as far as we know.

18,381. Have you a copy of the rules of the society?—I have put one in.

18,382. Are they the same as those agreed to in 1858?—Exactly, with very little alteration—no material alteration.

18,383. Does the rule with respect to the employment of fresh hands hold good now? "No member "of this association shall take into his employ a new "hand in any capacity as a glass blower without a "written character from his last employer; nor "shall he treat with one unless the man offering "shall have previously given to his then employer a "fortnight's notice of his intention to leave, and in "making an engagement with a new hand, it should "be stipulated in writing that a fortnight's notice

" should be given on either side either of leaving or " dismissal, excepting in case of dismissal from gross " misconduct" ?—That rule is in force with reference to the fortnight's notice; it is recognized throughout the trade in the Midland district.

18,384. Is any list of men who have been dismissed from their employment sent round to members of the association ?—No.

18,385. Was there any list of the kind sent round during the time of the strike ?—During the time of the strike there was.

18,386. But there is no standing list ?—No, there never has been any since.

18,387. (*Chairman.*) Is there in the carrying on of work on the premises any restriction upon the amount of production by each workman ?—Very considerable restriction, that is to say, a restriction to a certain amount of produce in a given time : it is considered that that should be strictly adhered to and not exceeded. If it is exceeded the workman who does so exceed is liable to a heavy penalty being imposed by the society, and that penalty I believe is inflicted.

18,388. Is it a considerable loss to the manufacturer that when he has all the expenses of the manufactory going on the produce is restricted in the way you have just described ?—Yes, it is a very considerable impediment in the production of the manufactory, and also in the way of meeting the competition which we are experiencing now from the foreign introduction of cheaper glass ; that is to say, if we were allowed to make as much as could be produced in the ordinary hours of labour, we should be upon very much better terms to meet that competition.

18,389. What does the workman gain by being restricted ? Say, for instance, that he is restricted to a dozen articles in the six hours, though he could make 18, what does he gain besides saving the muscular action by being prohibited from making more than 12 ?—I do not see myself what he does gain, unless it be considered (if that is a legitimate gain) that he prevents his master from producing as much as he desires to do. But it is clearly and demonstrably the workman's loss that he is not permitted to work as well as he can in the time during which he is employed ; he would earn more wages if he were. That makes it to the employers the more striking that such a regulation should be submitted to by the men themselves.

18,390. The men, we may presume, intend it to be for their own interest. Is that upon the assumption that there is a limited amount of demand, and that their employment depends upon that demand being only supplied in a graduated degree; is it any such idea as that ?—I am not capable of explaining their motives, but I only speak of the result. It is a manifest injury to the workman because it reduces the skilled and industrious man down to the level of the less skilled and idle.

18,391. (*Mr. Booth.*) Is it not from some notion of the unions that there ought to be what they call a fair distribution of the work amongst the members of the union, each getting an equal share ?—That is to my mind unintelligible. I do not see the sense of it.

18,392. You think it is only for the advantage of the inferior workman ?—Yes, but I believe that the gifts of nature or God ought to be appropriated to enable the well-conducted and industrious man to have the opportunity of enriching himself rather than that he should be impeded as he is by carrying the additional weight of the burden of those who are of the opposite character.

18,393. You think that he should be allowed to make the most of the gifts that God has given him ? —Yes.

18,394. (*Chairman.*) Is the limitation of the number of articles produced governed by the average skill, or by the skill of the inferior workman, and then is the man of the greater skill brought down to the same level ?—Clearly, in my mind; and it can be shown as often as there is opportunity of showing it, that the amount produced is only what can be produced by very inferior hands with very few exceptions. There are some technical bad jobs as they are called, in which it would be difficult for a man to exceed, but the greater part of the articles produced I am of opinion could be shown to be producible much within the nominal hours of labour, and by inferior hands; so that the superior and the highest of all are hampered and impeded in producing what they otherwise might do in order that they may be put upon the same level with the inferior ones. That seems to me the policy of the principle of restricting the amount of production that it is for the sake of the many who appear to be unskilled, and also not to be as industrious as they should be.

18,395. (*Mr. Booth.*) I suppose that the more unskilled workmen form in general the majority of the union ?—Certainly.

18,396. So that if there is universal suffrage amongst them they naturally would rule in that direction ?—Yes.

18,397. (*Chairman.*) I observe you have mentioned in your paper furnished to me that in the case of promotions that are unsanctioned by authority penalties are imposed ?—Yes, in the case of promotion without permission of the society.

18,398. What is the exact meaning of " promotion " ?—The rising from an inferior grade (I have described these grades) to the superior or second grade and to the highest. That is restrained not according to the ability of the aspirant young man but according to the policy in accordance with which the union think it necessary to direct their affairs ; so that a young man must, let him be ever so skilful, wait his turn until it is thought right that he should assume the higher rank and consequently the higher wages which the trade is capable of affording him.

18,399. As far as you understand it is another application of the same principle to keep the workmen on a level ?—Yes, exactly.

18,400. And as far as you understand it upon the level of the inferior grade ?—Unquestionably.

18,401. Would that be below the medium line between the least skilful workmen that will be taken into your factory and the most skilful one ?—Below the medium line.

18,402. (*Mr. Mathews.*) So that the master has no voice in the promotion of his men without consulting the union ?—He may do it sometimes and he does do it, but there is a risk.

18,403. Of getting his shop struck ?—Yes, or blocked ; that means an impediment put in the way of employers or workmen filling up the vacant situation.

18,404. So that the union assumes the power of control over the advancement of the men, irrespective of the wishes of the master ?—Entirely.

18,405. (*Chairman.*) Has there been any objection made to the improved procesess of manufacture and any impediment placed in the way of bringing them into use by the action of unions ?—I believe that the general experience is very much in accordance with my own observation, that any alteration is received with more than a want of alacrity to take it up, indeed with opposition. A suspicion seems to arise whether the improved process will not eventuate in more advantage to the employer than the employed, and unless an advantage to the producers can be clearly shown it is discouraged. I have known many instances, indeed so many instances that I have myself very often abstained from proposing and urging improvements which I see in my own mind are capable of benefiting both parties, because of that opposition, which is for the most part selfish or senseless.

18,406. Does the same feeling show itself when new patterns for articles are proposed ?—I think that as a rule a new pattern is received unfavourably, and it is generally considered that fewer articles of it can be produced ; that is to say, when the question is put, " How many can you make of these? " the disposition is to prevent the introduction of the new pattern rather than to encourage it.

Dr. G. Lloyd.

30 June 1868.

18,407. (*Mr. Mathews.*) So that you, as a scientific man, frequently seeing, I suppose, means of improving the processes in your trade, are interfered with in that by the action of the unions?—Yes.

18,408. You are afraid to persevere in the object you have in view in consequence of such interference?—Yes; I could mention one or two instances. I would mention one more particularly in regard to the introduction of a new furnace which I undertook some years ago, Siemens's furnace; and without wearying the Commission with details respecting it, I may say in a few words that I was strongly impressed with the principle of the thing being sound, and was induced to undertake it, perhaps it might be considered rashly, because it was the first introduced in England, except a small experimental one, so convinced was I of its economy and of its general utility; and I met with the very greatest opposition from my own men in carrying it out, so much so, that if I had not had rather more obstinacy in persisting in what I supposed to be right than they had in the opposite direction, I must have put it out and abandoned it.

18,409. (*Chairman.*) Did you succeed in that case?—I succeeded.

18,410. Have you a family capable of working with you, because we have had it stated in some of the trades that the employer has been able with his family to make the article and show its practicability, and so take the first step towards succeeding. Who are the men you get to work with you when the workmen in general are averse to a new proposal?—I am not describing now a manufacturing process as being objected to, I am describing simply the introduction of a new kind of furnace in which the glass is melted, not a mode of manufacturing articles but a mode of heating or melting the material to be worked into articles.

18,411. (*Lord Elcho.*) What was their objection?—I am not quite sure. The chief objection seemed to me to be that it was something new and that it might be adverse to their interests; the representation I had made to me was that the general feeling was that it might be adverse to the interests of the men themselves.

18,412. Who made that representation?—Men upon the spot.

18,413. Men deputed to confer with you upon it?—No, there was nothing of that kind. I had no formal representation of its being likely to be injurious, or any opposition in that way. It was what I should call a secret opposition.

18,414. They did not complain?—They did not complain except occasionally. I think they said that they were exposed to more heat, and that some inconveniences were caused in consequence of the shape of the furnace being different from what they had been accustomed to. But the heat was not greater than the heat in an ordinary furnace, and the inconvenience was, as I was satisfied at the time, very much exaggerated, because the shape is now precisely the same and no objection is made.

18,415. Did it effect the purpose of doing more work with less labour?—No, not in the way of making glass, but the effect was obtaining a higher heat, and consequently more rapid melting of the glass if wanted. but the great principle was economy of fuel.

18,416. So that it would not have diminished the labour of making the glass?—No, not in the making; there was no reason to be jealous of it in that respect.

18,417. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Did the objection come from the furnace men?—No, from the glass blowers, who have nothing to do with the management of the furnace.

18,418. Did they put their objection in any specific form?—No.

18,419. They did not state the ground of it?—No. I only mention that as an instance of impediment perceptible on the part of the men without sufficient ground.

18,420. And you work that now?—I work it now.

18,421. (*Mr. Mathews.*) The value of that furnace has been proved by its application to other purposes besides yours, has it not?—Yes.

18,422. It has been used for melting not only flint glass but plate glass, and steel, and anything in fact where a high and sustained heat is requisite?—It is so used.

18,423. Nobody now contests the value of the invention, I believe?—No.

18,424. I suppose that the use of refined flint glass, and table glass, and ornamental glass of every description, has enormously increased in this country as well as abroad?—Yes.

18,425. And the returns as given in the official table before us clearly show that there is a considerable increase of foreign glass, and a very large importation of English glass, into different European countries and Eastern countries for ornamental and other purposes?—Yes.

18,426. Coupling that fact with the fact of the restriction in the employment of labour, that has given the advantage to the workmen of dictating their own terms to a greater degree in your trade than in almost any other trade, has it not?—I fancy that is the case.

18,427. The only means of supplying the labour in the glass trade is, I suppose, through the means of apprentices?—Yes.

18,428. And if there is a greater demand for labour than has risen in other trades, and at the same time a restriction of the education of apprentices for skilled workmen, naturally the supply of labour is very materially restricted?—Yes.

18,429. And that restriction is controlled by the union, so that the master has been obliged to apply to the union for any hands he may want?—Yes.

18,430. The restriction upon the apprentices has been a material impediment to the glass maker in carrying on the trade?—Certainly. There is no possibility in the glass trade, as there is in other trades (in some branches of the iron trade for instance), for a man to go from one to the other. In those trades which are little more than mechanical that might be done, but no man could possibly come into the flint-glass trade after he had passed the years of youth, or say the age of 15 or 16, and acquire it; he must begin very young. So that if there is any amount of labour in other trades out of employment, those men could not come into the glass trade and acquire efficiency.

18,431. They could not acquire the necessary skill?—No.

18,432. So that the restriction of apprentices throws this impediment in the way of the operations of the glass maker, that if he wants additional labour he cannot go into the open market and say, "I want so many hands," but he has to go to the union to provide him with hands?—Yes.

18,433. Having provided him with those hands, if they are not of sufficient skill he is entirely at the mercy of the union to supply him with those they think fit?—Yes.

18,434. Do you see any way of the employers getting emancipated from that description of thraldom, except by throwing open the education of apprentices unlimitedly?—I see no other possibility of accomplishing it.

18,435. If you could bring in an unlimited number of apprentices, and educate them for artisans, it is the only chance you have of getting a sufficient number of skilled labourers to supply the demand which these exports and imports seem to indicate?—I see no other means.

18,436. How many houses are there in Birmingham connected with your association; I suppose almost all are?—Half of the Birmingham houses belong to the association.

18,437. They are not numerous?—The whole number is about 23 or 24 in Birmingham and the neighbourhood.

18,438. Embracing Stourbridge, Dudley, and Birmingham?—Yes.

18,439. And what number of skilled glassmakers' workmen are there, do you think, in the district?—It

is necessary to have a definition of "skilled" to answer that question.

18,440. I mean the ordinary glassmakers, such as you are obliged to go to the unions to supply in case you want more men?—"Skilled" is a comparative term, and I do not know how to obtain a standard, unless you take the medium between the highest wages and the lowest wages of those who are occupying the same grade. For instance, there are workmen varying from 25*s.* to 40*s.* a week. If we take the number of those in a manufactory, and multiply it by the number of manufactories, we might get at it.

18,441. If you take 25*s.* and 40*s.*, all between those extremes would be skilled labourers?—Yes.

18,442. An unskilled labourer would not get 25*s.*?—We should not call him skilled as a glass blower. They begin at 25*s.*, and they expect to rise to 40*s.*, but they are not all capable of doing so.

18,443. I want to ascertain whether the bulk of the men under the control of the union are necessarily men employed in the glassworks?—Yes.

18,444. And all the men whom you employ in your glassworks are more or less under the control of the union?—Yes, with few exceptions.

18,445. That makes the union, taking the circumstance of the restriction of apprentices into account, entire masters of the situation?—Quite so.

18,446. And you have no control over the labour market?—No.

18,447. You, in fact, are the instruments of the union for carrying on the operations of the trade at the artificial prices that the restriction of labour amongst your men necessarily involves?—Yes.

18,448. (*Lord Elcho.*) Is there any reason why the masters should not form as formidable a combination as the men? They have capital on their side, and the men have not, and if they choose to stand by each other, and subscribe for a defence fund, as the Glasgow shipbuilders have done, would not such a combination of capitalists be able to control the combination of working men?—There would be this objection probably in the first instance in proposing such a thing, that the master glassmakers are scattered over the kingdom at large intervals, consequently communication with one another would be difficult, in order to regulate by frequent meetings their affairs. Between London and Glasgow and Edinburgh there are dotted about districts in which the glass trade is being carried on; and again there is some variation in the modes of working, which seems to be admitted as constituting exceptions in the administration of the men's society, and it is difficult to understand how those exceptions are allowed to occur, because from what I have already stated, the whole trade being under the direction or influence of one union or society, we might expect that the same rule would be applicable to all the districts, but that is not the case. There is a variation in the amount of produce as well as in the value of labour in different districts; more produce is allowed to take place in the North than in the South or in the Midland districts, that is to say, the Scottish and Lancashire masters are, I may say, permitted (because I proceed upon the presumption, or rather the proof, that the whole is more or less under the immediate influence of the union) to produce more, consequently to have an advantage over the Midland and Southern houses.

18,449. Your own union is only local?—Ours is only local.

18,450. Is the union of the men general?—The union of the men is general all over the kingdom.

18,451. But if the men can form a general union, do not you think that the masters could equally form a general union, regulating it and modifying it according to local circumstances, as I assume the men do theirs?—There is a reluctance, I think, generally on the part of the masters to associate for the same objects that the men have in view. Whether it is want of confidence or what it may be I do not know, but there certainly is reluctance. And the masters' associations are comparatively very modern institutions, and I believe that the association of the masters in the glass trade in 1858 was the first example of anything of the kind.

18,452. (*Mr. Mathews.*) They are defensive, in fact?—Yes.

18,453. (*Lord Elcho.*) I am speaking of them defensively; why could they not form a general union?—There was even a reluctance to that, a reluctance amongst ourselves, and we would have abstained from it if there had been any other means of persuading the men to abandon the hostile position that they had taken, rather than imitate them in forming an, in some respects, equally objectionable association of masters.

18,454. Assuming that other means, such as co-operation and arbitration (which we will not touch upon now) fail, and that it is a question of a defensive association being formed, do not you think that a state of things might and probably will arise which might necessitate on the part of the masters an action similar to that which has been taken on the part of the men?—I think I can foresee that rather than the trade should be abandoned to the foreign competitors either altogether or very much more than it is at present, masters will be driven to something of that kind unless the unions abstain from interfering as they now do with the supply of labour and the amount of production.

18,455. And if masters are of necessity driven to do what you have described, and form such combinations, is it not probable that in such a war between capital and labour the capitalists would gain?—I fancy that it must be so in the end.

18,456. You have said, "failing other means." I presume that when you talk of "other means" you refer to the question of arbitration, for I see that you have put in a report here dated 17th September 1860, signed by yourself as chairman and by Mr. Green as secretary, which contains a proposal for a system of arbitration?—Yes.

18,457. Did nothing come of that?—Nothing.

18,458. Why so?—We found it impracticable as we believed, in consequence of the necessity of conflicting interests uniting voluntarily to obtain that, and we thought it was hopeless to attempt it.

18,459. Where did the hopelessness arise; did it arise on the part of the masters, or was it possible to get the masters to agree but the men would not agree to it?—We thought that a difficulty would arise in carrying out such a plan; that whatever decisions would be come to would want the force of law and compulsion, and that we should get into more complication, and not be able to arrive at anything like a just settlement of the dispute from the want of force. I believe in France, where, however, they are on a totally different footing from anything hitherto proposed in England, the decisions of the councils of arbitration are enforced immediately and summarily by the magistrate. Penalties or imprisonment are immediately enforced on conviction in consequence of the decision of the council of arbitration. But there all disputes relating to wages are excluded.

18,460. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Are you speaking of *Conseils des Prud'hommes*?—Yes; but it is the wages question which is the general source of dispute amongst us, so that if we excluded that subject we should have very little to deal with.

18,461. (*Lord Elcho.*) Have you yourself in questions of dispute with your men, or questions likely to give rise to disputes with your men, been in the habit of meeting them?—Yes.

18,462. Collectively, or certain men that you selected or they selected to confer with you?—Since the termination of the strike in 1859 I have been engaged in one or two disputes with my own men.

18,463. Were those disputes about wages, or modes of working?—About both; but chiefly about production. And I have also assisted in the settlement of disputes that have arisen in other manufactories, and I believe to the satisfaction of the parties concerned, the masters as well as the men. Though that was in a very humble way it seemed to my mind rather

Dr. G. Lloyd.
30 June 1868.

encouraging, as showing that private arrangements of that kind might be resorted to. But then those questions were not of a serious nature.

18,464. In your own case did you meet the men collectively?—I did not.

18,465. How did you meet them?—A body of them selected amongst themselves.

18,466. Were they the recognized organs of the union, or were they selected amongst themselves by the men at your works, unionists and non-unionists together?—By the unionists only.

18,467. And did they confer with you through any recognized officers of their union?—No, they did not.

18,468. Was it a question of wages?—It was a question of mode of working and of production.

18,469. And they came to your office and talked the matter over?—I required of them an increased amount of production in the shape of an increased number of articles produced in a given time, which they objected to. I gave them a list of what I considered I was entitled to as compared with other houses.

18,470. That was after you had met together?—Yes, and they considered that and also conferred with the officers of their union, and they came to the decision that no concession could be made, and upon that we joined issue.

18,471. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Were they your own men exclusively?—My own men exclusively who attended.

18,472. It was not a general question for the whole of the trade?—No.

18,473. (*Lord Elcho.*) Then that conference failed?—That conference failed.

18,474. Has it succeeded since?—It has not been attempted.

18,475. Have you known other manufacturers follow that course with success or failure?—I have not known any instance. There is a frequent subject of difference and a source of difficulty in the want of uniformity even in the same district.

18,476. Does your experience lead you to think that in cases of difference by bringing employers and employed together round a table to talk the matter over, without any legal power or means of enforcing decisions, disputes may be avoided?—I think they might.

18,477. In spite of this failure you have mentioned, you think that that might lead to a friendly settlement of the question?—I think it might, and it ought to be attempted.

18,478. That is a remedy, supposing it to be a remedy, which might be applied at once without any legal sanction, and might succeed immediately, whereas co-operation if it is to succeed would require years and years before it can become general?—Quite so. In addition to that I may say that I think that the proposed scheme which has originated with Mr. Mundella is the most practicable that I have ever seen, and is worthy of trial in any and perhaps every trade in existence.

18,479. Mr. Mathews asked you just now about the limitation of labour through the limiting of apprentices, and earlier in your examination our chairman asked whether in the glass trade there was such a thing as hereditary labour, men training their children to the trade. If apprentices are so limited can a man if he chooses at the present moment bring up his sons to the glass trade?—I think that he may do so.

18,480. But if there were in any factory as many apprentices as the union would admit, there might not be the opening for his son as an apprentice?—There are instances, and I have known instances, of men in the trade who, from a private opinion probably of the advantages offered by the trade in their own view not being sufficient, have preferred putting their sons into other trades rather than endeavour to keep them in the glass trade. I think it very probable that the union is decidedly in favour of admitting the sons of those already in the trade in preference to other persons. As a principle, they wish that it should be so continued, and a very proper feeling too, I think.

18,481. (*Mr. Booth.*) But do they admit any number of the sons of union men?—No.

18,482. They do not relax the restriction in favour of the sons of union men?—No, I never heard that.

18,483. (*Lord Elcho.*) So that practically it might come about that if I, being in the glass trade, wished my son to be in the same trade, there might be no opening for him?—Just so; he might be superannuated before there was an opening for him to be admitted.

18,484. He would be past the age of 15, which you say is the highest age at which he should enter?—Yes.

18,485. (*Mr. Mathews.*) So that there is a disposition to place the boys in a trade where they can find an unlimited field for their labour?—Yes.

18,486. (*Lord Elcho.*) You said that the foreign trade has been pushing out our trade. To what do you attribute that, assuming it to be the case?—Is it that the foreign article is a better article, an article better in design or material, or is it that it is cheaper?—I believe chiefly because it is cheaper.

18,487. Have you at all endeavoured to ascertain the cause of the comparative cheapness, assuming that it is cheaper?—My opinion is that it is chiefly on account of the difference of labour being against the producer in this country; that is to say, labour and its consequences, the price of labour, and the restricted amount of work, by which the English manufacturer is placed at such a disadvantage that he cannot in a given time produce the quantity or at the price that he ought to do to be in competition with the foreigner.

18,488. Have you any certain knowledge on those points?—I think so.

18,489. Have you yourself made any inquiry abroad?—I have not.

18,490. Have your association?—No; we only get information second hand—from hearsay. We have not made any special inquiry.

18,491. You are not aware whether it arises from the causes that you have given or from improved processes of manufacture?—Now that you put the question in that form, I do know that there are processes abroad which are the means of enabling them to produce better and cheaper articles in many instances than we are in the habit of producing in this country.

18,492. That very furnace that you have mentioned, Siemens's furnace, was a foreign furnace?—A German one; it was first introduced in Germany.

18,493. I think you said that you were the first person that introduced it into this country?—Yes.

18,494. So that it was a foreign furnace introduced by yourself?—Yes.

18,495. (*Mr. Harrison.*) But it had not been much used in Germany, had it?—Yes; for glass, and steel, and iron.

18,496. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Previous to its use in this country?—Yes, in Styria. I know that several furnaces were in existence there before 1860, which is the time that I commenced mine.

18,497. (*Lord Elcho.*) If you say that in addition to the causes which you first mentioned as giving the foreigner to a certain extent the command of the market in this country, there are such causes as improved processes of manufacture, and that you yourself have introduced one of these improved processes, namely the Siemens furnace, why are not these other improved continental processes introduced in your trade?—There is another which I have been anxious many times to introduce, but I have always been obliged to give it up; and though I could not probably, to the satisfaction of a jury, or any number of persons who might sit in judgment on the subject, prove to demonstration that obstructions are made on what I call union principle, yet I felt that I was not sufficiently encouraged in the introduction of the new process, and I have been obliged to abandon it.

18,498. Obstructions made by the men?—By the men. I allude to what is going on in France in the making of articles in wooden moulds, which are never used in England but are used most successfully abroad, and are the means of producing cheaper and good

articles, which we are obliged to make by hand in smaller numbers here and at a larger price.

18,499. The objection to that on the part of the men would be that it was doing away with skilled labour I suppose?—That a second-rate hand would be able to do what is now being done by a first-rate hand.

18,500. Have you proposed to introduce that, and has it been objected to?—Yes.

18,501. Do you know any other instance of an improved process which has been objected to in the same way?—I cannot call to mind any other now.

18,502. (*Mr. Booth.*) You have no doubt that in the absence of the interference of unions with your mode of carrying on the business, you could conduct it more profitably than at present?—Unquestionably.

18,503. That you could produce the articles at a lower price?—Yes.

18,504. And that you could more easily stand the competition of foreigners?—Yes.

18,505. And that would lead to an extension of your works and the employment of a greater amount of labour?—Yes.

18,506. So that, looking to the interests of the labouring class, that interference is injurious to themselves?—I believe that it is the interest of the employers and the employed that the trade should be conducted entirely free, and without restraint on the part of the unions as now exercised.

18,507. Taking a large view of it, you have no doubt that this kind of interference is injurious to the workmen themselves?—Quite so.

18,508. (*Lord Elcho.*) But it is the case, is it not, that in spite of the scarcity of labour which you have described as arising from the regulations laid down by the union, and from emigration, and in spite of this foreign competition, and the difficulty that you have, as you say, of introducing improved processes, the glass trade in this country has increased, and according to what has been put in my hand has increased by 75 per cent. in the last 10 years?—I am not able to answer that, because I do not know the figures. Does that mean the flint glass trade, may I ask?

18,509. The flint glass trade. I think it very likely that it requires discrimination. The great increase in the flint glass trade has been in a particular branch of it called the press trade. There are large houses in the North occupied only in the manufacture of pressed glass, glass pressed in a mould by which the cheapest glass is made, and a great proportion of that is sent abroad; and I think without being able to state precisely the figures, that it will be found that the bulk of that increase in export is in that kind of glass.

18,510. But assuming that this statement is correct, and that generally speaking the flint glass trade has increased 75 per cent., I presueme your conclusion would be that if it had not been for these restrictions on improved processes of manufacture and restrictions as to the particular way in which labour is to be employed, the increase might possibly have been 100 per cent.?—Yes, very likely.

18,511. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you work with a set of rules as applying to your particular district respecting wages and other matters between the employers and the employed?—The employers have no rules limiting the amount of wages.

18,512. There has been no written code of rules agreed to by both sides?—No, not agreed to by both sides.

18,513. But I suppose that there is an understood current rate of wages?—Yes, but there are exceptions.

18,514. As to the rule with respect to the employment of apprentices, you say that it was modified at the termination of the strike of 1858, and that then employment was resumed upon a new basis with respect to that?—Yes.

18,515. And that has not been altered since, has it?—No, it remains now as it was then.

18,516. The employers agreed at that time that that should be the number of apprentices?—Yes, but at the same time as that apprentice rule, as it is called, was so modified, there was an understanding expressed that at any future time it was open to further negotiation. It was not expected to be binding for ever, and there is a dissatisfaction on that point, that is to say, we are now urging, and have been for a considerable time, a further extension of that.

18,517. Did you consider it unreasonable at the time?—We found at the time that it was the best means of ending the dispute.

18,518. Do you consider that the number of glass workers in the trade, now, directly through the operation of that cause, is yearly reduced?—There are more manufacturers, and some works have been extended and new ones have been introduced, which have assisted very much, in conjunction with emigration, in making the hands scarce, because, as I said before, in the glass trade men cannot be made into anything like skilful workmen except in the course of years.

18,519. But the number of glass workers is not reduced since 1858, is it?—No, I should think that it has increased altogether.

18,520. Therefore the operation of the apprentice rule, whatever it may be, has not prevented the number of glass workers from increasing, it has not diminished the supply?—No.

18,521. Are you prepared with any suggestion as to an improvement in the law which would do away with the difficulties that you speak of; can you suggest any local court or any other machinery for that purpose, or what is the nature of the remedy which you would suggest?—I can say nothing excepting that we hold that employment of labour ought to be perfectly free and unrestricted; how that is to be accomplished I am not able to say. I do not wish to trench unreasonably or unfairly upon the action of those men who have found, and I believe originally with perfect justice, that it was necessary to combine together in order to defend and assert their own rights. I think that the unions originally had very just grounds for adopting those measures, but I think that of late years they have been exercising them in a way which is injurious to themselves as well as to the employers. I think that they have perfect liberty to unite together to value the price of their labour, and that only, that is, as to what wages they will choose to work for, but not to interfere with others; that is to say, that all men should be at perfect liberty not only according to the recognized laws that the unions may think it right to adopt themselves and to make public, but that even those laws which are not written, the unwritten laws, should be such as that the men by no interference indirectly or secretly should influence others by force or otherwise, who are not members of the union, so that there should be freedom on both sides.

18,522. It is perfectly open to you of course to employ anybody you please?—Not exactly.

18,523. Why not?—Because if we do not employ those who offer themselves and who are directed by the union to offer themselves we may go without; unless we agree to the terms of the union we may be left without men at all.

18,524. If you can find men willing to work on your terms, supposing that they are not members of the union, the union would not interfere with you?—No, because they are nearly all members.

18,525. But supposing that you intend to take somebody else, it is open to you to employ others?—They are not in being.

18,526. You mean that the glass workers think proper to work upon certain conditions, and if you do not accept those conditions they will not work for you?—Just so.

18,527. But it is perfectly open to you to employ any other people that you think fit?—If I were to exclude in my own long-established manufactory all union men, and determined to have none but non-union men, I could not maintain my manufactory.

18,528. Why not?—Because there are not the non-union men in existence. There are some in other manufactories, but they would not come to me unless

Dr. G. Lloyd.

30 June 1868.

I offered them, an extravagrant inducement to come to me.

18,529. That is only saying that the men in that particular trade are not willing to accept your terms, but I will not pursue that further. You spoke just now, as I understood, positively when you said that the trade might be largely increased and fresh appliances introduced, if it were not for the opposition of the union. Do you mean that that applies to the opposition of the union and not to the sort of opposition that is often formed from workmen apart from any association?—Combinedly.

18,530. If you introduce a new process, the probability is, I presume, that the men will have difficulty in working it quite as easily as the old one with which they are familiar, that it will take them more trouble and take time. Is it not your experience that workmen of all kinds are rather slow to adapt themselves to a change of plant which involves an increase of labour or trouble?—Undoubtedly.

18,531. So that in truth it is a general fact which is to be seen wherever men work at all?—Yes.

18,532. Do you mean that in introducing these new processes or new machines the men have objected to try them where a compensating equivalent in wages has been offered, an increase for the increased trouble or loss of time?—I should not apprehend that such would be necessary, because the object was rather to diminish than to increase the trouble.

18,533. No doubt it would be so ultimately. But, for instance, in the case of a new pattern, men, you say, have an objection to work a new pattern. I suppose it may be presumed that they could not at first work the new pattern quite as readily as the old?—No.

18,534. Would you in such a case offer increased wages or some compensation?—In such a case as the introduction of a new pattern something like this arrangement would take place. "This is new, and "it will require some time to get into the way of it; "and allowance shall be made for you to make a "smaller number for some time, until it is found that "you can produce the number required."

18,535. Do they object to it, then, in your experience?—Yes, there is generally a disposition to object to any alteration.

18,536. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Are these matters all referred to the union in the first instance?—Before any decision is come to they are.

18,537. (*Mr. Harrison.*) This objection you have spoken of is what we find in workmen in most parts of the kingdom, whether in union or not?—Yes, from those common causes of resistance, want of intelligence or appreciation.

18,538. The workman without scientific knowledge is very slow to see the value of an improvement?—Yes.

18,539. (*Mr. Booth.*) Do you think that those questions, when they from time to time arise between the employers and workmen, would be more satisfactorily adjusted if there were not the union between them?—Undoubtedly, there would be more disposition to meet the views of the employers.

18,540. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Supposing that there were no restriction imposed by the union or anybody else upon the employment of apprentices, do you think that there would be no disposition on the part of a certain class of employers or a certain number of employées to throw an undue proportion of the work upon boys partially skilled, and so to increase the labour and responsibilities of the higher class?—I think that such a temptation might present itself, and it would be irresistible, and that certain employers would be induced to do so.

18,541. Then you think that an understanding that there would be some reasonable limit in the proportion of apprentices to skilled workmen, if it could be agreed upon by the employers and workmen, would not be a bad thing to hold up as a standard?—I think it would be advantageous.

18,542. You only think that the union has pressed it too far?—Yes.

18,543. What proportion do you think would be desirable without infringing upon the present position of the superior workmen?—I do not think that I can at present form a judgment of what would be effected in the course of time. If we formed a practicable reasonable principle now, perhaps in a few years from the increased demand it would be necessary to alter it again.

18,544. At the present time the rule is one apprentice for two chairs, you say?—Yes.

18,545. And you think that the main result of that is to check the introduction of fresh hands into the trade, to limit the field?—Yes.

18,546. Do you think that one apprentice to each chair would be a reasonable limit?—I think it might, and that it would be reasonable for a considerable length of time.

18,547. Without throwing any fresh labour upon the workman?—Yes.

18,548. (*Mr. Mathews.*) As a general principle, is it not in your opinion objectionable to have any restriction whatever upon the education of labour?—I do think so as a principle, but there may be reasons why at the present time it would be more advisable to admit a certain amount of restriction which has been alluded to, than to go to the full extent of abolishing all restrictions.

18,549. As a rule, you would consider an unlimited supply of labour the proper state of things, and the exceptions should be such partial exceptions as you now allude to?—Yes.

18,550. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you not think that an entire freedom to introduce apprentices or boys without limit might lead to an inferior quality of work in the long run—cheap and inferior work?—No, I do not think that, because I think that the wants of the consumer would be an effective check upon that; that is to say, that there would be a certain demand for the produce of skill as well as the cheaper thing. The tendency has been for a great many years, it is true, in the direction of cheapness; that is pervading all classes of consumers. So that the thing will answer the purpose, cheapness seems to be the primary element in inducing persons to become purchasers. Taking things that years ago used to be considered fit for a certain class of consumer, now that same class of consumer is content with a shabby inferior article.

18,551. Then the tendency is towards an inferior article?—Yes; but then I hold that in many instances a skilled hand is cheaper than an unskilled one, because he could produce the article cheaper if he were unfettered.

18,552. Still that is not the opinion which is held by every employer of labour, is it?—No, perhaps not.

18,553. (*Lord Elcho.*) You say that the tendency in glass manufacture is to produce an inferior description of glass. Surely there has been a great improvement in the glass trade in this country as well as in others during the last 15 years?—Yes, in the higher branches.

18,554. So that you have two tendencies; a tendency to improve in the higher branches, and a tendency to cheapness in the lower?—Yes.

18,555. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You were asked by Lord Elcho whether these combinations on the part of the men, more particularly as regards education of apprentices, could not be met by counter combinations on the part of the masters. Do you think that any scheme of combination on the part of the masters could control this restriction of the education of apprentices?—I cannot contemplate it.

18,556. There would be no means of increasing the supply of labour by any scheme that the masters could devise if that restriction prevailed?—No, I do not see how it could be accomplished, particularly if it is objected to by that class from whom the apprentices will be obtained.

18,557. And generally speaking these associations of masters, not only in the glass trades but in other trades, are associations of a defensive character and

not for the purpose of making any aggression on the rights or liberty or freedom of the workmen in any way?—Quite so.

18,558. Still the difficulty remains of the supply of labour if there is restriction in the education of the apprentices?—Yes.

18,559. You were asked about the comparative prices abroad, in Belgium, and France, and Germany, compared with England. I suppose that the raw material is pretty much the same in those countries as in England?—I fancy it is.

18,560. The raw material being of a simple character, and easily accessible, it does not vary much?—No; I have purchased raw material and brought it into this country from Belgium in this state, the elements, the sand, and all the *et ceteras* melted together partially so as only to require re-melting, but I did not find any advantage from that.

18,561. In the same way as pig iron is imported?—Yes.

18,562. When was the import duty taken off glass?—The final extinction of the duty was about ten years ago.

18,563. And when was the excise duty taken off flint glass?—It had been diminished at two periods previously, but the last was taken off in 1842.

18,564. So that the glass trade has been unfettered by restrictions on the importation or the excise duty since 1842?—Unfettered as regards the excise duty since 1842, and as regards the import duty about ten years.

18,565. It appears by returns which we have before us that the imports of glass have increased from 92,040*l.* in 1854 to 791,882*l.* in 1867; that is about 800 per cent. increase in the importation of glass in that period. On the other hand, the exports in 1854 appear to be 572,813*l.* and in 1867, 800,323*l.*, an increase of only something like 40 per cent. in the exports as against 800 per cent. in the imports. Do you consider that that enormous discrepancy between the two is attributable to the cheaper labour of Germany and Belgium?—I suppose so.

18,566. In point of fact we may infer from that that whilst the freedom of labour has been comparatively unfettered in those foreign countries, the shackling of labour by the operations of unions in this country has operated to enormously increase the importation of glass whilst it has limited the manufacture?—I think greatly so.

18,567. That is the natural inference from those figures, is it not?—Yes.

18,568. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Has not the home production increased?—I do not know to what extent, but it has increased with the population.

18,569. Are there any glass workers now out of employment in your district?—I am not able to say whether there are any out of employment that might be employed.

18,570. If you wanted men, do you think that you could get them at this moment?—I have reason to think that I could not get the class of men that I should want.

18,571. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Could you get them without application to the union?—No.

18,572. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Would you say that the union has no unemployed men, for instance?—I am not able to say so. I shall have an opportunity of ascertaining that immediately because I want one or two.

18,573. Do you think that you will get them?—I think it doubtful, I have lately had one or two that have proved most unsatisfactory, and I must get rid of them.

18,574. During last year has there been any number of men in the trade wanting employment?—There has been a scarcity of useful men. You may after a time receive an application from a man to supply a situation, but according to my own experience and that of others it has generally resulted in an unsatisfactory supply, and another change is necessary.

18,575. I am speaking of the workmen of the first class?—The first class are not to be had excepting at a considerable advance of wages beyond their probable merits.

18,576. Are there men unemployed of that class?—No, they would be taken from another set of men. If a skilled man is wanted he will not be tempted to throw up his present employment without an advance of wages, and would not be allowed to take a situation without an advance.

18,577. (*Mr. Mathews.*) If there are any men unemployed, do you think that it is owing to the fact of their not being good hands?—Yes.

18,578. If you want good hands you have no means of getting them except by getting them from the union?—No.

18,579. The consumption of glass for use on the table and other purposes has increased very much, has it not?—Yes.

18,580. And looking to the increase of its importation, do you not think that if it had not been for the restriction placed on the operation of making glass the trade would have increased very much more than it has in this country?—It would.

18,581. If there had been an unfettered supply of labour the trade would have been in a more prosperous condition than it is now in?—Undoubtedly.

18,582. And do you see your way out of that dilemma on the part of the glass trade, except by throwing open the labour market for the education of labour sufficiently to supply your purposes?—I see no other way.

18,583. And you see no means of doing it except by counteracting the action of the unions in some way?—In some way.

18,584. (*Mr. Booth.*) You attribute the state of things at the present moment to the operation of that rule as to apprentices?—To a great measure, and to other restrictions which seem to have the policy of raising the price of inferior labour beyond what it is in reality worth.

18,585. (*Mr. Mathews.*) I see that one of the rules and regulations of the flint glass makers' society is a rule to this effect. After reciting the rules, it says, "Rules 4 and 5 are not intended to compel a master to "engage any man to whom he objects, or who is incom- "petent to fill the situation required, and any master "may have any member he prefers by telling the "secretary whom he desires to have." That I believe confirms the intimation you have given the Commission as to the mode by which men are engaged, namely, that you have to communicate with the secretary, and he will provide you with such a man as you wish to have?—Yes.

18,586. And if he does not suit you, you have to apply for a second, who may be worse than the first?—Yes.

18,587. That is not a satisfactory condition of things at a glass work, or any other manufactory, is it?—Certainly not.

18,588. And do you attribute a good deal of the mischief and inconvenience and injury felt in the glass trade, as well as the restriction in its operations, to such rules as that?—Quite so.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. William Robinson examined.

18,589. (*Chairman.*) You are a member of a firm of glassmakers in Birmingham?—William Gammon and Company.

18,590. Is your establishment a large establishment employing many men?—We employ, when we are in full work, about 200 hands, about half of whom are employed in the manufacturing process.

Mr. W. Robinson.

30 June 1868.

18,591. Is that in the manufacturing of flint glass?—Flint glass, table glass, and lamp glass.

18,592. And is the mode of manufacturing the same as was described by Dr. Lloyd, men working in chairs?—Precisely in the same form.

18,593. And have your firm been under the same restriction as to apprentices as was described by Dr. Lloyd?—Yes, we have, and have suffered materially from it during the past few years.

18,594. I was going to ask whether the number of workmen has been restricted, so as to inconvenience you as an employer from the supply having been less than your demand?—We have been inconvenienced at times; indeed, I may say that for the past three years till a very recent period, during which there has been a slackness of trade, we have scarcely ever had at work a full complement of hands; we have generally been short handed.

18,595. That causes a useless outlay?—Yes; a diminished production and necessarily an increased cost as regards the expenses. I can give the Commission, if they desire it, just one illustration of the working of the matter which has come within my own experience.

18,596. You have heard the statement of Dr. Lloyd. We should be glad to be favoured with any observations that your own experience may enable you to make, in addition to what we have heard from him?—I will just give one illustration, with your permission, of the action of this restriction of labour. One of the men of the third grade whom we call foot makers left us; he belonged to an important chair engaged in the most important part of our work.

18,597. (*Mr. Mathews.*) When you speak of an important chair you mean a particular position in the glass works?—He belonged to a chair engaged upon the better class of work, the finer class of wine glasses and tumblers. It was very important for us when he left that that place should be filled up immediately, but there was no other man out of employment (so it was represented to us by the secretary of the union) to fill that place, and we wished therefore to put on an apprentice.

18,598. When you say it was represented to you by the secretary of the union, you mean that you applied to the secretary of the union to get a man to fill the place of the one who had left you?—That is the necessary course; we cannot engage any man without the practical consent of the men in the factory. The union is represented by the district secretary in committee.

18,599. So that you are obliged to have recourse to the same mode as Dr. Lloyd has described?—Yes. As there was no man at liberty we wished to put on an apprentice; we had a youth who was the son of the principal workman of the chair then in want of an additional hand. He was competent and qualified to go on to serve his father in that capacity. The boy was anxious to go on, and the father was also desirous that he should go, (the boy was between 15 and 16 years of age, I think), but objection was taken to that, and the union wished us to offer higher wages to induce another man to leave a situation at some other manufactory.

18,600. You having already a boy whom you thought competent to fill the vacant place?—Yes, and there being no man out of employ we did not propose to put on the apprentice till we had ascertained that there was no other journeyman out of employment, but we objected to induce a man to leave one of our neighbours by the offer of higher wages, especially as the wages given at that chair were high wages. The consequence was that for two months or so the matter remained open, and the chair was working with two hands and a boy, instead of with three hands and a boy. At length, as we declined to offer higher wages, assent was practically given to the boy being put on, subject to a two months' notice for the apprentice. That is one of the conditions of the union, that two months' notice should be given before setting on an additional apprentice. I may say that that regulation was agreed to by the employers with the representatives of the union some time previously, but agreed to as the best terms we could obtain in the matter, not as a matter of choice but as a matter of necessity. But we conceived that two months having elapsed in the vain effort to settle the matter, that might fairly be accounted as the two months' notice for an apprentice, and that when the objection to the principle of putting on an apprentice was removed he should have been placed on at once; but the men interposed then, and required that there should be the two months' notice in addition to the previous delay that had taken place; so that the consequence of that was this, that from the 10th of November to the 10th of March, an important chair to us was kept short-handed, and the production of that chair reduced by some 25 per cent., as we conceived needlessly, and solely through the action and influence of the union. That is one of several cases which have occurred, and which I quote as an illustration of the action of the union.

18,601. (*Chairman.*) A limitation of the number of workmen does really give the workmen a control in some degree over the employers?—Yes.

18,602. (*Mr. Mathews.*) What is the nature of the contract that you make with your men when you engage them?—It is a simple engagement for wages at a certain rate and subject to a fortnight's notice on either side. Hiring is not allowed by the union, that is, the men are forbidden to engage themselves for any specific definite time, as for a year or two or three years, to an employer.

18,603. So that when you want to employ a man you have no means of employing him under contract for a lengthened period? The unions prescribe that you shall only engage him subject to a fortnight's notice on either side?—Those are the terms on which all men are engaged.

18,604. I suppose that the limitation as regards the education of apprentices is the same in your works as it is in the works of Dr. Lloyd?—Precisely the same, the works are of the same character.

18,605. And that prevails generally through all the glassworks?—Yes, through all the glassworks in the flint trade.

18,606. Where are your works?—In Great Brook Street, Ashted.

18,607. (*Chairman.*) Is there a rule that no man shall work in any department under a certain rate of wages?—The action of the union is to fix a minimum rate of wages, below which no man is to be employed.

18,608. (*Mr. Mathews.*) So that if it were to happen that workmen either incapacitated on the score of disturbed condition of health, or of want of sufficient adroitness in the department, were to offer themselves to you at a less rate of wages than that sanctioned by the rules of the union, they would prevent you engaging them?—Yes.

18,609. The operation of the rule would be that if a man were below the condition of a full amount of talent, or were in failing health, he would be excluded from employment?—Yes, practically.

18,610. It would not answer your purpose to give such a man the full rate of wages, and you are precluded from engaging him at a lower rate of wages than the full rate of wages established by the union?—Yes, that is so. In some cases we have taken such a man, and engaged a man not fully competent for the place, being obliged to give him the wages as if he were competent, that being the less evil of the two.

18,611. Amongst the numberless difficulties and obstructions placed in your way, you are obliged to choose the least?—Yes, that is the position we are frequently placed in.

18,612. So that if a man is under the mark on the score of health or efficiency, he is practically excluded from employment?—Yes.

18,613. You are prohibited from engaging him at a lower rate of wages than the full rate of wages, and it would not answer your purpose to engage him at the full rate of wages?—That is so generally. There may be some slight exceptions occasionally with

Mr. W. Robinson.
30 June 1868.

regard to simple and very common work; for instance, we have now one or two men who are not competent for the work to which they have been accustomed during past years, and having been old servants on the place, we have retained them in some inferior capacity in a different branch of the manufactory, and in that case they have not received the same amount of wages.

18,614. They have gone out of the control of the union in some degree?—Yes.

18,615. Do you find that the moral and social effect of these unions, as respects the intercourse between you and your workmen, is prejudicial?—Everything, I think, in the nature of unpleasantness and difference with the workmen, so far as my experience goes, has arisen exclusively from the action of the union. With regard to the men individually, it is extremely rare that there is any ground or reason for a difference of feeling or dissatisfaction on the part of the employers.

18,616. Speaking individually of the men themselves?—Speaking individually of the men themselves.

18,617. So that in case of any difference or dispute arising betwixt you and your workpeople, if you were to call your workpeople and confer with them in a friendly spirit in order to overcome the difficulty or remove the obstruction, that might be interfered with by the union?—Yes.

18,618. If it were not sanctioned by the union, such an arrangement would be broken up?—Yes, in several cases that have occurred the men, most of them, if they had to be dealt with individually, would not object, but would willingly concur in arrangements, but they are not at liberty to do so except with the full concurrence of a factory meeting or under the authority of the committee of the union for that district.

18,619. So that you confirm the opinion Dr. Lloyd has given, that with this organization of the union and control over the employment of men, they are masters of the situation; they dictate to you what men you shall employ, and will not allow you to employ any men that have not had their previous sanction?—That is so in effect.

18,620. (*Chairman.*) Is there anything else that you think would be of importance for us to know?—I think that in the questions which you put to Dr. Lloyd almost all the topics that require to be mentioned have arisen and have been discussed. I may say that in my judgment the action of the union is prejudicial to the interests of the best, most industrious, and steadiest workmen; that is my firm conviction, and it is prejudicial in this way—the action of the union limits the amount of work which may be produced in a given period in a turn of six hours. Supposing that the number of the article is 100 say, as an illustration, there may be ten or a dozen sets of men working upon that same article. They are bound not to exceed that number. It is quite practicable in many cases for 25 per cent. and even in some cases 50 per cent. more to be made within the same time, and the experienced and quick and diligent workman is precluded in my judgment by the action of the union from turning those qualities to an account which would benefit himself and also promote the interests of his employer.

18,621. So that if the interference of the union were to be restricted in regard to the operations which you are now speaking of, it would be beneficial to the workmen equally with the masters?—Yes, I have now a superannuated man who is in fact pensioned. He is past work, and as he has been on the premises a good many years, we allow him a small pension and he does nothing. In his younger days he worked frequently for weeks together at one article, namely, tumblers (of which we make a great many). The number which the men make now is 220 in a turn of six hours. Now for weeks together the chair in which that man worked, working the same number of hours and taking ample time out of six hours for refreshment, produced 300. And that applies to a great many other articles.

18,622. So that if a man were paid by the piece, taking away all restrictions upon the full operations of labour, he would be able to get more wages than at the present time?—He would be able to get considerably more wages. I believe that the earnings of the men, without increasing their hours of work, might be increased from 15 to 25 per cent., of course to the great advantage of the men themselves as well as the manufacturers.

18,623. (*Mr. Booth.*) And you would be able to produce the article at a lower rate?—We should be able to produce the article at a lower rate, because the expenses of the establishment are precisely the same upon 200 articles as upon 300.

18,624. (*Mr. Mathews.*) So that *pro tanto* it would operate in excluding the importation of those articles?—Yes, it would tend to that.

18,625. Do you confirm the view which Dr. Lloyd has expressed with regard to the education of apprentices and the necessity of increasing the area of education in order to supply skilled workmen?—Yes; I believe also that the action of the union, while it is prejudicial to the pecuniary interests of the best workmen, has also, generally speaking, as regards some portion of the men, a deteriorating influence in this respect, that the men of less steady habits and diligent disposition are more indifferent as to the style and character of their work and the desire to do it well than they would be if they did not feel as I am persuaded they do, that, come what may, they have the union to fall back upon to secure them a certain rate of wages or pay in the event of their being out of work. And we have had repeated instances of that sort of feeling.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. Thomas Joshua Wilkinson examined.

Mr. T. J. Wilkinson.

18,626. (*Chairman.*) You are the secretary, I believe, of the Glassmakers' Society of Birmingham?—Of the United Kingdom.

18,627. And the head office is at Birmingham?—Yes; it is at Birmingham.

18,628. Have you given in the rules of your society?—I have handed them to the secretary.

18,629. How many are the members now?—About 1,700 paying members.

18,630. And what is your rate of subscription—is it 1*s.* per member every week?—There are two grades of payment; 1*s.* 3*d.* is the high grade, and 1*s.* is the low.

18,631. Who pays the shilling?—The foot maker, the third hand in the chair. There has been a misrepresentation by Dr. Lloyd upon that matter. You must understand that there is more than one grade or set of glassmakers. There are some chairs that employ skilled foot makers or the third hands; and some chairs that employ very unskilled foot makers; consequently it might create a confusion in the matter when put in the comparative manner that Dr. Lloyd has done. In fact the whole is thoroughly divided according to the class of work the man makes. You get a first, second, and third-class man at a wine glass, and the same at almost every article throughout the trade.

18,632. It is 1*s.* 3*d.* a week that is paid by the first-rate workman?—It is 1*s.* 3*d.* for the workman and servitor, that is for the first and second man; and 1*s.* for the third, let his abilities be what they may.

18,633. And the boy you do not take in?—No.

18,634. (*Lord Elcho.*) How many workmen of those three classes are there in the United Kingdom, unionists or non-unionists?—Non-unionists we do not take into consideration at all.

18,635. But I want to know how many there are of that class of non-unionists similar to those paying to

Mr. T. J. Wilkinson.

30 June 1868.

your union?—Those who pay in our society as workmen and servitors number over 1,390.

18,636. Out of the union do you mean?—No, I do not know anything about those out of the union.

18,637. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You could not tell what proportion of the workmen in the kingdom the union forms?—No, we take no statistics of the non-union men at all.

18,638. (*Lord Elcho.*) Have you no idea on the subject?—I have a belief that quite nine-tenths are union men.

18,639. And they amount to 1,700 you have said?—Yes.

18,640. (*Mr. Mathews.*) So that there are only 2,000 men employed at the glass trade altogether?—Not more, I think, that you can term glass-makers.

18,641. (*Chairman.*) How long have you been secretary?—Twelve months this month. There is a change every three years.

18,642. Did you know anything about the strike that was brought about 10 years ago?—Some little.

18,643. Were you in Birmingham at that time?—Yes. To my knowledge the account of the first commencement of the strike given by Dr. Lloyd is a misrepresentation.

18,644. What would you say was the subject of contention between the two parties, the employers and employed?—In the first place Mr. Glazebrook, before the strike commenced, applied for a workman or a servitor, and we sent for a man from Edinburgh, and paid his expenses to Stourbridge, and when the man came he refused to employ him but wanted to employ an apprentice, after putting us to the expense of sending for the man.

18,645. According to you, Mr. Glazebrook applied to you, the union, for a man, and you offered to furnish him one, and instead of taking the man sent by the union he said, "I will employ an apprentice "because my apprentice can do the work," and then the union said, "You shall not?"—You must understand that he first applied to us and put us to the expense of sending for the man, and then afterwards repudiated the man when he came.

18,646. Supposing that the man had been on the spot, and the master had applied to you, and you had offered him a competent man to be servitor, and he had said, "I would rather employ my own apprentice," you would have objected to that, I suppose?—Yes, it is the understood rule of the union that we combine to protect the interests of the members. Consequently if a man is out of work we consider that that man is entitled to have the work that he is competent to do in preference to the apprentice, according to the law of supply and demand.

18,647. If you have a man that can supply that labour, the employer must take the man you offer?—Well, we consider he ought to do so; we do not make it an imperative duty always that he should do so.

18,648. The way in which your laws are enforced is, if it comes to the ultimate step, to "strike" that man?—Not always. It simply happened in Mr. Glazebrook's case that a certain amount of prejudice sprung up between the men and the employer, and if two men fall out it is very often the case that they cannot see reason where if a third party is introduced as in the courts of arbitration and conciliation, matters may be rectified; but in the unsettled state of mind of the two parties they could not see reason and they both turned stupid, and hence the strike.

18,649. (*Mr. Mathews.*) But in the case of your sending a man to an employer, as in Mr. Glazebrook's case, and his not being satisfied with the man, would you allow him to choose any man he wished, whether apprentice or otherwise, without the concurrence of the union?—I cannot see how we can allow him without the concurrence of the union, if he applies to the union.

18,650. Supposing he were to say, "I will take "such a man as offers himself, and as will suit my "purpose," what would the union do in that case?—Leave the matter open; as a number of men combined, we leave the matter an open question whether or no the set of men he goes to work with, shall work with him.

18,651. Your experience would be that the union would interfere and say to the men, "We part with "this man, and so you must not work with the man "any longer"?—Not so. We leave it an open question. I may say before going any further, in reference to the evidence of Dr. Lloyd, that the employers are too vague and too general in their imputations; and there is a vast amount of misrepresentation, and mixing up the truth with untruth, and that gives rather a strong impression against the society; whereas if the charges made would take a definite form we could easily answer them.

18,652. (*Chairman.*) The substance of Dr. Lloyd's evidence is that the trade union does really regulate the supply of labour, and I suppose the union is established for that very purpose. He would rather have the opportunity of going out and hiring anybody in his department he likes, but the union object to that and say, "There are certain men that you must take your labour from"?—At the same time Dr. Lloyd tells you that nine-tenths of the men belong to the union, and that of course none of those men are sent for unless through the officers of the union, consequently he can only get at them by acquainting the secretary that he requires a man, and we promptly supply him if the man is there to be supplied at all. The question of whether his abilities suit or not we cannot decide until he is tried. We do not interfere in any shape or form as regards the discharging of the man if he is not suitable for the work.

18,653. (*Mr. Mathews.*) In the event of your recommending a man to Dr. Lloyd or anyone else, and that man not suiting the views of the parties to whom he is recommended, and of their choosing to engage a man themselves, what in your opinion would be the result on the part of the other men with whom he is engaged; would they strike against him or continue to work in combination with him or not. I do not ask your rule, but your opinion as to the course the men would adopt?—A great deal depends upon the surrounding conditions attached to that case.

18,654. (*Chairman.*) The facts, I suppose, would be brought before the board or rather a lodge at Birmingham. If a question arose at Birmingham you would not submit it to the whole of the glassmakers' society, but you have a body at Birmingham to which you would submit it?—The great bulk of labour differences that come before the men in the trade are settled by the men and the employer in their own factory. I may say that 19 cases out of the 20 are settled by the men and the employers amongst themselves, and we do not know anything about it.

18,655. Is there an executive committee?—Of course there is an executive committee. If there are any appeals to be made they are open to receive those appeals.

18,656. Is there an executive committee for the district of Birmingham?—There is always an executive committee belonging to each district as well as the executive of the trade.

18,657. (*Mr. Mathews.*) What I want to ascertain is this. Dr. Lloyd has stated in his evidence that he could not get workmen, and that it is not the custom generally for the master glassmakers to engage workmen except by the instrumentality of the officers of the union, and you state in one of your rules that application must be made to the secretary of the union whenever a master wants a man, is not that so?—To the factory secretary upon the spot.

18,658. If a master were to engage a man without referring to the secretary of the union, what would be the result of the operations of the union in that case; would they sanction such an engagement, or overrule it, or recommend the men to strike against it?—I may say that a number of cases have come before my own individual notice where employers have engaged men in that manner, and there has been no interference by the society, and there have been cases where the man

they have been required to work with they have objected to work with, not because the employer engaged him for that situation, but because they had some special reason of their own why they objected to work with him.

18,659. Is that the special reason of their not belonging to the union or not ?—You will see that their not belonging to the union is so rare an occurrence; but most likely it would be from want of ability to perform the duties he is engaged for by the employer.

18,660. Is it rare because nine-tenths of the men in the glass trade belong to the union ?—Yes ; I must say that the skilled workmen belong to the union and the unskilled do not.

18,661. You think that the men not in the union are generally unskilled ?—Generally the men not in the union are unskilled—there may be one or two exceptions, but very rare exceptions.

18,662. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Is it the practice when an employer is in search of fresh workmen and applies to the union, that he applies to somebody outside his own works, or to somebody inside his own works ?—The system of the society is this : There is a central secretary and executive ; and a district secretary and district executive ; and each manufactory has a factory secretary, and if there is anyone wanted in that manufactory, if the employer just informs the factory secretary that he wants such and such a man he immediately applies to the district secretary to see if there is a man upon the roll competent to take the situation. This is done simply to facilitate the obtaining the man required.

18,663. But the employer practically deals with his own men ?—With his own men. We keep a roll of unemployed men, and the first man upon that roll who is competent or supposed to be competent to undertake a situation when there is one applied for is the man we send for, if it is from the other side of the three kingdoms, and we pay his expenses to come to that situation.

18,664. (*Chairman.*) Then the practical course is for the employers to speak to the factory secretary and the factory secretary to the district secretary ?—Yes ; if there is a man upon the roll he is sent for at once.

18,665. (*Lord Elcho.*) I suppose that the lists are mostly kept by the district secretary ?—They are printed often by the central secretary and forwarded to the district secretary, and if there is no man upon that printed list that the district secretary can write for to fill the situation he immediately writes to the central secretary to see if there are any that are not printed.

18,666. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you find then at present that you have men in want of employment ?—We have something like 130 men out of employment.

18,667. Then probably you might be able to oblige Dr. Lloyd ?—A great deal depends upon the class of work he wants done. I may say that latterly a great demand has sprung up for the first-class workmen, such as those making the finest wine glasses, and there are none of them out. There are very few that are really good at that process, and those men do not become unemployed very often.

18,668. What is the average number of men you have had at any one time out of employment within the last 10 years ?—I think the last six months we have averaged from 100 to 130 men out of employment. For five years the payment by the employed has averaged something like 16*s.* a man to the unemployed members that have been walking about. I am under the mark if anything in saying that 16*s.* a man has been paid per annum by the men employed to the men that have been unemployed, consequently showing that, although there has been an extraordinary trade a portion of the time, still there has been a sufficiency of labour.

18,669. (*Lord Elcho.*) And are some of those 130 who are now unemployed unemployed in consequence of the strike ?—None.

18,670. But through want of demand ?—From want of demand, or some such cause.

18,671. Or is it that they are not skilful enough ?—One of the principal causes, I may say, has been the pushing forward of the young hands before the apprentice law came into operation in 1859. It creates a kind of mushroom glassmaker that they push forward as servitors and workmen, some who in some of the better class of work are not competent footmakers. They are pushed forward to undertake the work of a first or second man, though they are not competent to take the position of a third.

18,672. (*Mr. Booth.*) Does your society make an allowance to all the members out of work ?—Yes.

18,673. Is that 16*s.* a week ?—No, it averaged that to each employed man per year.

18,674. (*Chairman.*) How much is allowed to men out of employment ?—We pay the workman and servitor who pays 1*s.* 3*d.* a week, and the footmaker who pays 1*s.* a week, two-thirds of the following. Rule 11 says : " Any member being sick or unemployed shall " receive 12*s.* per week for 13 weeks, 10*s.* for 13 " weeks, 8*s.* for 26 weeks, 6*s.* for 26 weeks, and 5*s.* " for 26 weeks." Those who pay 1*s.* per week receive two-thirds, and then they come upon the superannuation rule in accordance with the number of years they have been members.

18,675. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Has the number of workmen in the trade increased within the last 10 years ?—Something like 70 or 75 per cent.

18,676. Although the limitation upon apprentices has been in operation for 10 years ?—In 1859 the first law was agreed to by the employers and ourselves in Dudley, but afterwards there was a memorandum agreed to by Dr. Lloyd on behalf of the employers and Benjamin Smart, then the executive secretary, on behalf of the employed. That was agreed to more recently, somewhere about 1861.

18,677. Notwithstanding the operation of this limitation upon apprentices for 10 years the number of workmen in the trade has increased 70 per cent., and at the same time you have had a very considerable proportion of your men unemployed ?—Not in the 10 years ; we have not had a considerable portion unemployed ; it was a running number, has been from something like 40 up to 150—it fluctuates.

18,678. But I understood you to say that the average was represented by the 16*s.* you spoke of on each man ?—For the last five years.

18,679. Would it be more or less for the preceding five years ?—A little less, perhaps.

18,680. (*Mr. Mathews.*) I think you said that the subscription to your fund was 1*s.* 3*d.* for the higher class of workman and 1*s.* for the lower ?—Yes.

18,681. What is the amount of reserve you have now ?—A little under 9,000*l.*

18,682. And that is invested, I suppose ?—Yes.

18,683. And that becomes the security for payment to those people out of employment and the people who have an allowance for old age ?—Yes, and the current income.

18,684. (*Chairman.*) If a person is out of employment by reason of want of demand then he has so much ; if he is out of employment because he is out of health has he an allowance ?—Yes. Two years ago we paid 1*s.* 9*d.* for the trade fund alone. Then we incorporated the sick section, and last June we amalgamated the two sections, simply made them into one society. Now the 1*s.* and the 1*s.* 3*d.* also includes a sick payment. This rule has been altered in regard to the sick payment ; it is reduced to 9*s.* for 13 weeks, 7*s.* 6*d.* for 13 weeks, 6*s.* for 26 weeks, 5*s.* for 26 weeks, 4*s.* for 26 weeks, and 2*s.* per week (supposing that the man has not been a member 10 years) as a superannuation allowance as long as they are ill.

18,685. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Do you consider that your investment of 9,000*l.* is sufficiently strong to guarantee the payment of those sick allowances, as well as the payments in old age ?—The alteration in the sick allowance was brought about because we found from

Mr. T. J. Wilkinson.

30 June 1868.

examination that the 3*d.* extra paid per week was not sufficient to support that sick payment. Although we have amalgamated the two funds, yet it is the duty of the executive to take care that the expenditure of the sick fund does not exceed the income of that particular section, that is the cause of the alteration.

18,686. In case of a strike or a lock-out you would pay to your members a certain weekly allowance out of your reserve fund?—Yes.

18,687. Supposing that were to extend over any considerable period there would be nothing left in that case, I suppose, for payment of the sick benefit, would there?—That is a condition that I really cannot answer for.

18,688. There is nothing to prevent such a thing happening?—It is possible.

18,689. Your reserve fund of 9,000*l.* would be liable in the first place to the payment of men unemployed; and secondly liable to this superannuation and sick fund. Do you consider that the reserve fund is ample for both those purposes?—I do not, we are increasing it.

18,690. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Has it ever failed?—No.

18,691. How long has it been established?—Since 1849.

18,692. And since 1849 you have uniformly met your liabilities?—Excepting the short period of the strike that unfortunately occurred in 1858 and 1859.

18,693. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You consider that reserve fund hardly competent to discharge the obligations upon it without further payment from the members?—As far as we are able to judge, we think that we shall be able to meet all the liabilities of the society.

18,694. If you were to have any doubt upon the point, you would immediately increase your annual payment or have a levy?—Yes. You see we have not only the money invested, but also the responsibility of the members in work at the time, they are liable to an increased payment.

18,695. Supposing a man is excluded from your union, what particular grounds are there upon which you would exclude him?—Non-payment.

18,696. Or supposing that there was an order to strike, and he refused to concur in the strike, you would exclude him then, I presume?—We never have done so.

18,697. Is it one of your rules that you should?—No.

18,698. You would not consider him excluded by taking any action of his own, independently of the union?—No.

18,699. There is nothing that would forfeit his interest in the fund, except non-payment?—No.

18,700. (*Mr. Booth.*) Do you know how much the strike of 1859 cost the reserve fund?—No, I would not attempt to give it from memory, because I had so little to do with it myself. I was out of work at the time, not from the dispute but prior to the dispute.

18,701. Did it make a considerable inroad upon the reserve fund?—It did so, but we found sufficient to meet the demand.

18,702. Did you find it necessary to make a special call?—No, no special call was made at the time.

18,703. Whatever was necessary to draw was drawn from the reserve fund?—I believe so. My friend, Mr. Leicester, corrects me and informs me that there was 5*s.* a week paid during the time of the strike, by the men that were employed at the time. Being out of work myself at the time I could not say.

18,704. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You were not secretary then?—No.

18,705. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You cannot speak from your personal experience, as you have been the secretary only 12 months, of what took place previously?—Not very accurately.

18,706. (*Chairman.*) Are you aware of the rule which Dr. Lloyd mentioned, that the workmen of considerable skill are not allowed to produce above a certain quantity of work in the time? For instance, 100 articles only may be produced in the turn, when if the men had their will they could produce 120, but the union forbids that. Are you aware of any such rule as that?—I am not. There is no rule in connexion with our society at all that enforces anything of the kind. In reply to that imputation I may simply say that the old custom of the trade, independently of the union, before the union came into existence, in a great measure brings about the two moves or journey system, and it regulated a certain amount of produce per turn, that is according to a given time. Since then these matters have been altered, and I may say that throughout the 22 districts or branches of our society there are 17 unlimited in produce, and I may also say there are more than two or three employers that object to having more than two moves made in the six hours journey, because they say that hurrying of the work deteriorates the quality of the articles produced.

18,707. You say that before unions were known that custom was introduced?—Before our union was in existence.

18,708. The usage of the trade was that a workman should not put more than a given number of articles in the turn?—In the journey.

18,709. What was the reason for the workmen restricting themselves, because it seems to be against their own interest? If you were in one chair and I was in another and you could produce 120 and I could produce only 100, why should not you get the amount of profit that there would be upon 120?—I admit that, but why they did 20 years ago do these thing I cannot answer.

18,710. They always act upon a notion of their own interest, we may presume, and the working men in a skilled trade have very clear notions many a time of their own interests, have they not?—Yes; but sometimes, like the employers, they are apt to mistake even their own interest.

18,711. You do not see any advantage to the workman in restricting a man of skill who can produce 120 in saying, "You shall not produce more than 100"?—No; I may simply say that, in regard to the district where the restriction has been more lax, perhaps, than in any other district, that is in Manchester, instead of the trade condemning that laxity, we rather applauded it, and recommended other districts to adopt a similar course at our last conference held last June in Edinburgh.

18,712. (*Mr. Harrison.*) The policy of the society since it has been in existence has been to diminish existing restrictions upon production, and not to increase them?—More to diminish them than to increase them.

18,713. How long in custom or in fact has there been a limitation upon the number of apprentices; I do not mean any written rule signed by parties, but how long in fact or in custom has there been such a limitation?—Speaking from my own individual knowledge, I can say that I commenced work when very young in the trade myself, and I know I was kept back, not from any rule of the society, but from the understood custom of the trade, and that is 30 years ago. I was kept in the position of a taker-in till I was pretty nearly 20 years of age, not from any law of any union but from the custom of the trade.

18,714. You mean to say that the custom of the trade has imposed limits upon the apprentices which, so far as the union have dealt with, they have merely reduced to writing and a system?—They have merely reduced to a system what the employers themselves had agreed to.

18,715. Is that restriction more stringent now than it was 20 years ago?—I think not.

18,716. You have reduced the limitation?—Yes, we have reduced the limitation.

18,717. What is the ground for the policy of restricting the number of apprentices which in your judgment made it desirable?—The limitation of apprentices is simply because we consider that as working men who have been brought up in the trade, and devoted a number of years to learn it (as Dr. Lloyd has told you it takes 20 years to produce a

glassworker), we have a right in a certain measure to limit the supply in accordance with what the demand may be, and you can see in the rules that the employers themselves also agree to that limitation.

18,718. Have you found that there had been or was growing up a tendency to employ apprentices unduly, or what was the evil against which you directed that movement?—Our idea is that we support our own poor; we spend a large sum of money in supporting both the superannuated and unemployed belonging to our trade, consequently we consider that we have a right to regulate the in-coming labourers in accordance with what the demands of the trade may be. You will observe that our trade is peculiarly situated by the men working in sets, and no man being strictly accountable for his own labour individually, everyone is either hampered or assisted by those who work with him. And as regards the apprentices there is no particular profit that accrues to the man for learning the apprentice; the profit goes to the employer's interest, not the man's. Thus it is that we believe we have a right (in fact I affirm that we have a right) to regulate the supply in the trade according to the demand.

18,719. Supposing that the limit which Dr. Lloyd suggested of one apprentice to each chair were carried out, or supposing that it went wider than that, and that there were three apprentices to two chairs, what do you suppose would be the effect of that upon the skilled workmen? Supposing the limit were extended, and double the number of apprentices were brought into the trade, would that increase the work of the workman who had so many more apprentices?—Of course it would.

18,720. And ultimately diminish his employment?—It would ultimately diminish his employment and affect the quality of his work immediately.

18,721. What do you consider is the maximum number of apprentices with which a set of men can efficiently work?—That is rather a peculiar question for me to answer.

18,722. (*Chairman.*) There is a boy we have been told in every chair; is the boy always an apprentice?—No, the boy is not recognized in any shape or form until he comes into the third position, and that is the time when he becomes apprenticed to the trade. The minor boys are continually coming into the trade and going out of it.

18,723. (*Mr. Harrison.*) The apprentices are only the foot makers?—The apprentices are the foot makers.

18,724. Do you consider that if the present rule were relaxed, so far that there were more apprentices, the work would at once be inferior?—The work would most decidedly be inferior. You cannot turn out so good wine glasses with an inexperienced apprentice foot maker that you can with a journeyman foot maker, and that would apply to many other articles in the same way.

18,725. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Should not that be a question for the master rather than the workman?—No.

18,726. If the master found that those men did not turn out the articles for the credit of his factory could he not discontinue employing those men?—The fact is that the apprentice earns about half the amount of wages, and frequently hampers the other two men he works with.

18,727. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You mean that where they are both working together the deficiency of the third man, the apprentice foot maker, would be made up by the superior labour put into the article by the other?—It would have to be made up or the man would suffer in his wages.

18,728. If you are driving a pair of horses and one is an inferior horse, you can get the carriage drawn by putting more work on the willing horse?—Yes.

18,729. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Would not the driver soon discard the bad horse if not up to his work?—They do not give him the power to do so. The employers do not limit it to the foot maker. It is carried further, nearly to the middle age of the man. As he advances from stage to stage in the work he is expected to serve a number of years before he is entitled to the full understood wage in that class. I know a young man who has produced goods at 10*s.* a week less than another man, and yet produced them of the same quality; and the only reason given is the one I state.

18,730. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Why is that?—From the understood custom of the trade.

18,731. Dr. Lloyd has complained of that, and says that that man is kept down by the action of the union. You do not admit that?—Of course not. Our idea is that if the man is competent when moved from serving to working to do as well as the man before him he is equally entitled to the same amount of money according to his ability.

18,732. (*Mr. Booth.*) Is the master to judge whether he is entitled to this higher wage?—The work shows itself.

18,733. But who is to judge, the master or the workman, of the quality of the work?—That enters into another question which Dr. Lloyd raised about a man leaving without a dispute. Dr. Lloyd said that a man without any disagreement will be ordered to leave, which I say is a misrepresentation. He will not be ordered to leave his situation and go elsewhere for more money. I say this, that it often has happened, and does happen, that a young man will get advanced to be a workman, and that he has the abilities to produce the same quantity and the same quality of work as the man who preceded him, and yet the employer will want to keep him there three or four years before he gives him full journeyman wages to produce that; and if that man is offered another situation by another employer at a fair rate of wage, is it not a part of natural political economy that he should accept that higher rate?

18,734. (*Mr. Harrison.*) I understood that Dr. Lloyd considered that course a mistaken policy; that where a man was competent to be advanced to a higher stage, and the employer was willing to advance him and desired to do so, the union put their veto upon his advance into the higher rank?—There you confuse the two questions.

18,735. (*To Dr. Lloyd.*) That is as you stated it, is it not?—Not exactly.

18,736. Would you be good enough to explain it a little further; I understood you to say this, that where a workman of a lower grade was competent to be advanced to a superior grade, and the employer was willing to employ him in that way, his "promotion" (I think that was the word you used) could not be managed except with the assent of the union, and that that was not always given, but the union put a bar upon the man passing from a lower class to a higher?—If it is done without their consent there is a penalty attached to it.

18,737. (*To the witness.*) What have you to say on that point?—Promotion from one stage to another, and a rise of wages in accordance with abilities, are two different questions. The question that I was speaking upon before you introduced the other point was the rise of the wages. Promotion from one class to another is different.

18,738. On what ground do you interfere with that promotion?—The only ground upon which we interfere is this: if there is a servitor required, that is a second-class man, and we have (and this does happen frequently) several men competent to fill that situation walking about doing nothing, we consider that a man has a right to that situation before a boy is put into it.

18,739. What you mean is this, that when there is a vacancy in a certain class you consider that the unemployed old workman of that class has a right to that employment before a new man is introduced into it?—Yes.

18,740. That whilst there are unemployed members of a class the class should not be increased by fresh hands?—Just so, or otherwise it would create a greater supply than the demand required. If a man has been brought up into the middle of a trade and

Mr. T. J. Wilkinson.

30 June 1868.

has a wife and children depending upon him for subsistence, it is a hard case if a boy is put into that berth that he ought to occupy.

18,741. Had that been the custom of the trade, or was it introduced by the union?—It has been an understood custom ever since I have known the trade.

18,742. (*Chairman.*) Have you a rule about it amongst your rules?—No, there is no rule at all amongst them about it.

18,743. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Have disputes which have stopped works partially or for a short time been more frequent or less frequent since the establishment on a large scale of the general union?—I really do not know of any individual dispute or collective dispute since 1859 that has resulted in the stoppage of any works. In fact I may say in reference to disputes generally that for the last 16 or 18 years we have endorsed the idea of courts of conciliation and arbitration. It is the custom of the trade, and the usage of the society, and the understood law of the society, that whenever disputes arise, if they cannot be settled amicably between the men and the employer on the spot themselves, a deputation should be sent by the society to try and arrange matters in an amicable way; and I am happy to say that in quite 99 out of 100 cases the deputation has been able to settle the dispute satisfactorily.

18,744. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You have never been obliged to go to a court of arbitration?—No further than that. I may say as to those deputations, that the intelligence and good feeling of the men has always accorded the power of settling the disputes to those men.

18,745. The disputes have all been settled previously to going to a court?—They have not gone directly to the court—in a measure our deputations partake of the same spirit as a court of arbitration.

18,746. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Have you any district in the kingdom in which there is anything like a working code of rules like that in the Midland counties in the building trade, rules signed by both employers and employed?—No, none but those in this book.

18,747. Those are your own rules?—Yes.

18,748. Did they receive any assent from the employers?—Only as far as the apprentice limitation is concerned.

18,749. Hours of labour and things of that kind are entirely regulated by custom?—Yes.

18,750. (*Chairman.*) You say that you have sent deputations when there has been a dispute. Have certain men been very frequently sent, that you have considered to be men of remarkable temper and discretion and qualified for that task, or have you chosen them at the moment?—Chosen them at the moment, not always the same men.

18,751. Who chooses them?—The men themselves that send them.

18,752. If there is a dispute in the factory, the men of the factory choose three or four men to represent them with the employer; do you mean that?—No.

18,753. In what way does it act?—If a dispute occurs that cannot be settled, they generally bring it to a district meeting, and then they all without any more to do about it, elect a deputation from that meeting to wait upon the employer to see if they cannot adjust the dispute.

18,754. How many factories are represented at that meeting?—The whole of the factories in the district are represented at that meeting.

18,755. How many are there in the Birmingham district?—14.

18,756. And how many are at the board, may all the subscribers come?—It is open to anyone belonging to the society.

18,757. But you have a committee?—Yes, but that election takes place at a general meeting, it is an open matter altogether.

18,758. These men that go upon the deputation are chosen by the meeting?—By the meeting.

18,759. (*Mr. Harrison.*) It is the action of the workmen in the trade, not of the union specifically?—It is the action of the workmen.

18,760. As a fact they are members of the union, but it is not the specific act of officers of the union, but the act of a meeting called for that special purpose?—As I said before, when a dispute arises and they cannot settle it amongst themselves, they generally bring the dispute before a district meeting, and for the satisfaction of ourselves, the officers of the society and the members generally, we elect a deputation to see the employer to see if the men's version of the story is true, and to see if we can settle any misunderstanding that arises.

18,761. (*Chairman.*) About how many are on the deputation in general?—It will vary from one to three or four.

18,762. Is the secretary for the time being frequently on the deputation?—Frequently so.

18,763. The secretary is elected, he does not come in by rotation, but is chosen to be secretary on the ground of his being supposed to be a fit man?—Yes.

18,764. And then the secretary is very often on these deputations?—Very often elected to go on them, he does not go on them by virtue of his office.

18,765. (*Mr. Harrison.*) With regard to the history of the strike of 1858, will you be able to speak to that or Mr. Leicester?—I know but very little about the strike itself.

18,766. (*Chairman.*) In reference to the minimum rate of wages, is it the rule that no servitor shall be allowed to take less than the general amount?—No, we have no rule.

18,767. Then is that the usage?—The usage of the society is simply this, that if a man applies for a situation to do a certain class work, and the employer offers him a certain class wage, it is most frequently left an open question whether he accepts it or not. But we do not force the man to accept the lower wage; he is still, if he does not accept it, open to receive from our fund. If he does accept it there the matter ends.

18,768. You have no objection to the man working cheaper than the established rate?—In some cases we have an objection, but as a general rule we leave it an open question with the man and the employer. If he does not accept the offer we still support him, but if he does, we do not banish him from amongst us.

18,769. (*Lord Elcho.*) You heard what Dr. Lloyd said about the desirableness of employers and employed, in cases of difference, instead of resorting to strikes or lock-outs, meeting in a room, or round a table, and talking the thing over, and communicating with a view to try and get the question settled without a resort to strikes and measures of that kind. Do you agree in that?—Our actions endorsed that before the doctor recommended it.

18,770. From your knowledge of the feelings of the men, do you think that there would be a general desire on their part that instead of having this war of classes between capital and labour, some such steps should be taken to bring about a better understanding between capital and labour than appears now to exist?—I do.

18,771. And do you think that it would work well?—I do think that it would work well. In fact, I may say, that recently I have not only offered to have a number of men delegated from the workmen to a number of employers, but I have also offered to throw open the pages of our magazine to any employer that likes to write any article he thinks fit upon the action of the society in reference to themselves.

18,772. (*Lord Elcho to the witness.*) Do you think that if such a system were adopted, questions which now lead to disputes, questions as to the rate of wages and questions as to the introduction of cheapening and improved processes, instead of leading to disputes, might be amicably settled by the employers pointing out to the men that in the case of wages the state of trade abroad and in this country really did not admit

of their paying what they had been paying, or of their raising wages, if there were a demand for a rise; and in the same way, by their pointing out that although apparently the introduction of such and such a process might have the effect of putting an unskilled man where a skilled man was, yet upon the whole it would be beneficial to the trade, and would enable the trade to compete with foreign countries,—do you think on the whole that if such questions were so reasoned over with the men they would be amicably settled?—I must remark that the example you have given me of the probable questions that may be brought forward between employers and employed bears a very strong aspect.

18,773. But are not those the questions that will and do necessarily arise in the course of trade?—Yes. Of course they would open a wide question. I may say, in reference to foreign competition, that we have gone further than perhaps any other society. We have suggested a deputation of both men and employers visiting these foreign sites, and reporting themselves from the individual knowledge they may acquire, what will be the probable result of the competition between the foreign glass manufacturers and themselves.

18,774. That they should send a joint committee, as it were?—We have suggested such an idea as that.

18,775. Has it been proposed?—It has not been openly proposed, but they know that if it were suggested we should be prepared to carry it out.

18,776. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Would it be any part of the policy of your society to support men who had resisted the introduction of a new process, or a new machine, or a new pattern, where there was no grievance? Supposing for instance a case in which they had carried that resistance to the point of striking, would it be any part of the policy of the society to countenance that?—No. I thank you for introducing the question, as it enables me to refute the imputations cast upon the society by Dr. Lloyd. I am sorry that he should have proceeded in his evidence as he did in reference to the introduction of improved methods of working or patterns. It is entirely erroneous. Unions, so far from being adverse to the introduction of anything of the kind, have always supported them. I may give as an instance what is called the press trade, belonging to the glass trade that is carried on so extensively in the North of England, and the immense amount of goods that are produced by a portion of the unskilled labourers that work at this press work produced by iron moulds.

18,777. Will you explain what is press work?—They are pressed in an iron mould by machinery, and they are only fire polished; they are not manipulated by the tools.

18,778. That is the introduction of a process by which things are much cheapened?—Yes, such as tumblers and goblets. And also there is another little improvement that has been introduced of late years by some employers, that instead of being opposed by the union has been encouraged. This wine-glass which I have in my hand was made on the gadget, a small piece of machinery that does away with the necessity of cutting in the centre of the foot. The old original process is the punty, or piece of glass fastened to the centre of the foot, and the top part of the wine-glass is finished whilst it is in that state. The new process cheapens the wine-glass something like 3*d.* or 4*d.* a dozen. Also it lessens the amount of accessory labour necessary in handing from place to place, and the loss of time in getting up any orders for the article. I introduce that to rebut the imputations of Dr. Lloyd in reference to the opposition of the unions against improvements.

18,779. What part had the union to do in the introduction of that?—The union did not introduce it, but they have done a great deal towards fostering it and throwing it open to the trade, instead of prohibiting or acting against it. As regards the wood moulds, my employer, who is here, knows that I introduced the matter to him myself in reference to the wood mould that is used upon the continent. Having had the honour of being sent by the Society of Arts to Paris, I had occasion to go, or rather I forced myself in a great measure into a glasswork, for the purpose of seeing their process of producing glass; and so far as the hand work is concerned, the danger of the competition to England is very small indeed; but in the wood moulds I must say that they have an immense advantage over a great many goods produced in England by the ordinary tools. That is one of the cheapening processes introduced by the foreigners. Another is the use of spar instead of red lead in the material used in the manufacture of glass. The labour abroad may be cheaper, if wages are put against wages in England; but if the amount of benefits bestowed upon the employed by the employer is put alongside their wages in comparison with ours, I contend that they are better off than we are ourselves in that respect.

18,780. (*Mr. Robinson.*) As Mr. Wilkinson has alluded to me in the matter, I very cheerfully acknowledge the correctness of what he stated, that he did suggest to me two or three months ago, with reference to one particular article made on the Continent with the wood mould, the desirability of following that.

18,781. (*Chairman to the witness.*) Taking the production of a French labourer with the price of his labour, and putting that on one side, and taking the production of an English labourer with the price of his labour, and putting that on the other side, do I rightly understand you to say that the English employer has a better bargain than the French employer?—No. I say that the condition of the French workman, as far as the pounds shillings and pence question is concerned, if you take besides his wages the benefits he would receive, is better than that of the English workman with his wages only.

18,782. (*Lord Elcho.*) What are those benefits of the French workman?—These, so far as I was able to ascertain: there are various things that are distributed; for instance, the refuse of the furnace is cleansed of its dirt and filth, and distributed amongst the men to use for fuel in their own houses; plenty of them live rent free, or have a monthly allowance in lieu of house room; and if they stay in the employment until they become old men they are superannuated by the employer, and have an allowance; and if they are in sickness part of their wages is paid them.

18,783. Do you know what proportion is allowed them?—I do not know the exact proportion. Not understanding the French tongue I had some difficulty in getting even what I did ascertain.

18,784. (*Mr. Harrison.*) The employer there answers some of the purposes of the union?—Some of the benefits of the union he does afford.

18,785. Did you ascertain whether by custom or in any other way there was any restriction on the number of apprentices?—I was just going to refer to that question. I could not obtain any positive information relative to the number of apprentices except from Government statistics, which I have given in one number of our magazine, in which there is a passage extracted from a Government book published every 10 years, showing the number of apprentices to the number of men employed in the trade in Paris. But I may say as regards the production that I saw them making a commoner article than this glass in my hand, somewhat similar in shape; there were three men and five boys engaged in the occupation, that was their set, eight of them, and they produced according to their own information 30 more in six hours than we produced with three men and one boy. Now, whether the production of that chair was more profitable than ours is for you to decide.

18,786. (*Chairman.*) How many do you put down in England as the number to produce in six hours?—Of the wine-glass that I mean, a set of four produces in Birmingham and in some of the other districts, to my own certain knowledge, 160, and these men

Mr. T. J. Wilkinson.

30 June 1868.

produced 190 with eight pairs of hands instead of four as we have.

18,787. (*Mr. Mathews.*) With double the labour they only produced 30 more wine-glasses?—Yes, and they have five men there.

18,788. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You mean that you found there a great diminution in the actual produce?—Yes, according to the number employed. That was at the works of M. Monot, at Aubreville, outside the fortifications of Paris.

18,789. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Does not the greater part of the glass imported into this country come from Belgium?—I will not undertake to answer that question; I am not sufficiently informed.

18,790. (*Chairman.*) You say that in the glass trade the apprentice begins at a higher stage than in other trades, and you take longer to train him?—Yes. Four of these boys were taken in as assistants; they assisted the men; they were not what we call foot-makers. There is this difference in the apprenticeship of France and of England, that a boy is out of his time at something like 16 or 17 years of age in France; he is not out of his time here till he is 21; and I have an idea that this restriction in the Factory Acts, of not allowing boys to go into the trade till they are 13 years of age will really put aside some of the necessity of the limitation of apprentices. If you put them to begin five or six years later in life you cannot produce them so fast. Of course it remains for time to show whether that will be so or not.

18,791. (*Mr. Harrison.*) I see by this list to which you have referred me, that out of 604 workmen there are 79 who receive nine francs, and in the case of nine of them 10 francs a day; those are wages at least as high as are paid in this country, are they not?—It varies so; there is such a variety of classes and stages in the trade that it is a very difficult matter to get the average amount. There would be some difficulty in ascertaining the real difference between the Frenchman and the Englishman. As far as that table is concerned, those figures do not give us the workmen servitors and foot-makers, so that we could make a comparison between the three stages, but they lump the men altogether; whereas, to get at an accurate statement, it is necessary to divide them into various classes.

18,792. It is stated here that there are nine men that receive 10 francs a day, that is 60 francs a week, which is 2*l.* 8*s.* Would there be, out of 600 men here, 10 men who receive 2*l.* 8*s.*?—Yes, if they work the same. The rate is 15 per cent. higher in Paris than it was 10 years ago.

18,793. (*Chairman.*) We understand that the wages have risen 20 per cent. for boys, 10 per cent. for servitors, and 5 per cent. for first-class workmen. How is it that those at the head of the union have taken so much more care of those boys than of themselves?—There there is a mistake. The bulk of that third class that have received that 15 or 20 per cent. rise of wages are foot-makers; and the bulk of them are married men with wife and children. Previous to this rise they had only been getting 16*s.* to 18*s.* a week if they worked the four days.

18,794. Then it is the fact that the union thought that one portion of the workers were unduly kept down, and they used their efforts to raise that portion?—Yes. Although the weakest, they gave to them, or assisted to get for them, what they considered to be a just amount.

18,795. (*Mr. Harrison.*) It partly also fell in with the policy of restricting the number of apprentices, because it would tend to make the employers less willing to increase the number of that class?—Yes.

18,796. Is this a monthly magazine of which you have spoken?—Quarterly.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. J. Leicester.

Mr. Joseph Leicester examined.

18,797. (*Chairman.*) I believe you have some statements to make to the Commission with reference to the evidence which we have just heard?—Yes, I should like to say one word with reference to the raising of the wages 15 or 20 per cent. for the lowest grade, whilst they were only raised five per cent. for the highest. I should explain that many of those foot-makers (who are in the third grade), really are men, and not boys, and they are men with families. The Commissioners might go away with a wrong impression that these people are really boys, but there are a class of men in the third grade that do what is in truth boys' work. There are some forward boys that can do the work of those men, but still as they have been brought up to the trade you cannot throw them aside, they are men with families, and the trade thought that this useful arm of the trade should be properly helped. They had perhaps only 12*s.* a week in 1859, and the conference then held recommended the masters to raise their wages, and there has been an agitation for a rise in reference to that class which accounts for the fact spoken of by Dr. Lloyd. Then with regard to the necessity for the apprentice rule, I may state that previous to 1849 that rule did not exist. In Manchester, it was notorious that masters there always kept a large supply of boys in the factory, and when there was a man that did not suit them they sent him out directly and took one of those boys. The consequence was that we had a great number of men on the unemployed list, and the men endeavoured not so much to interfere with the law of supply and demand as to modify it, so that it should not work any mischief, and they made this apprentice rule, which is rather stringent; but we have offered to modify that rule over and over again if the employer will take the responsibility of the bad work of the boys. A proposition has been made in our quarterly magazine in this way: In consequence of the unskilled boys working with the men, and their work being mixed with that of the men, it would spoil the men's work; but if the masters would take the responsibility of the bad work of the boys, and pay the men for the work they did, we would throw away that apprentice rule altogether. But they have never met that offer, and I think it is a monstrously unjust thing that an employer should put a boy with me and make me lose my wages for teaching that boy.

18,798. How would you lose your wages?—For instance, the boy that is put on makes the foot; the foot is the most important part of that glass (*holding up a wine-glass*); if that foot is badly made it spoils the bowl and the stem, and the master says to the man, "You should have seen it."

18,799. You mean that that wine-glass would not count?—That wine-glass would not count, and that might be a diminution of half the man's wages.

18,800. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You would lose time in teaching the boy?—Yes. Mr. Gladstone told us the other day that he would not teach a boy unless he were paid for it. I work at Messrs. Powell's, in Whitefriars, and I have worked there for 20 years. He behaves in a generous way to us. When he puts a boy on he gives us 10*s.* 6*d.* per week for six months, till he is fit to do the work; I have one under me now who is a clever boy, and I am allowed extra for teaching that boy, for my loss of time, and so I have an interest in teaching him, and of course I am responsible for the bad work, but I take care that there is no bad work.

18,801. (*Mr. Booth.*) That is the arrangement between you and your employer?—That is the arrangement between me and my employer; and if the employers generally would do the same, there would be no difficulty about this apprentice rule.

18,802. Is it not best that such a thing should be

left to be matter of arrangement between the individual workman and employer?—If human nature were perfect it would be so, but the experience of the last 20 years seems to teach one this, "I must get as much out of you as possible."

(*Mr. Robinson.*) With reference to the practice in my own factory, and in Birmingham generally, I may be allowed perhaps to state, that there is a fixed scale of compensation to the workmen for teaching the boys; and with regard to the foot-makers, when a boy is taken from the fourth grade and made a foot-maker, an allowance is made to the workman for teaching him of a sum of 40*s.*

(*Mr. Leicester.*) There are degrees in that kind of thing; there is such a thing as an unjust remuneration; there is something that is not quite what it ought to be. Now I am quite content with mine because I see it is adequate.

18,803. (*Mr. Mathews, to Mr. Leicester.*) Is your objection in regard to the employment of apprentices limited to the remuneration; should you object to an increased employment of apprentices, provided the workmen to whom those apprentices were assigned were properly remunerated?—I believe that the evil of restriction with regard to the limiting the number would be reduced to its lowest possible point if that principle were adopted.

18,804. There would be no objection, then, on the part of the union to extending the employment of apprentices?—It would destroy that feeling, I think. With reference to what the colleague of Dr. Lloyd has said about the man in the union leaning upon it for support, and not looking to his trade, I repudiate that altogether. Only yesterday a manager came to me and told me that a firm in London had been broken down, in consequence of the dissipation of non-society men. Now we hold a man responsible for his conduct. We say, "If you are drunk or idle we will not support you." Here was a place broken up entirely in consequence of the inebriety of the men, who were responsible to no one; and the employer came and asked me if I could get him better men in the society. And I could enlarge the experience of Dr. Lloyd and his colleague very much, by stating other facts of a similar nature.

18,805. (*Chairman.*) Is it not your experience that there are society men of both kinds; men whose influence is for good as well as men whose influence is for evil?—The decalogue can be no incentive to wrong doing when it says, "You shall not do so and so," on pain of suffering for your bad conduct. We say the same. If that is moral influence we use it to influence their conduct in the right direction.

18,806. You have found some of the members of the trades unions use their power to torment others, though other members are of the opposite character?—Still I believe that by no process of *bonâ fide* reasoning can a trade union be condemned.

(*Mr. Robinson.*) I may say on this point also that I am responsible for the remark to which Mr. Leicester alluded, and I wish to state that I by no means intended to convey that the intention and direct influence of the unions was to encourage irregularity and laxity and idleness on the part of the men. I am free to admit that the design and intention of those men who now have the control of the union is the other way, and I am also free to confess that I believe that the general tone and feeling and conduct of the men as a body has improved of late years. In that respect I believe there has been an advantageous influence exercised, and designed to be exercised by the action of the union. But that does not alter at all the fact which I stated that men of indolent and bad habits, men not diligent or ambitious to make progress in the trade, practically rely on the support that is behind them, and manifest a degree of indifference with regard to the character of their work or the opinion of their employers; and we only retain such men because if we dismissed them there would be great difficulty in obtaining others, and it is a choice of the least of two evils. I do not for a moment insinuate that the action of the union, that is to say, of the officers of the union, is to encourage that conduct.

(*Mr. Leicester.*) There is another point I should like to refer to, namely, with regard to that dictatorial rule, as I have no doubt the Commissioners are under the impression it is, where the masters are compelled to apply to the union when he wants a new man. We have not made that rule from any spirit of wishing to make the masters in any way subservient to the men, but as the easiest way for the master to secure the man he wants. Here is a peculiar trade. There are but few men really skilful in it. The master wants a skilful man. If you take a cartload of potatoes through the street it is remarkable how soon the littlest ones get to the bottom, and by the process of natural gravitation men always find their level in the glass house. We know where to pick out the man wanted because we keep a roll, and we say to the master, "There are so "many skilled men, if you will give the price you "shall have them." There is nothing whatever like tyrannising over the employer. The rule says, that he shall apply to the secretary or district secretary. That was made merely that the master might have a better method of obtaining the man he wanted, because we pay for all these men coming, and I think when you see a body of men taxing each other for each other's good, you might trust to that progress in humanity which will result in finding things better by-and-by.

18,807. (*Lord Elcho to Mr. Leicester.*) You have heard what has been said with reference to this question of arbitration, the employers and employed meeting and talking over their differences instead of fighting. Do you think that it would be desirable to bring about such a state of things?—I do.

18,808. And from your knowledge of your fellow workmen in your own trade generally, do you think that if masters and men could be brought together, to talk over their differences, it might lead to happy results?—You see that ignorance possesses very little sense to which reason can appeal; you will always find that, I believe. But I may mention that when I went down two years ago to a large meeting of that kind in Yorkshire, I told the men there that I must concede something, that I would not go in saying, "I must have this and that," because I found that sort of notion prevailing.

18,809. Did you find any difficulty in getting the men to agree to that?—No, we had to concede something and the employers did the same, and we dined together and it came off perfectly well, and the men were satisfied.

18,810. You being a person chosen by the men to represent them?—Yes; I might refer to the case of the Nottingham operatives. Mr. Samuel Morley, speaking there lately, said that previous to the time of the Court of Conciliation there were always contentions, but now that they have got the Court of Conciliation or Arbitration they have never had one case where the law was ever required to bring into force the decision of the court. The men would always willingly bow down to that decision because they have great confidence in it, believing it based in justice.

18,811. Do you think that any attempt to bring about such a state of things would meet with a ready response on the part of the men in your trade?—Yes.

(*Dr. Lloyd.*) There are two or three points which I should like to state in the way of rejoinder to the contradiction which has been offered by the last two witnesses to some of the statements I made. I think it but right that such a reply should be made; in the first place it was stated by Mr. Wilkinson that there was no fine or penalty attached on the part of the society to the men for increasing the amount of their production if they thought it right and advisable to do so.

18,812. (*Chairman to Dr. Lloyd.*) I think what we were told was that there was no rule of the society against that, was it not?—The written

Mr. J. Leicester.

30 June 1868.

law or book is what Mr. Wilkinson avails himself of, I suppose.

18,813. I understood Mr. Wilkinson to say that there had been a limitation in force before the trades unions came into operation, for some reason or other best known to the workmen, that there should not be more than a certain amount of produce within a given time, but that the tendency of the unions has been rather to a relaxation of that prohibition than to an increase of it, and that in 17 districts out of 22 there is now no prohibition against a workman producing all that he can in his six hours, that for five districts out of that number there would still remain a prohibition, but that the union has done what it can to relax the prohibition?—If it is said that there is no rule against that I am afraid that advantage is taken of the printed rules. I say that there are actions which are attributed to rules on the part of the society by which there is still a restriction of that nature, and I would simply put this question to Mr. Wilkinson before I state an example on my side of the question in refutation of what he says: Are my men at liberty to make more work than is now laid down according to the rule of numbers, that is to say, for example, can I require my men to make 120 jet moons instead of 110 in a given time?

(*Mr. Leicester.*) Dr. Lloyd wishes to put 20 more moons for the men to make for the same sum; of course that will not be agreed to.

(*Dr. Lloyd.*) It may be the sum or it may not be the same sum. What I ask is, "May they make them if I pay them?"

(*Mr. Wilkinson.*) According to the usage of the district of course not. Where this restriction has been taken off by the various districts it becomes the custom of the district, not an isolated fact applying to an isolated individual. Where the society acknowledges it we do not admit that a single individual out of 300 or 400 men should go and do it directly opposed to all the rest, but as I told Dr. Lloyd last week, we had a special meeting on Saturday night last to consider the question whether we should bring into operation in the Birmingham district the unlimited production of work in the six hours. It is in operation in London, Manchester, Newcastle, York, Rotherham, Hunslet, Leeds, and all the other districts, with the exception of Birmingham, Stourbridge, Shelton, Longpart, and Dudley, and in some of those places the employers themselves object to have more than a given number made because the men produce an inferior article by having the number altered.

(*Mr. Leicester.*) I may just state this fact, that I was allowed to make 20 hours myself last Monday afternoon. In the factory where I work you are allowed to make an unlimited amount. These things are not to be fathered upon the union; they are coincident with but not caused by the union.

(*Mr. Wilkinson.*) I must say that one of the principal causes of the objection amongst the men is this: they object to producing an unlimited number of goods (from an ignorant feeling it may be, perhaps, or there may be some cause for it), from a fear lest the employer should want to claim the greater number instead of the less as the quantity made upon a given price.

18,814. (*Mr. Harrison to Mr. Wilkinson.*) Is it the case that the authorities of the union and you as the secretary are at present recommending the Birmingham district to adopt the "unlimited" rule?—Yes; we are advising it, and trying to press the matter. As far as the union is concerned we are trying all we can to take off that restriction.

18,815. (*Lord Elcho to Dr. Lloyd.*) What has just passed here is an instance of the good of opposing parties meeting, and talking the matter over, is it not?—Yes, I think it is. Then there was another statement of mine which Mr. Wilkinson endeavoured to refute by instancing the manufacture of this wine-glass (*holding it up*). I did not say that it was the rule of the society, but I said that there was clearly a disinclination on the part of the society men (I did not say at the immediate instance of the committee or authorities) to adopt new things, or facilities by which production can be increased. Mr. Wilkinson instanced a machine by which this wine-glass was made. Now I am informed that that machine is not generally introduced by any means, and in perhaps the most important districts of the flint glass district in England, that is to say, the Stourbridge district, the men have prevented the use of it by breaking the machines, and so preventing the masters from using it.

(*Mr. Leicester.*) I may explain that the gadget being cold when this foot (*pointing to the wine glass*) is hot cracks the foot, and it requires great nicety in adjusting the temperature between the cold iron and the hot glass; and the men say, "Pay us for the cracked ones till we get used to it." I am authorized to say that the men have never refused to work this gadget, and to introduce this improvement in England, when the employer will allow them for the cracked ones in cases where the cracking has been caused by the machine. The injustice is all the other way.

18,816. (*Lord Elcho to Dr. Lloyd.*) This is another instance, is it not, in which communication between the two sides is beneficial?—Yes. Then Mr. Wilkinson denied my statement that on a change of situation according to the instructions of the union the wages have necessarily to be advanced; but he stated that it was left to the workmen to make their own bargain. I would put this question to Mr. Wilkinson: Do I understand it to be the case, that if a person applies to me on your recommendation for a situation, and I ask him what wages he expects to receive, and he says, "So-and-so," and I tell him that that is a higher rate of wages than in the position which I intend him for according to my notions he would be entitled to, and ask him whether he will take less, he is at liberty to do so? I am not now speaking theoretically, but of my actual experience. I put such a question to the man, and the man says, "No, I cannot take less," and after a little hesitation he will say, "I am not permitted to take less." Therefore I conclude that he acts upon instructions when he tells me that.

(*Mr. Wilkinson.*) The general rule is that when an employer applies to the factory secretary for a man to fill up a certain position, he tells him what amount of wage he will give. We write for the man at that wage. Then the man comes, and if the employer objects to give him that wage he most decidedly objects to accept what the employer offers. But that is not from any instructions of the union; and there is no doubt at all in my mind that in many instances little things of that kind are fathered upon the union that do not belong to it.

18,817. (*Chairman to Mr. Wilkinson.*) You say that in many instances where a man has been offered less and has said, "I cannot take it," the union has left him free to take it if he chose?—It has left him free.

18,819. His mode of speaking to the employer is what you are not answerable for—that is what you mean?—Yes.

(*Dr. Lloyd.*) That no doubt may be the case. The men may take advantage of their position, and intimate to me and other employers that they are not allowed to do it.

18,820. (*Lord Elcho to Mr. Wilkinson.*) There being in the factory a factory secretary, could not Dr. Lloyd in such a case as that apply to the factory secretary to know whether or not this demand would be supported by the union?—According to the order of things, if the man tells the factory secretary that the district secretary says so and so, and he does not himself know to the contrary, he will not go opposite to the men in the works. But very often the man says that it is the action of the union when it is his own action.

18,821. (*Mr. Leicester.*) I would add that there is such a thing in any district as wages finding their own level independently of any society whatever, that is to say, for a certain quantity of work done there is a certain amount paid. By some process or another this

always finds the lowest point, and a man when put on to a vacant place, though not instructed to do it by the union, generally asks for the amount paid in the district.

18,822. (*Dr. Lloyd.*) There is one other little matter to which I would refer. Mr. Leicester said that a proposition had been made to the employers to throw open the question of the number of apprentices altogether, provided that the employers would take the responsibility of inferior work. I wish to say that I have never heard of such a proposition, and I think it has never been made to the association.

(*Mr. Leicester.*) It was made to the whole trade by the then executive secretary, Benjamin Smart, at Glasgow. He said that the trade were willing to see it fairly tried, if the employers would take the responsibility of the bad work caused by the boys.

Mr. J. Leicester.

30 June 1868.

(*Dr. Lloyd.*) But have the employers had the opportunity of accepting that or rejecting it? I have never heard of such a thing. The only other matter to which I wished to allude is perhaps a trifling one, but it sounded to me very strange that Mr. Leicester should say that the making of the foot was the most important part of the glass, considering that that is done in practice by the least skilled hand. If it is the most important, I wonder why it is not put in the hands of the man of the most skill, whereas it is generally considered the least skilled work.

(*Mr. Leicester.*) Dr. Lloyd knows that a bad foot spoils the best glass.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to to-morrow at 11 o'clock.

1, Park Prospect, Westminster, Wednesday, 1st July 1868.

PRESENT:

The Right Hon. Sir WILLIAM ERLE.	THOMAS HUGHES, Esq., M.P.
Lord ELCHO, M.P.	FREDERIC HARRISON, Esq.
JAMES BOOTH, Esq., C.B.	WILLIAM MATHEWS, Esq.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR WILLIAM ERLE IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. CHARLES FREDERICK BEYER examined.

Mr. C. F. Beyer.

1 July 1868.

18,823. (*Chairman.*) You are a member of the firm of Beyer, Peacock, and Company, of the Gorton Foundry in Manchester?—I am.

18,824. About how many workmen have you employed?—It varies according to the state of the trade. I think we never reached quite 1,800, or I think that is the highest number that we ever did reach.

18,825. Had you a considerable strike lately?—About two years ago; in 1866.

18,826. What was the cause of the strike?—Our strike was a very simple one. In our smithy we had two foremen, and we wanted an additional foreman, and we engaged one, that is to say, a man over these two men to look after the smithy; and this man made his appearance, I think, on the 5th of March 1866.

18,827. You appointed Samuel Hall foreman, I find from this printed paper in my hand?—Yes, he was to be head foreman over the smithy.

18,828. Shortly after he was appointed did you receive a letter from the men?—Yes, which I have here. Hall entered on duty on Monday, March 5th, and it appears that as soon as he came into the works some kind of a noise or whistling passed through that part of the works. The men put on their jackets, and they all walked out in a body. I happened to see them going out of the place, I had something to do in my office, and I saw that there was a great commotion in the works, but did not know what it was about. Soon after somebody came to my office and said, "Mr. Beyer, do you know that all the men have left the "shops?" I went across to my partner's office and said, "Peacock, what is the matter in our smithy; I understand our men have struck work?" When we went down to see, the whole of our smithy was empty. About an hour or an hour and a half after the men had left we had a letter which is printed on that paper, the original of which I have here.

18,829. It is in effect: "We left off work this morn- "ing because you made Samuel Hall foreman." And the reason is, "Because he is not a man of experience, "and we believe that he is not qualified to give satis- "faction either to you or the men. We do not want "to dictate to you who is to be foreman, but Hall had "a similar situation at Longsight, and he changed "more hands than any other firm, and we believe that "there is nothing more injurious to a firm than "changing hands"?—Yes.

18,830. Had you a good character of Hall before you engaged him as foreman?—Yes, I had.

18,831. And you did not at first discharge him, I understand, on receiving this letter?—No.

18,832. Did the whole of the smiths that left your works as a body stay out?—Yes.

18,833. Did you endeavour to replace them by other smiths?—No, not for some time. For about a fortnight we really took no steps. I could not believe that men would be so unreasonable as to be in earnest in such a step, because it was a case in which they had nothing to complain of in the works; they were perfectly satisfied, but they found fault with this man Hall.

18,834. (*Lord Elcho.*) How many smiths had you altogether?—At that time about 200.

18,835. And how many men in the works altogether?—Nearly 1,600.

18,836. And did the stoppage of the smiths stop the rest of the works?—Not for some time.

18,837. But it would naturally have done so if continued?—Yes. We could carry the business on for a few weeks without them till we wanted fresh smiths' work.

18,838. Do you know if the men in the other departments of the works approved of the strike of the smiths?—That would be a mere matter of opinion on my part. I should say of course they did. The reason I say that is this, the two foremen that we had before who were to act under this Mr. Hall remained about a day or two after the strike. In coming into the works I saw one of these foremen dressed up in his best clothes walking about the shops. I said, "Hallo, "I should think you would find a little bit of a job to "do, some small things that are required in the fire," and I said, "I say, had you not better pull off your "jacket and make yourself useful." He told me very plainly he never would pull off his jacket. I said, "If you think the men are right I must be in the "wrong, and if you think the men are right in turning "out in the way they did, the sooner you go the "better;" the man took my hint, and he walked off. All the rest approved of the strike.

18,839. (*Chairman.*) He was a foreman of the smiths?—Yes.

18,840. (*Mr. Mathews.*) What is the nature of the contract in engaging the smiths?—We have the same

Mr. C. F. Beyer.

1 July 1868.

rule for all the men. The understanding is one week's notice.

18,841. Have you any understood contract with them in the presence of witnesses so that you could prove a contract, or do they consider themselves at liberty to leave when they choose?—We always consider that it is a week's notice on either side.

18,842. When you engage a man do you engage him on any specific understanding, "You shall give a week's notice"?—I believe so, but that is more than I could tell you, because I am the engineer of the works. I understand that there is a week's notice either way.

18,843. If you had a contract with them for a week's notice, did you not summon them for a breach of contract?—No, we should have had to summon 200 men.

18,844. You might have summoned ten as representatives, might you not?—I thought better of the men, that they would have good sense enough to come back.

18,845. You did not think it requisite to take legal proceedings?—No, on the contrary, we had nothing against the men, except that they ought to come back to work.

18,846. (*Mr. Booth.*) Had the other foremen made any objection to this man Hall?—No.

18,847. You heard nothing of any objection till the men struck?—Not until the men struck.

18,848. (*Chairman.*) Did you proceed after some time to get new smiths in their place?—Yes, about a fortnight after. We had no wish or intention to discharge all the rest of the men; but a mechanical establishment cannot be carried on without smiths, and it was a question either to send the rest of the men off, or to get other men to replace the smiths. After a fortnight we commenced to get men; we advertised in a great many newspapers, and in time we got men sufficient to carry on our works. I think altogether that we got about 160 or 170. But these men were not safe. Our place was watched outside, and whenever any of these new hands appeared they had the men on strike against them, and it obliged us to protect these men on our own premises. The consequence was, that for these 170 men (I think it was that number) we got bedsteads. I think that we had about 70 or more iron bedsteads for men to sleep in; and we made preparations and provided meals for these men.

18,849. (*Lord Elcho.*) When once you got the men there, they lodged and boarded in your works?—Yes. The police outside were not sufficient to protect them.

18,850. They dared not leave your works?—No, because their lives were not safe.

18,851. (*Chairman.*) After a little while, did a deputation come purporting to come from the Amalgamated Society of Engineers?—Yes, the society in Manchester. The chairman and secretary and one of the men waited upon us on the 31st of March. By that time we had got a sufficient number of new men to carry on our works, and accordingly they began to see that they would not carry their point, that is to say, that we could do without the old men. Then, as I say, this deputation of the chairman, secretary, and one of our old men made their appearance for the purpose of coming to some arrangement, that is, that such men as there was room for might come back again. We never made any objection to the men coming back; on the contrary we wished them to do so; only they would not.

18,852. (*Lord Elcho.*) How long would this be after the strike?—The strike was on the 5th of March, and the deputation waited on us on the 31st of the same month, nearly four weeks after.

18,853. (*Chairman.*) Did you agree to take the men back?—Yes, we agreed to take the men back. Then there were various deputations as to arrangements.

18,854. When you say that you agreed to take them back, you mean to take back as many as there was room for, I suppose?—Yes, such vacancies as we had we were going to fill up with our old hands. Then they came to make arrangements so that the men might have nothing to complain of amongst themselves. The smiths work each at a certain place with two or three men as strikers, and they agreed that as to such of the fires as had not been filled with new men, the men who had formerly worked at the fires still standing, should come back again, so that we might have no choice among the men. We even agreed to that. That was settled on April the 5th and April the 6th, and it was finally settled that ninety of our old men should come back to the old fires, and that 23 more should come to new fires which we had been building, and altogether we undertook to take 113 of our old men back again. That was on Friday, April 6th.

18,855. (*Lord Elcho.*) With the same foreman?—One of the old foremen had left, the other was there.

18,856. Was the foreman about whom the strike was, there still?—Yes.

18,857. And they were to come back under him?—Yes. That was on Friday, April the 6th. Now this is the important point in this matter. Up to that time clearly it was simply a question between the smiths and ourselves as to this new foreman. On Saturday morning, April the 7th, after making all these arrangements, when everything had been settled, and that the men on the next Monday morning should come back to their work, 113 in number, we received a letter from them declining to commence work on Monday morning, unless Mr. Hall, this new foreman, was discharged, a demand which they had never made before. I ought also to have mentioned that when the deputation from the Manchester society waited upon us on March 31st, the chairman admitted that the men had done wrong, that they had no cause to strike, and that if they would strike they ought (according, I suppose, to the society's rules) to have done it with the consent of the society; and therefore they were wrong both ways according to his views; and he recommended the men to come back again. Now on Friday, April the 6th, all this was settled. But clearly on Friday evening there was a meeting, and as far as we know one of the head centres from London came down and a change took place; the wind changed altogether. We were going on very nicely until then, but there is the turning point. Evidently we had beaten the men so far, and I suppose the head centre would say: "Now this will not do, we "will not be beaten by anybody. We are strong "enough and we will fight; these are your directions." The men accordingly wrote to us on Saturday morning the 7th, that they would not go back to work unless this man Hall was discharged, and all the men taken back in a body. Now we were on a new field of action altogether. We had to deal with the society at large, and the matter was managed at head-quarters.

18,858. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Do you consider that this course was adopted as the result of advice given by people from the head-quarters in London?—Yes, from the head-quarters, wherever that is. There is no doubt about that.

18,859. The Manchester association being a branch of the general association of which the head-quarters are in London?—Yes, the Manchester society is a branch like any other. I myself saw the chairman of the Manchester association on the 31st March as being one of this deputation, and they did not approve of it, and the Manchester society or branch did not approve of it. The men used their reason, and arranged to come back to their work as many as could.

18,860. They changed their mind in consequence of directions, as you say, from London?—Yes, between Friday evening and Saturday morning; and instead of going back to their work, they made conditions upon which the matter was to be settled.

18,861. (*Lord Elcho.*) And was this change, which you attribute to the action of a head centre, brought about by a letter from the head centre or by the pre-

sence of the head centre?—From his presence, and I have their letter also.

18,862. (*Chairman.*) Things were going on rationally up to Friday afternoon, I understand you?—Yes, and on Saturday morning we got a communication from the men; they made some shuffle that we were not disposed to carry out the arrangement, and said, "We will not come back unless you dis- "charge this new man, and we will go back in a "body or not at all."

18,863. (*Mr. Booth.*) Was that a communication in writing?—Yes, this is the letter of the 31st of March:—"Gentlemen, we have been appointed "by the smiths late in your employ to seek an "interview with you for the purpose of trying to "bring about an amicable settlement of the pre- "sent dispute; we shall be glad to see you and await "your orders. We are, yours respectfully, ROBERT "AUSTIN, WALTER IDEN, and CHARLES ROCK- "LIFFE, one late in your employ." Here is another letter, dated the 7th of April. This is the intimation of the change:—"From the report of the deputation "who waited upon Mr. Holt, your manager, yester- "day, we find you decline to carry out the arrange- "ment which you previously agreed to in respect to "the smiths and strikers late in your employ resuming "work. Such being the case, I am directed to re- "spectfully inform you that the workmen decline to "commence work again before a satisfactory settle- "ment of the question takes place; at the same "time we are prepared at any time at a moment's "notice to make arrangements on behalf of the men. "—By order of the committee and men late in your "employ, C. ROCKLIFFE, Chairman." In reply to to that we put up this notice outside:—"April 7th. "Messrs. Beyer, Peacock, and Company are pre- "pared to carry out everything they have promised "to do, and the arrangements concluded yesterday as "to which of the men were to return to work will be "strictly adhered to; but if the men named on the "list do not commence work on Monday morning "next, all further negociation with the men on strike "must end. No deputation will again be received, "and B. P. and Company will fill up the vacancies "in any way and with whom they please.—BEYER, "PEACOCK, and Company." That was the change in the state of affairs, and on Saturday morning, when we received the note showing that the change had taken place among the men, we put up our notice as the reply, that we adhered to the arrangements that we had been making on Friday, April the 6th, in which we settled that 113 of the old men were to come back. After this, as we would not discharge Hall, and as we would not discharge the new men that we had engaged, matters went on in this way until Friday evening. The orders then were that Hall must be discharged with all the new men, and the old men must come back in a body, or they would not come back at all; in case we should not comply with that, all the other men belonging to these clubs would be withdrawn at a week's notice.

18,864. The club men in every department?—Yes, unless we complied with these decisions the club had decided to withdraw every club man at a week's notice.

18,865. (*Mr. Mathews.*) That is, they would strike the shop, as they term it?—If you take so many men out, then you must stop the whole. My partner took a great deal of trouble to persuade the men to act according to common sense, and he addressed a meeting on the 11th of April, that was on the Wednesday after the day that I have been speaking of. But it was to no effect; there was no recalling the decision of the club; the men must leave. On Thursday, April the 12th, all the club men, 238 in number, that is, of the remaining club men in the works, by the direction of the club, gave individual notice; each man came and gave notice without exception that a week after, dating from the 12th, unless we complied with the terms, they would leave. Well, we did not comply with the terms, and the consequence was that when the day came they all left us in a body. We could not work without men, and we saw clearly that we could not fight the club. In my opinion it would be folly for a single establishment to fight the club. We had no alternative but to close the works, and we closed them altogether. We gave a week's notice that on such a day a week later the works would close altogether, and so they did.

18,866. (*Mr. Mathews.*) About how many additional men did that throw out of employment?—I think about 1,400, not altogether, because 238 club men had left a week before, and we carried the business on with the men remaining for another week, so as to make up this notice. As the men are under a week's notice we thought it right to work that week in order to comply with the ordinary conditions, and then we closed altogether.

18,867. (*Lord Elcho.*) May I ask what your wages account is weekly when in full work?—I have a statement here of what it was the week preceding the strike. During the week ending I think on the 3rd of April the wages we paid were 1,982*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* and the total number of men 1,586; that is to say, the Saturday before the strike we paid that amount in wages, that is 1*l.* 5*s.* per head as the average.

18,868. Are there any boys?—Yes.

18,869. Does that calculation include boys?—Yes, there are a good many apprentices and labourers.

18,870. (*Chairman.*) Those works were shut up?—They were closed altogether.

18,871. How long did they continue closed?—I think we closed them between one and two weeks.

18,872. And then what men did you get?—Well, we got all our old men back again because we were beaten, all the club wanted was to beat us, and to have their own way, and they got it; they drove the new men away.

18,873. (*Mr. Mathews.*) They compelled you to discharge the others?—Yes, and got their own way, and when people get their own way they are always pleasant.

18,874. And they became masters of the situation?—Yes, now the Commissioners might like to see the character which I had with regard to this man Hall. Our paper does not give the motive of the strike. I think that the drift of the strike is this, they complained of Hall not being a competent man. Now I may tell you that this man Hall served an apprenticeship of seven years on the London and North-western Railway as a smith. I think that for some six years he worked as a journeyman, and behaved himself well, and in consequence he was made foreman. He was foreman some seven or eight years before he came to us from the London and North-western Railway Company. And this is the man our men struck against, and the man who does not understand his business; that point therefore wants consideration. With reference to his character, the man was recommended to me by Mr. Ramsbottom, the mechanical engineer of the London and North-western Railway, and upon that recommendation we engaged him. Afterwards my partner expected to have to appear before you, and in consequence we wrote for a character, and this is the character that Mr. Ramsbottom gives in writing: "London and North-western "Railway Locomotive Department, Crewe Station, "May 15th 1867, Gentlemen, I have your favour "of the 13th inst. to hand, and in reply beg to say "that Samuel Hall came to Longsight about 20 "years ago, that he served a full term of apprentice- "ship in the smithy and proved himself to be a very "effective, sober, and industrious workman, so much "so that he was put in charge of the smithy as "foreman in October 1860. I had arranged to remove "him to Crewe to take a more important appointment "which he accepted. This he afterwards begged to "decline on the ground that he had property in "Manchester and preferred to reside in that neigh- "bourhood. I should have still retained him as fore- "man at Longsight, had his successor there not been

Mr. C. F. Beyer.

1 July 1868.

" appointed in the interim. — Yours faithfully, " J. RAMSBOTTOM."

18,875. (*Chairman.*) When the men objected to him, it was on the ground " that he changed more hands " when he was at Longsight than any other firm." Therefore the substance of their objection was that Hall had discharged some men who in their opinion ought to have been retained; that is what they alleged? —Yes, that is what they alleged.

18,876. They also said that he was not fit for the situation?—Yes, and this is the character from the London and North-western Company's mechanical engineer, Mr. Ramsbottom.

18,877. You think that the ground that they put forward was only a pretext and not the real one?— I not only think so but I am certain of it.

18,878. Then what was the real reason if the man was a competent workman and a faithful man?— Probably you are aware of the real tendency of the trades unions as they are constituted, that they are an impediment to trade, that a man is not allowed to do as much as he can, but merely as much as the rules permit him to do; and a man if he becomes a member of the union has a right to so much wages; the union find him a shop somewhere; if he is not in some place they get him into one. The consequence is that there is no reason for a man to exert himself; a bad man is just as well off as a good one, he gets the same wages. Now Hall, like an honest man, did do his duty towards the London and North-western Railway Company; I believe that he was a judge of the work, and that he took care that his men did a proper amount of work, and that, the union did not like.

18,879. (*Mr. Mathews.*) They consider him too vigilant?—He was too honest and too clever for them, because he was a judge of work, and they did not like it.

18,880. (*Lord Elcho.*) Did he belong to a union himself?—No.

18,881. And never had belonged to one?—I believe not. I questioned him upon the point and could find nothing else but that he, Hall, when he found an inferior workman, would not keep him, and that is the crime he had committed.

18,882. (*Chairman.*) You have given us the course the union took about it; at the end of a week your works were open again, were they not?—Yes.

18,883. Since then you have been able to go on, that is to say, letting the union dictate to you whatever the interests of the union required?—Yes.

18,884. (*Mr. Hughes.*) May I ask how long you have been in business at Gorton?—14 years.

18,885. Have you had any previous communication with this society?—Yes, I had one at Gorton, with the Manchester chairman. Speaking from recollection, it might be some five or six years ago. I found that there was something the matter with a man in our works, that the men did not like a man because he was not a club man, and he could not do his work properly, they said, and he was not a fit man, and they would not work with him. There seemed to be some hitch, and I got a letter from the Amalgamated Society in Manchester, that they wanted to see me. I have been accustomed all the time that I have worked among mechanics (and that is now a good many years) to settle my own business. I think that the proper way is to settle accounts between man and man. However, the chairman and somebody else wanted to see me. I told them if they would come and see me at my own house I would be glad to see them. They did so, and I must say that I found the chairman a very nice man. They came to see me about this man, and to tell me that he was not fit to do certain work. I did not agree in that. I am the head of the establishment, I know when a thing is right; that is my business. I merely told them or tried to convince them that I must judge of what a man is able to do, and that if his work pleases me, it ought to do. I think no more came out of that; they were quiet about this man and did not carry it any further.

18,886. They accepted your judgment?—At all events they did not carry it any further, it ended there. I should like, if I am not out of order, to draw your attention to this book in my hand, which the Chairman presented to me with a report of the Amalgamated Society. I just looked at the preface, I did it in their presence.

18,887. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Are those the rules of the society?—Yes, and there are some strange things in it. First of all the motto of that society is, " All men are brethren." Now, at the time of our strike in 1866, we had a great many nice men in our shop; I said to them, " Now look at this motto; what do you call poor Hall?" I never got an answer, because club men have no opinion—the head-quarters have the opinion. Now, with regard to the restriction of trade, if you look at the preface of this book you will see their great argument for strikes. They are very nice people if they have their own way, but if they have not they will fight, and they can fight anything and anybody, they are so strong. On page 6 you will find, " Our object is not to do anything either indiscreet or " illegal; but if constrained to make restrictions " against the admissions into our trade of those who " have not earned a right by a probationary servi- " tude" (now that is rather a strange term), " we do so " knowing that such encroachments are productive of " evil, and when persevered in unchecked result in " reducing the condition of the artizan to that of " the unskilled labourer, and confer no permanent " advantage on those admitted." You do not probably care about my opinion, but, gentlemen, I have been among the mechanics for 34 years, and I think I can say of myself that in Manchester no one has done more to raise the mechanics than I have done, and I do not believe that there is a man in Manchester who could say the contrary. I am of opinion that this is a most degrading rule, that unless a man has served an apprenticeship he is not fit to do certain work, and therefore they will not allow a man to work unless he has served an apprenticeship.

18,888. Do you think that a bad provision?—I think it decidedly bad; the man may be a much more clever man who has not served an apprenticeship than the man who has.

(*Mr. Allan.*) I should state here that as far as the engineering trade is concerned, we have no rule for a man to serve, nor do we require a man to serve a positive apprenticeship. If a man has not commenced at the trade until he is 25 or 30 years of age, and he has been five years at the trade working, we do not object to him. He must have been five years at the trade before we admit him into our society, but we do not strike against him if he has not been five years at the trade. We have no rules regulating apprentices at all.

(*Mr. Beyer.*) May I ask Mr. Allan this? Supposing I find a man that can do the work that I require as a fitter, but he never served an apprenticeship, would his club object to my employing that man and call him a knobstick?

18,889. (*Chairman to Mr. Beyer.*) Mr. Allan says that they would work with that man; that is not your experience?—Well, on that occasion the Manchester chairman made a mistake, because he called on me about a man that had not served a proper apprenticeship.

18,890. (*Lord Elcho.*) Was that the objection that was stated?—Yes.

18,891. And then did you show him his work?— I said that the work he had to do he did very well, and I heard no more of that. If a man has got the skill, I think that he is a proper man to be employed.

18,892. Irrespective of how long he may have been in employment before?—Yes. Now here I have a key (*producing it*), nothing else but a simple handle for opening a small cock of a locomotive engine. I found that in the machines we built these things were very unsatisfactorily done, at least unsatisfactorily to me, and I thought that I would get one made as it ought to be made, so as to serve as a pattern. I selected a

mechanic, the best that I knew, and he fitted up two or three; but they were so far from what they ought to have been that I would not have them. I then made a very exact drawing of what I wanted, but still I was not suited. I picked the best man afterwards that I had in my shop, and he set about it and did not succeed much better. So I got a model made in wood, and said to the fitter, "If you make "this thing in iron just as it is in wood, it will do "for me." He tried, and after all this it was a bungling sort of an affair, and it would not do. Some time after, one of our pattern makers called me and said, "Mr. Beyer, will you allow me to show you something?" Well, he brought this thing which I now hold in my hand, and said, "This is one of the keys. "You know that I made you a wooden model, and I "have made you one in iron; here it is." That is a key that none of our fitters could make, and thus the best that I could get made was made by a man who never served an apprenticeship to learn the trade of fitting.

18,893. (*Mr. Hughes.*) He was a pattern maker, and a pattern maker is always almost the most skilful?—But he does not work in iron.

18,894. Pattern makers are all in the engineers' society?—They would not allow him to work as a fitter.

18,895. (*Chairman.*) What is the difficulty of making that key?—To do it well, and to do it skilfully.

18,896. (*Mr. Hughes.*) I will just call your attention to this fact, for your guidance in your future arrangements: "Any person not having served five "years before the age of 21, shall have worked five "years successively (planers and borers excepted) at "some of the branches mentioned in the preamble of "these rules, and shall be proposed and seconded by "two free members, at least one month before ad-"mission." So that it appears that five years' work is sufficient?—But supposing a man gets clever without working the five years?

18,897. (*Mr. Mathews.*) If you could have got your pattern maker to make things of that sort, would the union have allowed him to work?—I really do not know.

18,898. (*Mr. Harrison.*) What is your argument?—That a man ought to be at liberty to do what he can; there ought to be free trade. If I want a wall building I must employ a bricklayer, and if I want a piece fitting up I must employ a fitter, and if I want a thing turned I must employ a turner.

18,899. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Would you be at liberty by the rules of the union to put this man who was a pattern maker to work as a smith?—According to the rules he could not, because he has not worked five years at it.

18,900. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you remember an instance in which that has been refused?—I have mentioned the case of the man about whom the chairman in Manchester called upon me, because the man had not served an apprenticeship.

18,901. You say that you, having explained that the man's work was satisfactory, the chairman did not press the objection?—No. Perhaps it did not suit him to do so.

18,902. Do you know a case in which the society, or anybody recognized by them, have insisted upon it that you should not employ a pattern maker as a smith?—Well, I know that they will not allow us to employ whom we like.

18,903. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You say that you employ a great many apprentices?—Yes, like other works.

18,904. Do you think that there ought to be no limit to apprentices, that is to say, the power of employing boys?—No; I think that every one ought to learn what he likes. There is another point in which I think there is a mistake. The next passage in the rules to that which I just now read from the preface is, "It is our duty, then, to exercise the same care and "watchfulness over that in which we have a vested "interest, as the physician does who holds a diploma, "or the author who is protected by a copyright." Now that is clearly a mistake.

18,905. That is a matter for difference of opinion?—I give you my reasons; if my reasons are not good I will submit to your judgment.

18,906. They believe in the organization of labour, and you believe in no organization at all?—Will you allow me to point out that this is no proper comparison. I am the judge of what is done, and therefore I hold a diploma; and as to those men that I employ, what our men can do I can do myself, and consequently I am the responsible person. I write the prescription and they merely use it, and I am responsible for the results.

18,907. That is the struggle between you?—Well, men are what you make of them.

18,908. They endeavour to make one sort of thing and you wish for another?—I want to make them good men.

18,909. So do they; but they want to make themselves good men according to their notions, and you according to yours?—But I am the judge of the work they do.

18,910. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You think that as a rule, being the principal of the work, and responsible for the finished article to your customers, and finding all the capital for employing these men, you are the proper judge as to the fitness of the people you pay and the acquirements you think necessary to enable them to fulfil the duties they have to discharge towards you?—Yes.

18,911. If you were to leave your men to exercise a judgment, to the exclusion of your judgment, as to the nature of the men you should employ, do you think that it would be practicable to carry on your business?—No.

18,912. (*Lord Elcho.*) What became of Hall?—I believe he tried a situation somewhere else as a smith, but they drove him away, and I have heard since that he is trying to get a living as a contractor.

18,913. He has been out of his trade?—Yes.

18,914. (*Mr. Mathews.*) The labour of a man being his property and his capital, anything that interferes with the employment of that labour is a destruction of that property and capital; that is, if you interfere by the dictum of the union to say, "That man shall not be employed," you confiscate his labour?—They have done so in Hall's case; they have driven him out of the trade.

18,915. Having confiscated his labour you destroy his property?—Yes; for 20 years he worked at the trade and is driven out of it. Of course he must live the best way he can, but the man is certainly worse off than he was before.

18,916. If the unions are generally as they have been described to us, he would not be allowed to be employed in any works where they had influence?—I believe he tried and they drove him away from it.

18,917. (*Lord Elcho.*) The smiths objected to him because he changed hands at Longsight; but you say that he changed hands because he applied more stringent tests than another man would have done?—He was a judge of work. He said (I found this out after the strike), "I do not object to paying the wages, but "I will see to it that you do a proper amount of "work for it."

18,918. Did you make any inquiry when you received this letter from the men as to this point they raised of his having dismissed men at Longsight?—I had a character of him from Mr. Ramsbottom.

18,919. Who is there now connected with Longsight that would give evidence on this point if required?—Mr. Ramsbottom or any of his foremen at Longsight.

18,920. Do you know where Mr. Hall himself is?—No, I do not.

(*Mr. Robinson.*) Perhaps I may state that Mr. Beyer, Mr. Ramsbottom, and a foreman at Longsight, and I, travelled together to London. Naturally this subject came up, and both Mr. Ramsbottom and his man, Mr. Rigg, who is the running foreman, said

Mr. C. F. Beyer.
1 July 1868.

that they never heard of such a thing as was objected by the club against Hall, namely, that he changed hands. This was said in my presence yesterday.

18,921. (*Lord Elcho to the witness.*) May I ask what part of Germany you come from?—From Saxony.

18,922. Were you in this same business in Saxony before you came here?—I was a pupil of the Polytechnic School at Dresden from 1828 to 1832, and I came to Manchester in 1834.

18,923. Are you acquainted with the state of engineering in Saxony?—I was for two years at Chemnitz, which is the Saxon Manchester.

18,924. Have they trouble with their men?—No, not yet.

18,925. Do you anticipate that they will?—It is sure to come.

18,926. Do you know anything with reference to the state of the law in Saxony on these questions as to employers and employed?—They employ just whom they like at present in Germany; they would settle these things in a different way from us.

18,927. Why have they not had trouble hitherto in Germany, and why do you think that troubles are impending?—The reason of it appears to me this. In this country we are so concentrated and there is so much of manufacturing all in a little space, whereas in Germany, though there are several centres where there is a considerable amount of manufacture, they are spread far apart, and in proportion to the population the number of people employed in manufacture is small, and there is such a large supply of men that if one does not do right there is always somebody to take his place.

18,928. Have they unions there?—That I do not know.

18,929. (*Mr. Harrison.*) It is contrary to their law, is it not, for men to form unions there?—Probably they would not allow it.

18,930. (*Mr. Hughes.*) They would have the troops out?—They would settle it in a different way.

18,931. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you wish to see that way introduced into this country?—No.

18,932. (*Lord Elcho.*) I suppose you know the quality of work that is done in Germany, and that which is done in this country?—Yes.

18,933. Do you apprehend that the work done in Germany will oust our work from the market?—I think it is doing so every day. For instance, I am a locomotive engine maker. When I came to Manchester and for years after we supplied the continent with locomotives. Now they do not want us, and we can scarcely compete with them.

18,934. To what do you attribute that?—Well, they have made very great progress in Germany in proportion.

18,935. The labour is cheaper, I suppose?—Evidently labour is cheaper; and there is another matter, namely, that in some branches of manufacture they have outstripped us.

18,936. In your own trade?—Yes.

18,937. In what branches have they outstripped you?—For instance, in iron and steel it is very clear that they are in advance of us; and I will give you my reasons for saying so. For example, in the way of making steel Mr. Krupp seems to be doing extraordinary things. I will give you only one instance. I was formerly at Sharp, Roberts, & Co.'s, and at that time they were beginning in Germany to manufacture for themselves. Speaking from recollection I should say that at one of the largest establishments on the continent, that of Borsig, at Berlin, they could not make a crooked, that is, a crank axle, and they began to make their locomotive engines with a straight axle instead of a crank or bent one. That was probably in 1837 or 1838. Now things have quite changed. When we want a really good axle we are obliged to send to Germany, they make it of such a superior material.

(*Mr. Robinson.*) We have paid the highest price for German axles.

18,937*a*. (*Lord Elcho to the witness.*) It is not the quality of the metal, it is the process in working that makes the difference, I suppose?—They understand it better than we do; they do that which we cannot do.

18,938. (*Mr. Matthews.*) The crank axle is made with steel?—Yes, but it is such a superior quality, and we have not kept pace with Krupp's.

18,939. I want to ask you whether the distinction that makes that crank axle preferable is, that the one is made with steel and the other with iron?—Yes.

18,940. That the crank axle can be made properly with steel and not with iron, and that a better crank is made by Krupp than can be made by us?—A better one than has been made by us up to this time.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. W. Allan.

Mr. William Allan further examined.

18,941. (*Chairman.*) Have you heard the statement of Mr. Beyer about the strike at the Gorton works in consequence of a man named Hall being employed there?—I have.

18,942. And you heard his account of the progress of that strike, that at first the Manchester branch were in treaty with the employées at Gorton, and matters were coming to amicable terms?—Yes.

18,943. Then according to Mr. Beyer's account of it a head centre came down from London, that is to say, some manager came down and there was a change to less amicable terms. Will you state to us what you know on that subject?—Yes. If you will refer to the evidence that I gave on a former occasion before this Commission you will there find that the case of Hall was gone into by the Commission and myself, and that I then stated, in answer to a question put by Mr. Mathews, No. 973, "The union men had no "more to do with it than the non-union men. The "man in question went in there as a foreman and "some of the men knew him by experience, and they "knew that if he got a footing in there he would "upset that establishment, in the same way as he "had done the establishment at Longsight; and the "result was that the men struck against him." Now I believe the statement that I then made in answer to the question of Mr. Mathews was perfectly correct, and that the men objected to Mr. Hall from their past experience of him. Many of them had worked with him formerly, and when he made his appearance in the works they struck. I am not saying that it was right on their part to do so, because an employer has a perfect right to employ such foreman or manager as he may think proper; but, however, they did strike, and I believe that that was the reason why they struck against him. Now this was done, I may state, without the knowledge of the executive council that I now represent.

18,944. (*Lord Elcho.*) Of the London executive council?—Yes, the executive of the whole society.

18,945. Was it done with the knowledge of the Manchester officials?—It was done by the workmen employed there without any instructions whatever from the district committee of Manchester. The society men and non-society men struck work altogether, they were both of one opinion so far as Mr. Hall was concerned, and it was done entirely without the sanction or even the knowledge of the district committee of Manchester. The district committee of Manchester, finding that a dispute had taken place, stepped in, and endeavoured to arrange the matter with Messrs. Beyer and Peacock. They had some interviews with those gentlemen, and as Mr. Beyer has stated, arrangements were made for a certain number of men to resume work, and it is quite true that while negociations were going on, I arrived

in Manchester on the Thursday. The men late in the employ of Messrs. Beyer and Peacock hearing that I was in town waited on me on the Saturday morning; they produced the list to me, and those marked with red ink were the parties who were to return to their work, and out of the whole number that had come out in consequence of the dispute, only nine names were there marked with red ink to resume work, and to the best of my recollection two out of the nine had commenced work elsewhere, one at Doncaster and one at some other place the name of which I now forget. When the deputation waited on me and handed me the list, and gave me to understand the exact position of affairs, I said, "I think the better plan will be, if "there are only seven to resume work out of the "whole number that came out, for you to acquaint "Messrs. Beyer and Peacock very quietly and res- "pectfully that you will decline to render your services "to them." If they only wanted nine out of nearly 200 as Mr. Beyer says, we could certainly as a society afford to refrain from sending the nine back.

18,946. (*Lord Elcho.*) Did you know how many there was room for?—I do not know.

18,947. Did the men tell you?—No.

18,948. Did you inquire?—No. I believe the men were not in a position to say how many could be employed there, or how many fires were filled up; they had no knowledge of that because they were all out, and therefore they could give no information on that point.

18,949. But did not the whole thing, as a matter of common sense, turn upon the number that could be admitted, that is to say, upon the number of fires that were to be filled up?—I cannot exactly say that. If nearly 200 men were employed there, and out of those 200 about 100 smiths, or rather more, have left their employment, the number that I mentioned would be but a small one to resume work.

18,950. Mr. Beyer has given a statement to this Commission, according to which, I believe, on the Friday 113 were to come in; that is to say, he had his works filled with a certain number of non-society men, or men he had obtained after the smiths struck, but when he came to an understanding with these men there was still room, with the additional fires put on, for 113 men. What I want to know is, how this statement of his tallies with what these men stated to you, because you say that there was some mark made with red ink upon some list which only made out that nine could be admitted instead of 113, as stated by Mr. Beyer to have been agreed between him and the men, and that even of those nine two were employed elsewhere?—There were but nine of the skilled men as smiths that were to resume work immediately.

18,951. Nine skilled men, but how many men to be employed under them?—I cannot exactly say, because it would depend on the description of fire; at one description a smith would have three times as many as at another.

18,952. But do not you think that you, going down there as the representative of the society, should have ascertained that?—I want to show you that I did not go down there on this matter at all. I happened to be in that neighbourhood on other business, an affair that occurred in that part of the country, and called at Manchester on my way home. Then the deputation waited on me on the Saturday morning, as I have told you, at our office, where I happened to be at the time, and presented a list to me. I simply said then, without any instructions from the council or anybody else in connexion with the society, that if Messrs. Beyer and Peacock only wanted nine, and two out of those nine had commenced work elsewhere, I should respectfully inform them that the men would decline to return to their work.

18,953. That is exactly what I come to. You did not go there officially, but you were an official and found yourself there?—Yes.

18,954. These men knowing that you, the head of the society, were there, naturally, under these circumstances, came to you for counsel and advice, and the counsel and advice which you gave to these men was that they should not go into the works because there was only room, according to the list shown to you, for seven or nine skilled smiths?—Yes.

18,955. And your reasoning was based on the fact that 200 had gone out. It strikes me that before you gave that advice, as their friend in the interests of peace, the natural thing would have been to inquire how many men there was room for, not what number went out originally, how many of those men were skilled men, and altogether what grounds there were for believing that more men than these nine so marked, or whatever the number might be, could be admitted in justice to others. That you did not do?—I want to show you that as only nine were wanted back, it would be to the disadvantage of the company, and also to those nine men, to resume work there amongst so many as have gone in as what we call knobsticks. These nine men would never have felt themselves at ease and comfortable where there were so many knobsticks as were employed by Mr. Beyer. Allow me to say also, on the Saturday morning before I gave this advice, the men themselves had held a meeting (I mean the smiths who were out), and had declared their intention of not resuming work, seeing that there were so few in the list to resume work, and I quite agreed with them; and I am sorry that I have not the list with me. All I can say is that the list given by Mr. Holt was a list containing a certain number of names, and that they only amounted to nine, and I recommended them not to resume work under the conditions.

18,956. But if Messrs. Beyer and Peacock had turned off 50 or 60 of these men whom they had got to come into their works when your men left them, you would then probably have recommeded your men to have gone in, and would have thought that that was a fair and right thing of Messrs. Beyer and Peacock to do?—I should not think it a right thing to do. I think if Messrs. Beyer and Peacock had got men that suited their purpose they had a right to retain their services in whatever number they thought proper. But on the other hand I thought we had a perfect right to say whether it was worth our while for so small a number as nine or seven to resume work.

18,957. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You advised your society to the best of your ability?—Decidedly so.

18,958. And the result of that advice was that your society recovered the position they held with Messrs. Beyer and Peacock?—Yes. Mr. Beyer alludes to the disputes that took place; that is, in the shop, including fitters and turners, and so on, giving one week's notice. Now, permit me to say that that notice was given by the men employed there without the sanction of the executive council or myself. The affair was conducted by the men at a meeting in Manchester, and they felt so much aggrieved at the terms not having been carried out by the firm as agreed on, (I do not charge Mr. Beyer or Mr. Peacock with it because I believe the officials were more to blame than the firm themselves,) that a week's notice was given without the sanction of the executive council; in fact, it was given without my knowledge.

18,959. (*Lord Elcho.*) Supposing that instead of there being room for nine there had been room for 90 or 100, there being 200 men employed altogether, would you in that case have given different advice?—In all probability I would have given very different advice from what I did.

18,960. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You considered that the offer to take the men back was illusory, not a *bonâ fide* affair?—Not a *bonâ fide* affair.

18,961. (*Lord Elcho.*) The principle would be the same, would it not, as to working with knobsticks, whether 100 knobsticks remained in the smithy or 190 remained in it?—The principle would be the same, but then the proportion of the knobsticks to our members would not be the same.

18,962. The principle of working with knobsticks would be the same?—There rests and hangs the whole affair. If a dispute took place where there were 200

Mr. W. Allan.
1 July 1868.

society men, and an arrangement was come to that some 10 might return to their work, we would say to them, "You 10 can do very well without it. If the "firm only require 10 men we can do without the "firm."

18,963. (*Mr. Harrison.*) There was no absolute objection to work with non-union men in that shop?—No.

18,964. They were working there?—And are now, and that Mr. Beyer knows.

18,965. (*Lord Elcho.*) Provided it is in a certain proportion there is no objection?—We have no restriction of that kind.

18,966. Not any rule, but practically there appears to be such a restriction?—I say that we have no restriction, nor yet does the council, or any governing body that I know of in our society, interfere in this matter; if they do, they do wrong.

18,967. That is to say, you have no rule, but practically we have just got an instance of the proportion of society to non-society men not being such in those particular works as to satisfy you as secretary that the men should go into the works?—I beg your pardon. It was not because they were non-society men, but because they were knobsticks. A man that goes in, and fills up the position of a man on strike, that goes to work during the time that a dispute is pending in any establishment, on any terms that the employer thinks proper, in opposition to the wish of the men, we call a knobstick, or a black-sheep, if you think proper.

18,968. Whether the dispute is a union dispute or a general dispute?—No matter what it is; if there is a dispute with the firm, and a man goes in at the time the dispute is pending, the man is called a knobstick, and forms one of the black list.

18,969. (*Mr. Harrison.*) With regard to another remark of Mr. Beyer, would you or your society prevent a member of one branch of the trade in his shop, supposing he found him competent to the work, doing another?—You will find that one of the rules here states that every member of the society is to confine himself as near as practicable to the particular branch of the trade to which he belongs, and I think that the employers as a rule will not object to that, because it would be no advantage to the employer to put a pattern maker to a smith's fire, or *vice versâ*. I think Mr. Robinson here would complain bitterly of any foreman who shifted the men in that way. Now with reference to Mr. Hall, Mr. Beyer has stated that he had a very excellent character with him. I do not doubt that he had a good character from Mr. Ramsbottom.

18,970. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Mr. Ramsbottom is a man of too high a position in the country, is he not, for it to be supposed that he would give a good character to a man not deserving it?—He holds the first position as locomotive superintendent in the kingdom. At the same time I may just mention that I have been informed that this Mr. Hall is a cousin of Mr. Ramsbottom. Mr. Hall, I believe, served his time at Longsight, and was employed there by Mr. Ramsbottom, and was recommended by him to Messrs. Beyer and Peacock; but he did not remain there long.

(*Mr. Robinson.*) Perhaps I may be allowed to say here that there is probably a misapprehension in Mr. Allan's mind. The Commissioners will have noticed that he has spoken of Mr. Holt and also of Mr. Hall, and that his pronunciation of the two is very similar. Now Mr. Holt, the manager of Mr. Beyer, is a cousin of Mr. Ramsbottom, while Mr. Hall is the one they took on as foreman. I think that Mr. Allan is very likely confounding the two men Holt and Hall.

(*Witness.*) I was informed that Hall was Mr. Ramsbottom's cousin. Mr. Beyer has stated here that "the poor fellow" has been driven out of the trade. I can only say that I wish some hundreds of others were driven out of the trade in the same way, because as far as I can learn he is in a very good position as a manufacturer of bricks and a contractor; and so far from starting in another shop after he left Longsight, he started in the business I have now mentioned. Then again, if Mr. Ramsbottom had such a high opinion of him, Mr. Ramsbottom has had ample opportunities of employing him himself since that time at Crewe, because several foremen have been appointed for the smithy department since then.

18,971. (*Chairman.*) Can anybody take him into a factory if he is branded as a knobstick?—Hall was not what we call a knobstick. He was employed as foreman there. The men struck work against him, not because he was a knobstick, but from the simple facts previously stated, that from their experience of him they were of opinion that he would upset Beyer and Peacock's establishment, as far as the smithy was concerned, in like manner as he had done at Longsight.

(*Mr. Beyer.*) I should like to add a few words here. On the 31st of March when we had a deputation from the chairman and secretary of the Amalgamated Society in Manchester, in talking this matter over, the chairman admitted that the men were in the wrong, and that the best thing they could do was to go back to their work, and the chairman himself volunteered this remark. He had said, "Well, "they give him a bad character." Now that was one man that had been working under Hall at Longsight, and he complained of him, and the chairman said, "I "asked this man 'How is it that you complain of "'Hall? I understand you went to him a second "'time; either you left or were discharged, and you "'went there a second time. What made you go "'there a second time?'" The only answer that the man could give was this, "I went back again a second "time because Hall promised to do better." Now the chairman himself in Manchester was astonished if Hall was such a bad character that a man should go twice to him.

18,972. (*Mr. Hughes to the witness.*) You thought that if you could get the whole hundred who were out back it would be better for you than to get back seven?—Yes. There is another statement that was advanced by Mr. Beyer that I must notice, and that is, the humane part of the question. I mean with regard to providing those men with some 70 or 80 iron bedsteads. I want to show why it was that those men had to be lodged on the premises. It is simply this, that there was a very strong feeling on the part of the people living in the neighbourhood, and they would not give them lodgings, and hence it was that Messrs. Beyer and Peacock were obliged to accommodate those men in the works; and so far from the police force not being sufficient in Manchester, why they have a police force sufficient for not only keeping his premises in order but ten more of the same size. I want to show that they were lodged on the premises simply from the fact that there was no possibility or probability of their getting lodgings in the immediate neighbourhood. The feeling was so strong in opposition to knobsticks that nobody would accommodate them. The consequence was that they slept on the premises, and their meat was cooked for them, and I think the firm was exceedingly glad when they saw the last of them. I am only giving it as my opinion, but I believe that the closing of the works for some week or a fortnight was only a pretext to get quit of those men that went in there as knobsticks.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. JOHN ROBINSON examined.

Mr. J. Robinson.

18,973. (*Chairman.*) You are an engineer of the Atlas works at Manchester?—I am.

18,974. Is it a private firm at the present moment?—It has become a company, and I am one of the directors now. I was formerly a proprietor.

18,975. Earlier in life were you a working engineer?—I was. I served my time.

18,976. You were apprenticed as an engineer, and worked as an engineer, and in course of time you have come to the position that you occupy at this

moment?—I was what was called a premium apprentice. I went into the business for the purpose of becoming a master. I do not know that I ever joined a club, though I was offered to do so many times.

18,977. You had always your destiny before you; a master to be?—Yes.

18,978. During the time that you have been in the Atlas works, have you had much experience of the effect of trades unions?—During the whole time until very recently I have been constantly in contact with the working men, both the foremen and the men themselves, since the year 1839. In 1839 I went there, and I was of course among them very much during my apprenticeship.

18,979. (*Lord Elcho.*) What was the length of that apprenticeship?—I served three years. I had the intention of being a civil engineer afterwards, but I then took to mechanical engineering more permanently and remained there.

18,980. (*Chairman.*) Have you been long enough in business to have noticed any difference in the feeling and manners of the men now compared with what they were before trades unions had as much influence as they have had lately?—I thought in 1851–52, which was the time of the great lock-out or strike, as it may be termed, as viewed from either side, that then was the turning point in the amicable personal relations which one had with one's workpeople, and since that it has been rather dealing with a corporate body than with individuals. Before 1851–52 one knew almost every workman in the place by name, and dealt with him individually. Since that we have always had in our eye at a distance the controlling influence of a club that sits in London.

18,981. Dealing with individuals you acted under the tie of humanity towards them?—Yes, and I think that it was rarely that any dispute arose.

18,982. I mean dealing with them individually as compared with corporate bodies, because we are in the habit of saying of corporate bodies that they have neither soul nor conscience?—It is rather this, that in dealing with a man since that strike, we have always had in view the effect which any arrangement made with that man would have upon the corporate body, and the advice that would be given or the course of action that would be taken by the corporate body. Before that time it was an affair between man and man.

18,983. (*Mr. Booth.*) I suppose the men look more to the union than to their employers now?—Certainly, as regards their conduct.

18,984. That was the nature of the change?—Yes.

18,985 (*Chairman.*) You think that you have seen in your time a change come over the spirit prevailing between the working men and the employers?—I feel confident of that.

18,986. The description that you have given is the result of that experience?—Yes.

18,987. You have been good enough to supply us with a paper answering several of the questions that have been sent round?—Yes, that paper contains answers to the printed questions as far as I felt competent to reply to them.*

18,988. I do not know that we would ask you about the effect of unions upon the various matters specifically mentioned in your paper, as we have had a great many witnesses whose evidence is to the same effect as your answers, giving the employers' view on that subject; but I would ask you whether, according to your experience, the unions have substantially altered the rate of wages?—I think not. I have got a table which is referred to in my paper of answers, showing the rate of wages which existed some years ago and the rate of wages which exists now in the same establishment; and I think that all the changes which are to be discovered from that table are due not to the action of the unions so much as to the demand for labour in those particular branches, and if you would allow me I will just draw that conclusion. This table I shall be happy to put in, showing the rates of wages, with the averages, paid to skilled workmen at the end of the years 1851 and 1861, and so on. And the result of this table, taking the period from 1851 to 1861, is that the increase, for instance, of the wages of fitters and turners has only been 0·12 of a shilling; in grinders', there has been no change; in joiners' there has been an increase of 1·50; in pattern-makers' only 0·12; in painters' there is a rise of 2*s.* a week in 1861 as compared with a similar class in 1851 (I take 1851 because that was the time at which Mr. Allan began to develop the position of trades unionism); then in coppersmiths' there has been an advance of 2·65; in planers', slotters', and shapers', an insignificant decrease of 0·36, and so on. But, in order not to occupy the time of the Commissioners, I pass on to a trade the wages of which have very much increased, that is to say, the boiler makers' trade. I find that among what we call, in Manchester, platers, that is the skilled class of boiler makers, who prepare the plates of the boilers to be put together before the riveters come to fasten them together, there has been a rise of 6·34, that is nearly 6*s.* 6*d.* per week; in riveters' wages there has also been a rise of 6*s.*

18,989. Upon what was that rise?—6*s.* upon 24*s.* perhaps. And in the holders up, there has also been a rise of 6*s.* These are the three classes of boiler makers. Now that is the most remarkable rise that occurs in my paper during that term of from 1851 to 1861, and the question that I put to myself, was, How did it arise? I think it arose from the fact of the demand for iron ships. The trade in that time began to change from wooden shipbuilding, to iron shipbuilding, and these are the men who could obtain work at iron shipbuilding.

18,990. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Does your paper extend subsequently to 1861?—Yes, it takes the whole of the time since 1851 up to the present time. I believe that that rise has been caused by the demand for the employment of these men in iron ships and perhaps in girder bridges, things constructed lately for railways instead of stone or wooden structures.

18,991. That is to say, the general application of wrought iron instead of cast iron for various purposes has caused an enormous increase of demand for labourers in that particular department?—Yes.

18,992. Hence you consider that there has been a rise of wages?—Yes. That is more remarkable, because the boiler makers, I believe, are not members of the Amalgamated Society. So that this very class of men who have had the largest rise of wages in a given period, have not been in the society which Mr. Allan represents; I believe they have a society of their own.

18,993. That society of theirs is one of a recent creation, of subsequent creation to the Amalgamated Society, is it not?—No, I think it is an old society, but that it did not amalgamate at the same time as the others. My answer was meant to show that the Amalgamated Society have not succeeded as they think; they have not succeeded in raising wages to the amount that they think fit.

18,994. (*Chairman.*) The boiler-makers being out of the Amalgamated Society have had a larger rise than the others?—Yes, by the force of circumstances.

18,995. What would enable a man to become a boiler maker? If there is an immense demand for boiler makers, and a rise of wages, a man could not obtain that rise unless a gifted man, could he?—A boiler maker is made by apprenticeship, similar to the other trades, but a riveter is one who grows up rather. The holders up and helpers are men who assist a man and lift things for him, and these men, holders up and helpers, have gradually grown into

* This paper, together with the tables appended thereto, will be found at the close of the witness's evidence (p. 55).

Mr. J. Robinson.

1 July 1868.

riveters. Of course, the greater the numbers of holders up and of helpers the greater number of riveters.

18,996. You have also the wages since 1861 shown in that table, have you not?—Yes. My table shows all those classes from 1861 to the present time also.

18,997. Is that at all in the same proportion of increase?—It is not so great from 1861 to the present time as it was from 1851 to 1861, but it shews the same results in proportion, that is to say, that that very class of labour is the class which has had the greatest rise in the period from 1861 to 1867. That table I shall be very glad to put in as supplemental to the paper.

18,998. What has been the rise since 1861?—Since that time the rise has been 2·5 in shillings in angle-iron smiths' wages, 2·23 in platers', 2·13 in riveters', and 3*s.* in those of the holders up.

18,999. (*Mr. Booth.*) Those you describe generally as the boiler makers?—Yes, men employed in the construction of boilers.

19,000. (*Chairman.*) The action of trades unions, I understand you to say, has not accelerated that rise of wages. Has it been at all effective in keeping men, as skilled workmen, from obtaining the best reward? According to your paper the skilled man reached his reward by reason of his skill?—I think that the most skilful man has reached his reward by his skill and by his industry, in that particular trade especially. We give to a boiler-maker, that is to say, to the man who has the most responsible part of the work in putting it together, almost any price we will from 36*s.* to 38*s.* and 40*s.* a week according as his skill enables him to shew us that he is a competent workman. I should add, perhaps, that in our works we are altogether on piecework. Therefore when we rate a man 36*s.*, 38*s.*, or 40*s.*, he is able to earn a considerable sum larger than that according to his ability.

19,001. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Are you aware that the trades unions set their face against piece-work?—Yes.

19,002. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you say that the unions universally are against piece-work?—I say that that is the tendency in all societies. Many times the boiler makers have tried to do away with piece-work. They have tried to do away with it in our own establishment, and we would not admit of it.

19,003. (*Chairman.*) The boilers differ in dimension, I suppose?—Yes, and we give a larger price for a more complicated boiler than a less complicated one. We take into account the number of rivets.

19,004-5. (*Mr. Mathews.*) That is, you would not put so large a number of rivets in proportion into a small one?—No, but sometimes the plates may be thicker and the number of rivets smaller. It is a question of bargain between us. We come together and this passes. "How much is this?" "We will "have 3*l.* or 4*l.* for this boiler, and we have had so "much for it before." I say it is a question of bargain at the time.

19,006. (*Chairman.*) Your evidence is that piece-work pervades boiler making. Does it pervade other articles?—Almost everything in our establishment is on piece-work, except pattern work, which is a different class of work and cannot be estimated in that way.

19,007. (*Mr. Mathews.*) All your moulding and casting is done by piece-work?—All our moulding is done either by the ton or by the piece.

19,008. (*Chairman.*) Have you had any difficulty in having non-union men work with the union men?—We have had this experience. After the strike of 1851–52 we required every man who came into the works to sign a declaration that he did not and would not belong to a union. Since that time I believe, I would not quite say all, but very nearly every man in the place has by degrees joined the union, and every apprentice when he comes out of his apprenticeship is solicited to join the union, and if he does not join the union, I think, generally speaking, the place is made too hot for him.

19,009. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Do you insist on that declaration still?—No, it was dropped many years ago.

19,010. (*Chairman.*) The result is that the large majority of the workmen are unionists?—Yes, almost universally; there are exceptions, but they are scarcely tolerated. It is very easy to make the place uncomfortable for a man, though he may not be asked to walk out.

19,011. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Most of the men belonging to the union, in case of any dispute with your people, do you communicate with the officers of the union or the men individually?—No, we do not recognize the union.

19,012. You ignore the union; you do not admit the functionaries of the union to any conference with you in any question between you and the men in your employ?—No, none at all.

19,013. (*Chairman.*) At the time when union men and non-union men were nearer together in numbers, I suppose there was a great contest between the workmen themselves as well as between them and their employers. But since the majority of the workmen have been in union, have they become more quiet and more amicable towards each other and towards their employers?—I think I may say that we have a periodical disturbance, and at that time hostile feelings are engendered, and they endure for a little time, and then we go on amicably for a time. On the whole, since 1851–52 our disturbances have not been large. Mr. Allan knows that since that time we have fought several battles, and sometimes won them. If we have not won them we have held our peace.

19,014. There has not been a return to that mutual confidence which produces the greatest satisfaction in intercourse as between man and man?—No, I think that always now, in our arrangements when we have an alteration to make either in piece-work prices or in the rate of wages that we propose to pay per week, when we come a to conference, before seeing our men we inquire what effect it is likely to have upon the union, and whether the union is likely to interfere with the proposal we make.

19,015. The recommendation has been given, so to speak, to your friend as if he were sure to be your enemy. Is intercourse between you and your workmen something of that kind?—Yes, too much so.

19,016. (*Mr. Booth.*) During the period of which you speak were there any strikes against your works?—We have had strikes, but what I should rather call departmental strikes, not of the whole works. For instance, the moulders have struck; the men have struck against our employing so many boys; and we have had strikes of the hammermen, and a strike in the smithy, and a strike of pattern makers; small strikes that have lasted a little while and have not stopped our works.

19,017. Were they generally successful in attaining their object?—I do not think so; not in our own case. We have, generally speaking, fought them single-handed and won.

19,018. Generally speaking, they have failed?—Generally speaking they have failed, at least that is my impression of the result; they may look at it from a different point of view.

19,019. (*Chairman.*) Has the operation of trades unions had any effect upon the competition of English manufactures with foreign manufacturers?—I think that it is exceedingly difficult to trace what has been the cause of the increased competition between ourselves and the foreigner. It has just arrived at this point: supposing that we can make an engine for 2,000*l.*, and that the foreigners can make it for 1,980*l.*, in all human probability they would get the order. Now everything that contributes to the fact that ours costs us 20*l.* per engine more of course gives them a facility in competition, and among the list of things that contribute to increase our price in this country of course there is the question of wages. Now, as you heard Mr. Beyer say, the foreign manufacturers also produce

some material used in the construction of engines, certainly of a better quality, and very often at a more reasonable price than we have done in England, and the consequence is that these things together cause them to be able to compete and take orders now, especially for a neutral market, where formerly we actually supplied the country itself. And I can hand in a table which gives a statement of the delivery of locomotive engines and their destinations from the year 1834 to 1866,* in which I think it will be plainly seen that where at one time we had the control of certain markets we have lost it, and these very people, for instance, Prussia and Wurtemberg, and France and Austria, to whom we formerly sent locomotive engines, have now become manufacturers themselves for their own countries, and very important competitors with us for neutral markets; I mean, excluding their own country and ours, such markets as Russia, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and so forth.

19,020. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Taking an engine at the value of 2,000*l.*, what proportion of that 2,000*l.* do you think is composed of the cost of labour, and what of material?—I should say perhaps 400*l.* would be paid in wages; it is a round guess.

19,021. (*Chairman.*) Would you state one or two results of that table?—In the year 1839, for instance, our supplies of locomotives for foreign countries began to assume a large proportion to the total production. In 1839 we made for England 21 locomotives, and for foreign countries we made 26, so that you see we made more for abroad than we did for England. In 1840 we made for England 26, for foreign countries 18, and so we go on. Taking the year 1841, Holland then begins to be the customer as her railway system gets developed and buys locomotive engines. Then in 1842 Italy begins. In 1843 Russia begins. Then in 1844 Russia ceases entirely for a time, her railway system does not get developed. And now France and Germany compete with us for Russia, and beat us in nine cases out of ten out of the market. Then in 1846 France ceases to be a customer, and begins to make her own engines. In 1847 Germany which had been one of our best customers, entirely ceases, and we have no demand either from France or Germany after that time, except for perhaps one or two engines. I am speaking in general now. In 1855 we began with such countries as Egypt; then Prussia again, then South America and the colonies. But it will be found on looking at all these figures that the proportion of engines supplied for abroad since the year 1855 or 1856 has been constantly diminishing as compared with the number supplied for England, indicating what in fact the actual returns show, that the foreigners are becoming not only manufacturers for themselves, but manufacturers for other countries than their own, and therefore competitors in neutral markets.

19,022. Is there any way of ascertaining, within your cognizance, whether they compete with England in supplying the English market?—There have been several cases, and one in particular, which was referred to in Mr. Allan's evidence, namely the case of Schneider and Company, of Creusot, who took an order from the Great Eastern Company for 40 locomotives in the year 1865, and they delivered a certain number of these engines, and I believe that those engines were pronounced (in fact, I put it in evidence) to be of a most satisfactory construction, and the workmanship was excellent, in fact, equal to the average of English manufactures. In the specification which was issued by the engineer of the company at that time, Mr. Sinclair, and which I have with me, a very large proportion of the materials specified for those engines were to be of the steel of Krupp, of Essen, of whom you have already heard from Mr. Beyer's evidence. Mr. Allan put it in evidence that he thought a great amount of those engines was made in Yorkshire. Now what I merely wish to say in reply to his statement is that a large portion of the material was specified by Mr. Sinclair to be of this manufacture at Essen; the crank pins, tyres, axles, piston rods, slide bars, slide spindles, and tender tyres, which are all important parts of an engine, were to be procured from Mr. Krupp of Essen. Therefore, neither an Englishman nor a Frenchman had the supply of these, but the contractor, whoever he was, had to go to Mr. Krupp, and buy them from him. And with regard to the boiler plates, which are perhaps the most important part of an engine, they were specified to be Low Moor, what we know technically as the best Yorkshire iron; but I believe Mr. Schneider made those boilers from the iron constructed by his own firm; he is an iron-maker as well as an engine-maker. I merely say this to show those engines were absolutely not made in Yorkshire but made in France, and one of them was exhibited in the year 1867, at the French Exhibition.

19,023. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Can you tell us the eventual history of that contract?—I believe that only 15 of those engines have been delivered, and I attribute that fact to the financial position of the Great Eastern Railway Company.

19,024. It is a matter of general notoriety, and therefore I suppose it is within your knowledge, that the only thing in the way of the fulfilment of that contract is that they cannot get the money for them?—Yes, I know that we have a contract and could at first hardly get paid ourselves. I believe that Mr. Schneider is able to make his engines quite as satisfactorily as English firms; and I know to my own cost that last year when negociating a contract for 40 engines for Russia, when I thought that I had the thing in my own hand, Mr. Schneider walks in and takes it off.

19,025. So that instead of England supplying all the continent of Europe, together with a part of the East, with locomotive engines from this country, you wish to convey to the Commission your opinion that that demand has ceased, and that the continent is actually supplying this country?—I would not go so far as that. I do not think that with the specifications made by English engineers people on the continent are likely to supply this country with engines. But what seems to me grievous is that such firms as ourselves and Beyer's having had large contracts with the continent are now beginning to find that market cut off. I may say this, that a number of engines have been ordered by East India railway companies (I do not mean only that particular one called the East India Railway Company) from abroad as a question of price. The English specifications have not hindered such firms as Esscher and Wyss of Zurich, and Kessler of Wurtemburg, taking orders for Indian railways, which is in fact coming to our own home market.

19,026. Do you know the establishment of Esscher and Wyss of Zurich?—I have not been there for some years.

19,027. You cannot therefore state the reason of their succeeding against you?—No, but I consider that Schneider and Company are even more serious competitors with us.

19,028. (*Mr. Hughes.*) How do you account for the fact that in the tables published by the Government the steam engines exported by British manufacturers have steadily risen, and that even in the year 1867 there is upwards of 200,000*l.* in the value of the exports over the year before?—Does that include the export to India?

19,029. Articles from the United Kingdom; and the book summarizes every article, and there is an analysis of the countries to which they go, but the rise has been gradual and steady right through. In 1866 the total export value was 1,760,000*l.* odd, and in 1867 1,994,000*l.*, so that somehow or other we get rid apparently of more steam engines than ever?—That (*handing a paper to Mr. Hughes*) is my digest that I got made for me by a man accustomed to that sort of thing in Manchester.* But even such a development of railways as is now taking place in Russia and India might account for that. It might be

* See the witness's statement and tables at the close of his evidence (p. 55).

Mr. J. Robinson.

1 July 1868.

that not only would the Continent be busy but we should be busy too. When those engines were taken, for instance, by Schneider and Company at the Creusot works, all English locomotive builders were very much occupied, and their prices of course were naturally higher prices. On the other hand the development of the trade of the French manufacturers by the extension of their works had been so large that they were slack at that time, and the consequence was that they were glad to take work at almost any price. At the present moment I consider that the position of employment on the continent of Europe in our particular trade is exceedingly brisk, and we can now get orders for other countries, such as Russia and Holland, which last year we could not have taken.

19,030. It is veer and haul?—It is not so; if you take long runs, at least, I do not think that that is the fact.

19,031. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Do not you think that the increased exportation of machinery is to be accounted for by the very large development of the railway system in all parts of the world now?—Yes, certainly.

19,032. And that the exportation is not equal to what it would be if we were better able to compete with foreign manufacturers?—It strikes me that the progress of exportation in different years, beginning at the year 1849 as the starting point, has not been nearly so great in late years as it was in the previous years.

19,033. You attribute that, I suppose, to the establishment of locomotive manufactories abroad?—Yes, we have now competitors in almost every country in Europe where before we had the market in our own hands. From 1849 to 1854 there was 665,000*l.* worth of steam engines and other machinery exported. In the period 1855 to 1860 it had risen from 665,000*l.* 1,610,000*l.*, an enormous rise in the value of the exports. Whereas, taking the period from 1861 to 1865 it had only grown from 1,610,000*l.* to 1,862,000*l.*

19,034. And that notwithstanding the development of the railway system?—Yes.

19,035. (*Mr. Booth.*) Does it appear to you that you would be able to compete with foreign countries with better chance of success if you were not subject to the interference of trades unions in your works?—I should scarcely like to say that, because part of my evidence has gone to show that I do not think the trades unions have done very much to increase the rate of wages.

19,036. In other respects they have not interfered to prevent you developing your works?—Not very much. We have always had the fear of their interfering, but generally speaking when they have interfered we have beaten them; and large establishments like ours have a better chance of fighting a battle than a small one.

19,037. You have not been obliged to give in in a battle the same as Mr. Beyer has?—No, and I do not know that I should have done it then; but it went against his grain, no doubt, to do it.

19,038. (*Lord Elcho.*) You have had no opposition to the introduction of improved processes of machinery, have you?—No; our men are of the better class of workmen, and I do not think that we have had any interference in such things. But reverting to the question of foreign competition, I should say that at Creusot the average of the wages of all the men (they employ, perhaps, about 2,000) in their engine factory only comes to 2*s.* 11*d.* per day of 11 hours; whereas in our own works it reaches 3*s.* 10¾*d.* for the same number of hours—(with us they work 10 hours, but I have calculated it for 11 hours, to make it proportionate), and including the piecework balances that we pay, it actually reaches 4*s.* 5¾*d.* as compared with their 2*s.* 11*d.*

19,039. What difference does that make in the price of an engine?—It almost doubles the wages paid.

19,040. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You have taken analogous occupations, and that is the result of the comparison?—That is the result of the comparison.

19,041. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You do not want to see wages in England go down to the Creusot level, do you?—Do you speak to me as an employer or as a man?

19,042. Whichever way you like; as an Englishman?—I want to see all Englishmen having better wages. The operation of my management at Manchester has been this; when we have reduced our artizans in consequence of a diminished trade, I have never touched the labourers' wages. I think that the labourers are underpaid, and I think that in some cases the artizans, especially the boiler-makers, are overpaid in proportion. If all the world rises it is nothing to me. That is what Mr. Allan may get accomplished perhaps. The point that we have got to consider is how we can best pay the whole of our population, not the artizans and unionists only, and how easily we can attain that end; and if we do not get foreign orders we must close our shops, and if we do, is Mr. Allan able to take all the labourers, as well as others, on his books?

19,043. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Although we should all like to see a greater rate of wages paid, is not that controlled in a great degree by competition?—I think that the rate of wages, if let alone by the unionists, is controlled by demand and supply.

19,044. Is not that consideration paramount to any artificial system that you may adopt for regulating wages?—Perfectly. We do not adopt any artificial system.

19,045. It is beyond the control of employers or men?—Yes.

19,046. However we may try to nullify that law, it will act in spite of us?—I believe in the long run it will.

19,047. (*Lord Elcho.*) Can you say how many men you employ?—About 1,600 men when in full work. I daresay that we have that number now.

19,048. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Since the establishment of trades unions, and the control of these unions by officials, has there been any greater difficulty experienced by you in communicating with your men, and making arrangements with them upon any disputed point, than there was before you were acquainted with trades unions?—I believe that when we have any difficulties between us, instead of settling them at once between our men and ourselves, they have first of all a shop meeting of the men, and then they refer everything to the Manchester committee; and then, if the case is of sufficient importance, they refer it to the London executive.

19,049. That loosens the tie, does it not?—I think so. We are always looking at a power beyond our control.

19,050. Does that state of things amount to something like this, that the workmen get as much as they can out of you, and you get as much as you can out of the workmen?—I daresay it is so. In fact Mr. Allan has said, I think, that they get as much as they can out of us.

19,051. Assuming that to be the condition of things, does it not follow that all that sympathy and good feeling and good fellowship between the master and workman which used to exist has been broken up?—I think it is simply a question of political economy now.

16,052. And is political economy very easily reconciled with Christian principles?—I do not know that they are altogether irreconcileable. I think you must do the best you can for a man who has met with any misfortune.

19,053. When things are on that footing, preaching a sermon to the trades unions and the masters has not much effect?—You may say that of society in general. If we were all perfect we need not have any trades unions.

19,054. (*Lord Elcho.*) Or police?—Or police.

19,055. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Do you think that trades unions are likely to remove any of this objectionable feeling in society?—No, I think that they are based on a bad principle, that is to say, that they will not allow anybody to work that does not belong to their own creed, in opposition to the principles which they put forth on the title-page of their book of rules, that "all men are brethren."

19,056. If that principle which you have described is the right principle, then the repeal of the corn laws was a mistake?—Yes. Mr. Allan says that it is a mistake to say that that is their principle. I say it is the fact, whether they avow the principle or not.

19,057. (*Mr. Booth.*) They aim at raising wages through the instrumentality of a monopoly?—Yes; and if I am not in their trade they will not allow me to come in and work at the trade, though I may be able to make a better key, for instance, than any of them can.

19,058. (*Mr. Mathews.*) With regard to the limitation of apprentices, have you had any difficulty in that respect?—We fought a battle with them and beat them.

19,059. And you have retained the privilege of educating apprentices to any extent you think right?—So far as we know that is so; but the foremen sometimes do things that we are not cognizant of. With regard to the principle of these societies, I may call attention to the fact that Mr. Allan's club has a rule which I think is one of the things that ought to be objected to if the Legislature is going to recognize trades unionism. They say in rule 15, section 9, "That the contribution of members "shall be held for the objects contemplated by the "rules, or such as the majority of members may "sanction." Now we know very well what a majority of railway shareholders is against a compact phalanx of directors, and therefore the executive in London, by getting a vote of the society, can apply the funds of the union to any purpose they like.

19,060. You think that whatever the feelings of the local branch, if our friend Mr. Allan in his peregrinations were to come to Manchester, his advice would overrule the Manchester branch?—Yes, just in the same way as the chairman of the board is the most influential man on the board.

19,061. What are the "au bois" boiler-plates to which you refer in your statement?—They are charcoal boiler-plates. I have made a statement there of the cost of boiler-plates in France, and actually delivered at our works from France, as compared with a similar quality made in England.

19,062. You cannot make a similar quality in England, can you?—We have a similar quality in this sense that it corresponds in the minds of engineers with the other.

19,063. There are no charcoal boiler-plates made in England, are there?—No, but supposing that you are an engineer and specify a boiler of a certain quality, we may fairly say that "au bois," the French charcoal plate, is equal to Low Moor, and I say that the French charcoal plate we can buy at 26*s.* a cwt., whereas the Low Moor, a similar size, costs us 30*s.* a cwt. delivered at Manchester.

19,064. If it were not for the imperative character of the specifications which oblige the English locomotive makers to use Low Moor plates, as good a quality might be obtained at 26*s.* from Staffordshire as you pay 30*s.* for here?—That I, as a locomotive maker, cannot admit. All I have to say is that locomotive boilers are made in England of that quality at that price. I would most willingly go to France, by permission of the engineer, and get the "au bois" because I have tried it. That is exactly the question which M. Schneider asked me at the French Treaty Committee, whether we always made our boilers of Low Moor, he having in view the manufacture of his own iron. At all events it is quite clear that we are just on the balance with them as regards competition.

19,065. (*Lord Elcho.*) Have you anything like a union amongst the masters?—We have a union which was created about two years ago to resist the encroachments of the iron moulders, but it is called a defence association. I shall be glad to put in the rules of that association if it is desired. It merely sits to give information. We have no rule that compels us to take any course of action; each man can do as he likes.

19,066. How many joined that association—is it an association confined to your district?—It is an association confined to our district extending to Blackburn in the north and to the district round Manchester; perhaps 50 or 60 firms join it.

19,067. Do you think it possible or probable, assuming that there is an aggressive tendency on the part of the unions of men in your business, that a general defensive association could be formed on the part of the masters?—I think it is utterly impossible. There are a great many masters in our trade who are very small men, men who have been workmen themselves perhaps within a recent period, and employ only half a dozen men. Supposing that we agree against an aggression of the society to have a lock-out, those men cannot afford to stand out, and unless we all stick together we cannot beat them. The only plan that we adopt now is for each to fight his own battle on his own hook.

19,068. Do you think that the large firms cannot combine?—I think not.

19,069. But they have done so in other trades, why should they not in yours?—Our interests are so diverse, and our trade so different from others.

19,070. Why should your interests be more diverse and your trade be more difficult in that respect than the shipbuilding trade, for instance, on the Clyde, where masters have combined?—They have combined just for a time.

19,071. No, they have a permanent association which was formed in consequence of the strike two years ago?—All I have to say is that it will not be permanent; my experience is against the possibility of getting a number of men with diverse interests (one having a locomotive trade, another bridge building, another stationary engines, and so on) to stick together.

19,072. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You think that a combination of that sort may be good for a time for a special purpose?—I think it may endure for a time for a specific purpose.

19,073. But that it cannot maintain itself in permanence?—No.

19,074. (*Lord Elcho.*) And that because of the discordant interests of the different individuals?—Yes.

19,075. Have you had experience either in the way of communicating with your men collectively, or in the way of communicating with chosen representative men in cases of dispute?—I have.

19,076. What has been the result generally?—The result is always now "that they take time to consider," which I know means a reference to the Manchester committee.

19,077. Do you think that it might be desirable to try and bring about such a state of things as that, instead of striking, masters and men should meet and talk their disputes over round a table (I do not mean with any legal powers)?—May I ask if you mean courts of conciliation?

19,078. Courts of conciliation, or a certain number on each side meeting to talk the thing over?—I would not have the slightest objection to do that to-morrow, if you would remove the action of the trades unions.

19,079. Supposing that instead of removing the action of the trade union, it was an understood thing that the two sides would meet in this way, and that you accepted the union as the organ of communication on the part of the men?—I think you must get a new generation before you can get employers to accept the union as a power or as an authority to discuss any questions of that sort.

19,080. Even as the representative of the men?—Yes, I think so. We are too far apart in our prejudices; at all events I admit that we have all one interest, although Mr. Allan does not think so. Foreign competition has affected the men as well as the masters.

19,081. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You think that the encroachments of foreign trade have already had the effect and will continue to have the effect of throwing the skilled engineers out of employment?—I think so.

Mr. J. Robinson.

1 July 1868.

19,082. (*Lord Elcho.*) But I understood you to say that it was not the action of the union that caused those encroachments of foreign trade?—Yes, but I think that whatever tends to keep up the price of labour in this country puts us in a worse position to compete with a foreign country.

19,083. Do you believe that if as much as possible is done by introducing improved machinery, that will improve our position, because I have heard it stated that the cases where foreign trade has taken such a start have been cases where the manufacturers abroad have used new machinery, and that for instance there is not such a thing in America as a horseshoe nail made by hand, and that iron goes out from England to America which is there made into locks, and comes back here in the shape of locks?—I think it quite possible that improved processes do go on in some countries as long as the demand for labour is equal to the supply. We perhaps above all other houses in the trade, being both locomotive engine makers and tool makers, have been tempted to step ahead in that direction, and have made a great many machines for facilitating processes which perhaps would not have been made otherwise, though lately there has been rather a standing still in that respect, but that has induced an application on the part of all other competing firms in England for the same machines, and we are constantly supplying them to competitors abroad. We are sending out materials to cut our own throats, as some would say.

19,084. (*Mr. Mathews.*) If you did not do it other people would?—Yes, I am a freetrader. I make for any man what he asks me for.

19,085. (*Mr. Booth.*) Your defensive union which has been mentioned, I suppose, never attempts to control firms that are not parties to that union; you do not interfere with them?—Not at all. And in order to free myself from any possible inuendo against our union, I would rather put in a copy of the rules, as the association has been mentioned in evidence, because you will see that it is perfectly harmless; that in fact it is rather for consultation than for any other purpose.

19,086. (*Lord Elcho.*) But as regards its being harmless, there would be nothing morally wrong, would there, in masters forming combinations the same as the men do?—Nothing morally wrong, but I think that it would put us in a position of antagonism which I should not like to see.

19,087. (*Mr. Booth.*) But your union does not interfere with persons not parties to the union, while the trade union does?—Just so. You will perhaps allow me to read the only rule at all binding even upon members of the union, rule 3: "The basis of action "of this association shall be that of mutual agreement "and engagement of the members of the allied asso- "ciations to abstain from giving employment to "workmen who are on strike against such employers "as are members of any branch association," so that if Mr. Beyer had a strike I would undertake during the strike not to employ the men on strike against him, and *vice versâ* he would undertake the same if I had a strike. That is the only rule compulsory on the members.

19,088. But the firms that are not members of your union and that do not act upon that rule you do not interfere with?—Not at all; and the amount of interference is not much if that is the only rule that really binds the members. I have had put into my hand some observations which I have made upon Mr. Allan's evidence; perhaps the Commission will allow me to call attention to them. At question 678 Mr. Allan is asked by Mr. Merivale: "Is there any "complaint of the work being inferior in places where "piece-work prevails?" and the answer he gives is, "Yes; as a general rule I think it is inferior." Now I want to put to Mr. Allan, through the Commission, whether he thinks the work at Manchester, at such shops as our own, and Beyer's, and Whitworth's, is inferior to any work in the kingdom, because at those shops I think we all work piece-work.

(*Mr. Allan.*) I give credit to Sharp and Stewart for producing perhaps the best locomotives of any firm in England; but in speaking with regard to piece-work I say that not only in Sharp, Stewart, and Company's place, but in all other places where piece-work is worked, there is a tendency on the part of the working men to slide over the work. I have found it from my own practical experience, and I believe that that experience proves this, that not only does it exist in Mr. Robinson's firm, but that it exists in all other places where piece-work is worked. Again, if you will refer to the report of the Select Committee of the House Commons at the time of the Russian war, with regard to the gunboats that were made, you will find that piece-work is condemned throughout the whole affair as being inferior work to day-work; and I believe that the same thing exists not only in one firm but in all firms where piece-work is practised.

19,089. (*Mr. Booth to Mr. Allan.*) That is a principle of human nature?—Yes, the men that are on piece-work just try to do as much as they possibly can; but now, to take the Crewe engines, for example, I will undertake to say that at the time I was there they made a superior class of engine to any other engines, for this simple reason, that it was all day-work. Mr. Robinson found a little fault about my statement as to these 15 engines which have been supplied from Schneider and Co. to the Eastern Counties Company. Those engines, as far as I can learn, are exceedingly good engines; but when I made the statement about that portion of the material being furnished from Yorkshire, I stated that I would not vouch for the fact, but that I had been informed that the boilers, the wheels, the cranks, and axles were furnished from Yorkshire; and I said, taking these into consideration, they formed an important part of the engine. Now what Mr. Robinson has stated here to-day does not disprove that statement, indeed it goes to show that my statement was correct with regard to some portions of the engine.

(*Mr. Robinson.*) I believe that what Mr. Allan has now stated is entirely a misapprehension. When he speaks of boilers he leads the Commissioners to conclude boilers manufactured here?

(*Mr. Allan.*) No, I mean boiler-plates.

(*Mr. Robinson.*) I say it is probable that the boiler-plates were not made in Yorkshire. I say that boiler-plates manufactured by the Creusot firm themselves are equal in quality to Low Moor, and there is no other part of the engine of which Mr. Allen speaks, which could have been made in Yorkshire, because those other parts were specified to be the manufacture of Krupp and Essen; and the only thing he can speak of as being made in Yorkshire is the boiler-plate, which is a different thing from any part of the engine being made in Yorkshire. Then with regard to piece-work, from which we have wandered a little, I have to say that the plan of doing piece-work in an establishment like ours, and in Whitworth's, and Beyer's, has led to such a reputation for our work that we can get a higher price than other firms.

19,090. (*Mr. Mathews to Mr. Robinson.*) You are satisfied with the quality of the work which is produced under the piece-work system?—Yes, and there is a check in this way. A smith, for instance, does his work by piece-work, a turner or fitter comes after him, and if the piece-work is bad, it is sent back to the smith to be replaced without cost. The man in the after process is always ready enough to find fault with the man in the previous process if he has not done his work well. I say that it is far easier to check the quality of work done in a properly organised establishment, than it is is check the amount of the work.

19,091. (*Lord Elcho.*) If the work is properly checked under the piece-work system and the man is properly paid for it, there is a greater inducement to him to work well under the system than under the day-work system, because under the day-work system he does not have his day wages interfered with; while under the piece-work system they may be interfered with?—Yes, and that is why every time that these gentlemen try to do away with piece-work I fight.

19,092. An idle man, working by the day, has an interest in doing as little as he can; an idle man,

working piece-work, if he wishes to have his wages at all, must work up to the mark which the superintendent thinks necessary?—Yes; and he will first of all try to do his work quickly, perhaps, and at first it may be badly; but if it is badly it comes on his own head, because the next man finds fault with the work and he has to do it again for nothing.

(*Mr. Allan.*) Let me ask Mr. Robinson to look at the answer given by me to question 918.

(*Mr. Robinson.*) "I have been informed (I do not "vouch for the correctness of it), that not only were "the tires completed, but that the cranks and wheels "were completed, and the axles as well, in this "country, and those form a very important part of a "locomotive." I have to say that the crank pins were very likely completed at Essen, that the tires were very likely completed at Essen, and that neither axles nor wheels were in this country till they came in with the engine in a completed state. I cannot vouch for the thing further than this, that I know the practice of the Great Eastern Railway Company. We have made engines for them, and they would not be accepted if those specifications were departed from; but that is a fact which can be easily ascertained from the Great Eastern people themselves.

19,093. (*Lord Elcho.*) Where does Krupp's iron come from?—I fancy that he has a mixture of Swedish and Westphalian. I do not think that he gets any English iron.

19,094. (*Mr. Mathews.*) There is no Bessemer process there?—He has lately put up a Bessemer.

(*Mr. Allan.*) I may add that the question was put to me by Sir Daniel Gooch, a gentleman who from his position could have refuted any misrepresentation of mine.

(*Mr. Robinson.*) I have the specification for the engines, which I shall be very glad to put in (*handing in the same*).

The following statement and tables (referred to in the foregoing evidence) were handed in by the witness:—

I.—Statement by Mr. John Robinson, Engineer, (of the Atlas Works, Manchester,) in reply to questions issued by the Commission.

Objects of Trades Unions.

My conviction from an experience of at least 25 years is, that the relations between workmen and their employers in the engineering trade have been much disturbed by the existence and extension of trades unions.

Before the great strike and turn-out of 1852 I knew almost every man at the Atlas Works by name and appearance, from their having continued steadily in the service of the firm for a very considerable number of years. The struggle of 1852, ending in the discharge of all the workmen, and the refusal to re-admit them without their signing a declaration that they were not members of a trades union, brought in a new set of hands who gradually joined the unions, and since then the bond between employers and employed has been much relaxed, since the employers feel that in dealing with their workmen they cannot expect confidence or decision, so long as the results are directed by irresponsible committees, personally unknown to the employers, and therefore beyond the reach of any moral or social influence which might be brought to bear upon the men, if they held the simple relation of employed to employer.

I have always declined in any way to recognize the existence of a club for trades union purposes, as I have held, and still hold, the opinion that they exercise a bad influence on the men, and consequently on the trades which they seek to regulate.

Regulation of the Rate of Wages.—The minimum rate of wages being fixed for a certain district by the committee of the union, all men not able to obtain that rate, if members, are liable to be fined, and so the inferior workman is in this respect punished for his inferiority, but on the other hand the clever, persevering, and industrious workman is prevented from gaining the advantages due to his skill, because the employer well knows that if he is advanced in pay, in proportion to his abilities, an application for a similar advance from all the men in the same branch of the trade would sooner or later follow.

Limitation of the Hours of Labour.—The limitation of the hours of labour, if followed by no similar reduction of wages is simply another way of gaining an increase of pay, and it has in my opinion a most serious influence upon the British manufacturer in the presence of foreign competition, inasmuch as it is even more easy to reduce wages when trade is bad than to increase the number of working hours under any circumstances, and so the foreign competitor, having no such restriction, has cheaper labour, and a larger amount of work produced per annum, for a certain amount of capital invested, and fixed charges incurred, than the British manufacturer.

Restriction on the Number of Apprentices.—Restriction on the number of apprentices employed serves two ends in the trades union point of view; first, it tends to secure that men shall be paid for work which could be done by boys at a cheaper rate; and second, it prevents the admission into the trade of too many competitors. In this matter labour should, in my opinion, be perfectly unfettered; any boys able to procure work should be admitted to a trade, and the demand for labour should be left to regulate the supply of operatives.

Piece Work.—This mode of working has been objected to by the unions for fear of getting too much work done for too little money, or in too short a time, and to prevent inferior and idle workmen being placed at a proper disadvantage by the skill and exertions of the more active workman.

In my opinion piece work is the fairest mode of securing the payment of a workman, in proportion to his skill and industry, since it is easier in our business to watch the quality of work produced than to watch the efforts of every workman in the establishment, and I see no difference in principle between my being bound to make a locomotive engine for a sum fixed beforehand, and a workman being bound to produce a certain part of it at a price fixed beforehand; the profitable result to each depends upon the amount of exertion used in executing the work.

Overtime.—When, as in our trades, almost all our productions are made to order, and contingencies arise preventing their completion at the anticipated time it becomes almost a necessity to have the power of working overtime, in order to catch a vessel, or to prepare for the opening of a railway, or to anticipate the closing of a northern navigation. Should overtime be entirely stopped the English manufacturer will be in a worse position to meet foreign competition than now, for the reasons given already against the limitation of the hours of labour.

I am averse to systematic overtime, but I find that when trade is brisk it is sometimes difficult to retain skilful artizans in our service unless they are allowed to work overtime, since they are anxious to get all the money they can when opportunity offers.

Employment of Non-union Men.—In large establishments the unions almost always succeed in preventing the employment of non-union men, because, when a foreman wants an additional hand, he generally asks some of his men if they know a good one: application is then made at the club room, and one of the members out of work or in receipt of inferior wages is recommended for the job, and probably succeeds in obtaining it, to the exclusion of a non-union man of equal or greater ability.

It is becoming more and more the practice to prevent union men from applying for work at the large shops, lest the appearance of a number of men seeking work at the doors should produce the impression that workmen are more plentiful than work, and so lead to a reduction in the rate of wages.

Employing unskilled Workmen on Machines.—The dismissal of all unskilled workmen, *i.e.*, all workmen not mechanics by trade, was attempted to be enforced in December 1851, but as the unions at that time were unable to accomplish their object, in consequence of the opposition of the employers, men and boys not members of the amalgamated societies have since been allowed to work planing machines, drilling machines, boring machines, shaping machines, slotting machines, screwing machines, &c.; but these men so employed have been induced to form another society with objects similar to other trades unions, and doubtless to league with them whenever occasion requires. Men of this class are as capable of producing as good work by the use of the machines they are employed upon as "mechanics" who have served their time at turning or fitting could do, and of course at a cheaper rate.

Mr. J. Robinson.

1 July 1868.

EFFECTS OF POLICY OF TRADES UNIONS.

I do not believe that these unions have done much on the whole to advance the rate of wages in their respective trades, but I have a very strong conviction that their tendency is to diminish the amount of work produced for a given sum paid in wages, and so to increase materially the cost of the production of labour. In many isolated instances the threat of all the men leaving a shop together has no doubt induced the employer to give an advance of wages rather than close his works, but in such cases he feels wronged, and takes the first opportunity he can to regain his former position.

I hand in a table (see *post*, No. II.), showing the relative rates of wages paid to the various classes of operatives at the Atlas Works in 1851, and from 1861 to the present time, and I think it will be admitted that the gain generally has not been greater than that obtained by agricultural labourers, and cooks and other domestic servants, during the same period, though there has been no such union amongst them.

In consequence of the trade union regulations the clever, industrious, man suffers because he cannot obtain from his employer a higher rate of wages than an incompetent man in the same trade, since if the employer gave him an advance every other man in the same branch would feel discontented until he obtained a similar rise.

Abolition of Piece Work.—The abolition of piece work is sought for the same reason, lest by its adoption more work should be done in a given time than the trade committees think prudent, and it is therefore sought to debar the skilful workman from exerting the powers which nature and education may have given him, and thus all stimulus to exertion is removed until the man is demoralized and sinks to the level of his fellows.

By shutting out non-union men from employment a monopoly of the trade in the hands of their own members is sought by the unions. It is allowed on all sides that this would be inexpedient for the interests of trade generally, and if so would ultimately prove detrimental to those of the workman.

Skilled Labour on Machines.—The retention of machines such as I have just mentioned in the hands of skilled artizans, members of the trades unions, is sought with the same object as shutting out non-unionists from employment on such machines, and would result in an unfair monopoly by members of the unions.

The interests of the operatives, in their ultimate development, are identical with those of the employers, inasmuch as if the restrictions on labour sought to be imposed by the unions result in increasing the cost of the products of their labour to such an extent as to allow foreign competitors to obtain orders, whether in their own, our own, or in neutral markets, the country loses the trade, and the workman his share of the wages which might otherwise have been his.

The employer, having taken large contracts, is often met by the workmen, who having learnt his position, with a demand for an advance in wages, so that the rates calculated in his estimates have to be exceeded, and he becomes to that extent the loser. In future, therefore, he tries to protect himself against this risk by seeking a larger rate of profit to cover contingencies, and probably thereby loses the contract for himself and his workpeople.

If because of the limitation of the hours of labour the employer asks a certain period for the accomplishment of the work which he tenders for, while a foreigner, unrestricted by such limitation, offers a shorter time, he may in like manner lose the work for himself and his operatives.

Number of Apprentices.—The restriction in the number of apprentices simply obliges the manufacturer to employ mechanics at from 25*s.* to 35*s.* per week upon work which to a considerable extent boys paid at the rate of from 7*s.* to 20*s.* per week could do as well, and so the cost of his productions is unduly increased, and he is less able to compete for contracts than his more fortunate foreign competitors.

Abolition of Piece Work.—The abolition of piece work I look upon as another mode of keeping down the skilled and industrious workman to the level of the idle, incompetent, and careless one, since a good man working by the piece simply earns a higher amount of wages in a week than an indifferent man, and in exact proportion to his ability and industry, but if hindered from doing so his employer as well as himself is prevented from reaping the advantage of his superior skill, and so from producing the work at the lowest possible price.

Effects of Policy as regards the Interests of the Employers of Labour.—The restriction on the employment of non-union men removes from the wages competition all men included under that description, and so the employer is prevented from going into so large a labour market as would otherwise be at his command. If he were at perfect liberty to select any workman he chose, the probability would be, not that wages would fall, but that more and perhaps better work would be produced in a given time.

The same observations would apply to the employment of artizans on machines, except that the wages do not and would not rise so high for that class of labour as they do for that which is more distinctively "skilled."

Effects of Policy as regards the Interests of Trade generally.—The result of all these restrictions sought to be imposed upon workmen is, that trade is driven from those neighbourhoods where the unions are strong, to those where they are less active; as from London to the Clyde, Leeds, or Newcastle; but worse than this, that formerly, when these restrictions were less oppressive, England supplied certain kinds of machinery, for instance, locomotives, to France, Germany, Austria, Holland, Russia, Italy, Spain, and other European countries; whilst now France, Germany, and Austria, not only supply their own wants, but have become important competitors with us in Russia, Spain, Italy, Egypt, and even in India and in England herself, and as a palpable result of this competition I have to state that during the past two years 40 locomotives have been ordered in France for an English railway, of which 15 have been delivered according to specification, and are reported to be equal to the average standard of English make, and that for one of our Indian railways 20 locomotives have been ordered from Wurtemberg, and 10 from Switzerland, all of which are in course of delivery, so that the employers of England are certainly not beyond the reach of the competition of those countries to which they were formerly exporters of similar articles.

The export also of workshop tools to France, Germany, Austria, and Belgium has much diminished since these countries have formed the means of manufacturing these machines for themselves.

The table which I hand in (see *post*, No. III.) shows the enormous progress in our exports of machinery and engines exhibited by comparing the six years included from 1855 to 1860 with those from 1849 to 1854, while from 1861 to 1865 the increase has been very inconsiderable.

Effect of Trades Unions on Character of the Men.—My opinion of the effect of trades unions on the character of workmen is, that as they are compelled when joining them to submit to a great number of restrictive rules regulating the rates of wages, amount of work to be done per diem, obligation to leave work when called upon by the club, discouragement to work piece work, contributions to maintain men out of work for trades purposes, &c., the individual character of the man is lost, stimulus to individual exertion is removed; and frequent contributions to maintain men in idleness have the effect of making the man less careful with his work, less anxious to keep his place, and is likely to bring him to the conviction that it is of no use to put forth the efforts for which his education, his abilities, or his energy may have fitted him, because he finds he cannot rise above the level of those around him, and he falls back, perhaps demoralized, into the rank and file of his club.

AMALGAMATION OF UNIONS.

The disadvantages to employers of amalgamation of trades unions are that in case of a dispute with his men in one trade, that trade is able to call in the assistance of the other associated trades, so as by a larger array of numbers to force the employer to submit. These associated trades are brought into action without any knowledge of the question in dispute, save such as is given by the workmen or their unions, which is necessarily "ex parte," and they have not therefore the means of forming a correct judgment of the merits of the case.

The advantages of amalgamation of trades unions are not affected by the proximity or remoteness of amalgamated unions. As they are universal they act from one common centre and through one organized association; they can thus enforce their dictates against the workman who has offended in whatever district he may apply for work, by the circulation of black lists and other similar means.

Operation of Trade Councils.—I am of opinion that trades councils become simply a bar to the relations which ought to exist between the employer and his workpeople, since the employer usually declines to recognize the right of the council to interfere and deems its influence antagonistic to

his own, so that if once the workmen of his establishment put themselves under the guidance of the trades council, the employer feels that he has lost all personal and moral influence over them, and resists any application which may be made to him by them for either an advance of wages or a modification of existing arrangements.

Law relating to Combinations.

Defective Points of present Law relating to Combinations.—I am of opinion that the law should not permit the present combination of trades unions with benevolent objects in societies formed ostensibly for benevolent purposes.

The payment for many years by industrious and independent workmen into the funds of these societies naturally renders the men unwilling to forfeit all the advantages thus fairly gained for themselves, which they would do by seceding from the union whenever an attempt is made to take steps which their judgment disapproves. I would especially refer to the hardship imposed upon a man who has joined his society for prudent and provident reasons, being at the mercy of the trades council of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, whose rule 15, sect. 9, states "that the contri- "bution of members shall be held for the objects contem- "plated by the rules or such as the majority of the members "may sanction."

Proposed Amendments to present Law.—I should propose to make it penal for any benevolent or friendly society, whether registered or not, to appropriate its funds or to employ its organization for trades union purposes (*i.e.*, for the restriction of trades), or for any purpose whatsoever not fully and openly stated in its rules or in its byelaws; as, for instance, I should confine the action of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Machinists, &c., to the objects stated in the preamble to their rules, and preclude them from exercising those restrictions on trade implied at pp. 4 and 5 of their preface.

I would also suggest that picketing during a strike at any establishment be declared illegal, and that in case the proprietor or his representative knows by his own observation that such a thing exists, it shall be competent for him to swear a declaration to that effect before a magistrate, who shall thereupon be empowered to issue a warrant for the apprehension of such men as may be pointed out to the officer as acting in the capacity of picket, and on conviction to punish them as the law may direct.

Effect of Trades Unions on the Rate of Wages.

I am disinclined to the conviction that by their means wages have been raised to a higher point than they would have reached without a union for that purpose, and I refer to the table already mentioned (No. II.), to show how little has been done in that way in our own establishment during the last 16 years.

I am free to admit that in the case, especially of employers on a small scale, the dread of a strike of the workmen may have induced an immediate advance in wages, but generally the scale of wages is regulated very accurately by the demand for work and the supply of labour in the market.

In my own experience I have known the rate of agricultural labourers advanced from 10*s.* and 11*s.* per week to 15*s.* and 16*s.* per week in 15 years, and in another neighbourhood affected by iron, copper, and slate mining, I have now to pay 18*s.* per week for a good labourer; this rise has taken place without any combinations or union whatever.

The rise in the rate of wages of domestic servants during the last 25 years must be within the knowledge of all employers, and they certainly have gained it by the simple law of supply and demand. I am disposed to think that individual exertion to deserve and gain higher rates of pay would tend more rapidly to the raising of the rate paid to the operative classes generally than the present mode of combination, since where piece work is in vogue the individual receipts of the workmen are considerably higher than where ordinary day wages are paid. The country would reap the advantage of producing more work per head of population.

Effect of Uniform Rate of Wages on Character of Workmen.—I am of opinion that a uniform rate of wages discourages the intelligent, well-educated, and industrious workman, brings him down to the level of the incapable operative, and removes every chance of provoking, by the stimulus of good example and higher wages, the inferior man to endeavour to raise himself in the scale of society, to their deterioration morally and intellectually. Instance a barrister paid at rates applying to all barristers, what effect upon the advocacy; the stimulus to exertion in their case is larger practice and higher fees than could be gained by an inactive and incompetent advocate.

The tendency of unions to render the wages more equal in different districts would seem to exist; but I have never yet been able to understand how wages continue to exhibit such discrepancies in various parts of the country as is shown by Table No. IV.

Difference in the Treatment of Union and Non-union Men.

I find that non-union men have the utmost difficulty in getting employment in any large shop; the foremen who engage the men not unfrequently sympathize with the unions, and as it is the custom in all large shops for the foreman to ask the workmen already employed to recommend an additional "hand" when he needs one, the result is that none but union men are recommended or employed.

I hand in for inspection a copy of the carpenters' byelaws,* to show that in this trade at least rules exist to keep out union men. I believe them to be practised by all clubs, as I know from long experience that it is extremely difficult in large establishments to retain the services of non-union men, however efficient they may be.

Strikes and Lock-outs.

The lock-out of 1851–52 arose from certain demands made I think on Messrs. Hibbert, Platt, & Co., of Oldham, who were and are large machine makers. The men demanded (see "Manchester Guardian," December 24th, 1851):—

"1st. That no workman shall, after the commencement "of 1852, work any overtime, except in cases of accident, "and then be paid double wages, and that piece work be "entirely discontinued.

"2d. That all planing, shaping, and boring machines "be worked by mechanics or apprentices, or taken up by "them as they fall vacant.

"3d. That the labourers hitherto employed on those "machines be not unduly interfered with before the begin- "ning of the year 1852, when the machines shall fall "entirely into the hands of mechanics."

The employers felt that these demands were unjustifiable, and decided to close their works in the middle of January 1852, and they remained closed for about four months.

On the 5th April 1852 the Amalgamated Society, through Mr. Allan, their secretary, withdrew the resolution for the abolition of piece work and overtime, and asked the employers to withdraw the "declaration" proposed for the signature of the workman when taken into employment. In most cases the declaration was retained, and the unionists were thought to be beaten.

At the end of the year 1865 the moulders of Manchester struck for an advance of 2*s.* per week, under the direction, as I believe, of the Moulders Society; and in consequence of our refusal to comply with a demand which we thought unreasonable, for many weeks our establishment suffered great inconvenience for want of moulders. We procured a supply after the lapse of some weeks, but our loss was considerable.

In the month of August 1866, while we were building a new boiler shop, the carpenters of Manchester struck, also for an advance of 2*s.* per week; and the progress of our building was delayed for at least six weeks, to our great loss and inconvenience.

In the month of June of the same year the pattern makers in our employ and in Manchester generally struck for an advance of 2*s.* per week; all our pattern makers left, except the apprentices and one man who was already receiving the rate demanded, and for many weeks we were unable to make any satisfactory progress with such patterns as we were needing; the rest of the works were consequently put to inconvenience and the number of men reduced.

Whenever partial strikes happen in large establishments like the Atlas Works the rest of the men employed suffer by the delay and loss of time involved, even though they may not absolutely be discharged; the fulfilment of contracts in due time is not unfrequently rendered impossible by these proceedings.

Machinery.—I know of no strike in our branch of engineering to resist the introduction of machinery.

Picketing and Intimidation.—Picketing and intimidation always existed, and I continually observe pickets when there

* *Bye-laws of the Manchester and Salford Lodges of the General Union of Operative Carpenters and Joiners*, which state (section 33) that members of the society taking contracts must "in all cases employ society men."

Mr. J. Robinson.

1 July 1868.

are strikes, but I do not remember any very serious acts of violence and outrage to our own workmen, due perhaps to our position in the middle of a town well supplied with police, though I have known a man to be assaulted at our own door.

Effects of Strikes.—In the general strike and lock-out of 1852 no advance of wages was sought, nor, as far as I remember, gained.

At the iron-moulders' strike against piece work, in April 1862, the weekly rate of wages was 34*s.* per week; when other men came in the wages were reduced to 32*s.*, and did not rise to 34*s.* again until 1865.

After the strike of iron-moulders in 1865 no weekly rate of wages was paid in our establishment to iron-moulders; the men were simply paid by the hundredweight or piece of work done, and I have the impression that they gained no advantage by their strike.

At the pattern makers' strike of June 1866 for an advance from 32*s.* to 34*s.* per week no such advance was obtained at the Atlas Works, though I understand that the advance was given by many of the other employers.

Effects of Trades Unions upon Trade.

In my opinion the effects of trades unions upon the engineering trades has been the imposition of such restrictions upon the employer as to rates of wages to be paid, classes of men to be employed, and discouragement of piece work, as seriously to endanger the continuance of that growth of prosperity which up to that time Great Britain has enjoyed; the absence of this prosperity would naturally be as disastrous to the interests of the operatives as to those of the employers. (See *ante*, for further remarks upon effects of trades unions.)

Foreign Competition.—I wish to state that since I have been engaged in the manufacture of locomotive engines a great change has come over the trade in this country, as will be shown in the table which I hand in (see *post*, No. V.) relating to the business of the Atlas Works in that particular branch.

As a further illustration of this subject, I have to state that during the negociations for the Treaty of Commerce with France, in 1860, an order was given out for a large number of locomotives for Russia, through the Credit Mobilier of France. The order was actually taken by an Austrian firm at a price less than those quoted either by England, France, or Germany, showing that price only, and not national predilections, guided the destination of the order.

During the last year the East Indian Railway Company sent out specifications for a large number of locomotives for their railways; one result of the competition was that 30 of these locomotives were ordered from Messrs. Kessler & Co., of Esslingen, in Wurtemberg, and 10 from Messrs. Esscher, Wyss & Co., of Zürich, at prices lower than were offered by English makers.

During the year 1865 the Great Eastern Railway Company issued specifications for locomotives, and so low were the French offers that 40 of these engines were ordered from Messrs. Schneider & Co., of Creusot, although a large part of the material was required to be procured from England; 15 of these engines have been delivered, and I know from the railway authorities, that the workmanship and finish are reported to be "equal to the standard of good English makers."

The trade in workshop tools for Germany and Austria has almost entirely ceased, and that for France has been reduced to very small proportions.

I refer to the table already mentioned (No. III.), showing the exports of engines and other machinery to Russia, Sweden and Norway, Prussia, Hanover and Hanse Towns, Holland and Belgium, France, Austria, Canada, and United States, from which it will, I think, be seen that the progress of our trade in machinery and engines has been by no means proportionate to the general progress of civilization in those parts of the world, and I am disposed to attribute this want of advance in our trade to the competition of foreign countries, to which I have already alluded, and which is further illustrated by a comparison (see Table No. VI.) of the exports of machinery, &c., for first three months of 1865, '66, and '67, and of the exports of unwrought iron and steel during same periods, the one showing an increase, and the other a decrease, in the three years.

The effect of this competition will, I think, be clearly seen from Table No. VII., showing the imports of unwrought iron from 1851 to 1866, which progresses steadily; but an alarming feature is the commencement and rapid, yet steady increase of the importation of manufactured iron since 1860, indicating an advance of foreign competition in a trade which we have been accustomed to look upon as peculiarly our own.

I may mention the fact that during the strike of June 1864, amongst the ironworkers of the West Riding of Yorkshire, my firm were driven to procure the best quality of iron for boiler plates from France; others procured it from Sweden. We also obtained iron of large dimensions for frame plates from France. The relative prices of these irons were:—

	Per cwt. s.	d.
French boiler plates, say 4½ cwts, "au bois"	26	0
English do. L.M.	30	0
French frame plates, say 1 ton each	15	6
English do. South Staffordshire	24	0

All prices delivered at our works.

We still continue to procure frame plates from France, as some sizes are much cheaper when delivered at our works than the English sorts, and the quality quite equal. We should doubtless buy iron sheets of large size also from France and elsewhere on account of their cheaper cost, but the specifications of purchasing, engineers generally confine us to certain English brands.

A most important trade in which I am interested is that of steel tyres for railway engines. These were offered in England, when we began to purchase in May 1862, at the price of 85*l.* per ton delivered by a Prussian house. Soon after an English house came into the market with a quality not then quite equal, at a price of 65*l.* per ton. The competition between the Prussian house and the English manufacturers has reduced the price to 40*l.* per ton delivered in Manchester.

Our purchases from Prussia since the first year of the general adoption of cast steel tyres to March 31st, 1867, have reached in value 19,521*l.*, while from England they have been only 8,746*l.*, or less than half the foreign value. I attribute the whole of this successful competition of foreigners to the fact of their progress and development of manufactures by their growing intelligence and increasing leisure to give attention to manufactures, which their comparative immunity from war and from protracted misunderstandings with their workpeople for the last 30 or 40 years have afforded them; while in England, notwithstanding the repeal of the corn laws, the price of food and of most kinds of commodities are continually advancing, due in a great measure to the increased price paid for labour in the various branches of construction and manufacture. So that the time may be rapidly approaching when the mineral wealth and commercial and mechanical education of our foreign neighbours may reach such a development as to enable them to supply themselves and others with the various articles required by countries of advancing civilization at prices at which Great Britain finds herself unable to compete, and so capital as well as labour, whether of the head or of the hand, may seek in vain for employment in those branches of industry in which we have been accustomed to look upon ourselves as paramount.

Arbitration and Co-operation.

I am of opinion that courts of arbitration are not required, as my experience is that no disputes arise between employers and their workmen individually, except such as have relation to questions of fulfilment of engagements as to wages and piece work balances, and which existing courts readily and I believe satisfactorily deal with.

The only co-operative or industrial society with which I am acquainted is our own company, which, having 88 members, includes 24 who are in one way or other working for the interests of the establishment, our object being in this way to get the largest possible number of clerks, foremen, &c., interested in the success of our business in the same way as the manual workman becomes interested by the system of piece work adopted, *i.e.*, "the more work the more pay."

I have not a strong opinion, but I lean to the idea that in consequence of the difficulty of securing the services of efficient and high principled managers, together with the disinclination to submit to restraint on the part of those operatives who are partners, they are not likely to be able to compete with those establishments where the employers interest is either paramount, or at all events largely in excess of the interest of those employed, since this gives him a proportionate influence in the management of the business, and his intelligence and experience become available for the advantage of the concern.

II.—Table showing the Rates of Wages (with the Averages thereof) paid at the Atlas Works to Skilled Workmen at the end of the Years 1851, 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866.

	1851.		1861.		1862.		1863.		1864.		1865.		1866.		Difference of Averages.			
	Rates.	Averages.	Rates.	Averages.	Rates.	Averages.	Rates.	Averages.	Rates.	Averages.	Rates.	Averages.	Rates.	Averages.	Since 1861.		Since 1851.	
															Plus.	Minus.	Plus.	Minus.
Fitters, erectors, turners and borers	26/ 35/	30·18	26/ 36/	30·44	26/ 36/	30·30	26/ 34/	30·23	26/ 34/	30·24	26/ 36/	30·47	26/ 36/	30·56	0·12	—	0·38	
Grinders	28/ 32/	29·40	30/	30·	28/ 31/	31·20	30/	30·	30/	30·	30/	30·	30/	30·	—	—	0·60	
Joiners	26/ 30/	26·36	26/ 29/	27·22	26/ 29/	27·33	26/ 29/	27·53	27/ 30/	28·90	27/ 30/	29·23	26/ 30/	28·72	1·50	—	2·36	
Pattern makers	30/ 32/	30·50	27/ 33/	30·38	26/ 33/	30·54	28/ 34/	30·71	28/ 34/	31·50	29/ 34/	30·81	26/ 33/	30·50	0·12	—	—	
Painters	23/ 28/	23·25	25/ 29/	26·91	25/ 29/	26·81	25/ 28/	26·46	26/ 29/	26·42	26/ 28/	26·52	28/ 31/	28·91	2·	—	5·66	
Coppersmiths	None.	—	26/ 32/	29·75	28/ 32/	30·20	30/ 32/	31·	30/ 32/	31·20	30/ 32/	31·	32/ 33/	32·40	2·65	—	—	
Planers, slotters, and shapers	18/ 21/	19·87	16/ 26/	21·86	16/ 26/	21·24	16/ 26/	21·15	16/ 28/	21·72	16/ 28/	21·27	16/ 28/	21·5	—	0·36	1·63	
Brass moulders	Piece work.	—	30/ 32/	31·50	32/	32·	30/ 32/	31·	32/	32·	30/ 32/	31·75	30/ 32/	31·42	—	0·08	—	
Iron moulders	Piece work.	—	34/ 36/	34·12	26/ 36/	32·24	26/ 36/	32·62	28/ 36/	33·54	32/ 35/	34·44	Piece work.	—	—	—	—	
Angle iron smiths	36/	36·	34/ 36/	35·50	34/ 36/	35·50	34/ 36/	35·50	38/	38·	38/	38·	38/	38·	2·50	—	2·0	
Platers	28/ 31/	29·66	32/ 34/	33·77	30/ 34/	33·44	32/ 36/	34·	36/	36·	36/ 38/	36·28	36/	36·	2·23	—	6·34	
Rivetters	26/ 27/	26·06	30/	30·	28/ 30/	29·64	30/ 32/	30·18	30/ 34/	32·	29/ 34/	32·03	31/ 34/	32·13	2·13	—	6·07	
Holders up	23/	23·	26/	26·	26/	26·	26/	26·	26/ 29/	28·75	29/	29·	29/	29·	3·	—	6·	
Helpers	18/ 21/	19·50	18/ 19/	18·15	18/ 19/	18·12	18/ 20/	18·24	18/ 19/	18·22	18/ 19/	18·12	18/ 19/	18·12	—	0·30	—	1·38
Smiths	26/ 36/	30·27	26/ 42/	31·33	26/ 42/	31·62	26/ 42/	31·57	26/ 42/	31·38	26/ 42/	31·93	28/ 42/	32·30	0.97	—	2·03	
Strikers	18/ 21/	18·45	18/ 24/	18·96	18/ 24/	19·06	18/ 24/	19·08	18/ 22/	19·06	19/ 26/	19·20	18/ 24/	19·75	0·79	—	1·30	

Mr. J. Robinson.

1 July 1868.

III.—Table showing the Average Export of Steam Engines and other Machinery.

To	1849 to 1854.	1855 to 1860.	1861 to 1865.
	£	£	£
Russia	177,652	593,568	477,026
Sweden and Norway	44,979	88,239	72,294
Prussia, Hanover, and Hanse Towns	150,674	303,289	455,480
Holland and Belgium	96,158	241,572	399,582
France	100,610	245,539	34,403
Austria	20,843	43,336	22,941
Canada	25,225	55,383	19,488
United States	49,188	39,111	71,066
	6 years £665,329	6 years £1,610,037	5 years 5)1,552,280
			310,456
			6 years £1,862,736

IV.—Table showing the Rates of Wages paid in May 1867 to Skilled Workmen in the Towns of Manchester, Leeds, Bristol, and Dundee.

	Manchester.	Leeds.	Bristol.	Dundee.
	Week of 57½ hours.		Week of 58¾ hours.	
	s. s.	s. s.	s. s.	s. s.
Fitters and erecters	26 to 36	26 to 30	28 to 32	23 to 27
Turners and borers	26 „ 36	27 „ 30	28 „ 35	15 „ 26
Grinders	30 „ 32	24 „ 26	18 „ 24	—
Pattern makers	32 „ 34	27 „ 29	28 „ 32	24 „ 25
Coppersmiths	32 „ 33	32	30 „ 36	—
Planers	22 „ 26	21 „ 24	24 „ 32	18 „ 23
Slotters and shapers	18 „ 25	17 „ 21	24 „ 35	16 „ 20
Brass moulders	36 „ 38	30 „ 34	30	26
Iron moulders	36	30 „ 34	28 „ 30	28 „ 31
Ordinary smiths	26 „ 38	26 „ 29	28 „ 32	23 „ 27
Boiler smiths	38	28 „ 32	30 „ 36	—
Boiler makers	36 „ 40	30 „ 36	30 „ 36	—
Rivetters	32	24 „ 28	30	—
Helpers	18 „ 20	17 „ 22	15 „ 17	—
Strikers	18 „ 21	16 „ 19	17 „ 20	16 „ 17

V.—Tables showing the Yearly Deliveries from the Atlas Works of Locomotives, and their Destination, from 1834 to 1866 inclusive.

Number of Locomotives and their Destinations.

Year.	England, Ireland, Scotland, and Colonies.	Austria, Germany, Denmark.	France.	Belgium, Holland, Sweden.	Italy.	Russia.	Spain and Portugal.	Egypt.	South America.	—	Total Yearly.
1834	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
1837	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10
1838	17	4	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	26
1839	21	8	18	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	47
1840	26	13	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	44
1841	30	16	2	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	51
1842	33	10	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	48
1843	11	18	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	32
1844	20	4	—	—	6	5	—	—	—	—	35
1845	32	13	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	49
1846	43	18	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	63
1847	67	19	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	87
1848	84	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	84
1849	70	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	79
1850	28	—	—	—	8	—	—	—	—	—	36
1851	24	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	24
1852	25	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	25
1853	34	—	—	—	5	—	6	—	—	—	45
1854	42	—	—	10	5	—	10	—	—	—	67
1855	45	—	—	16	7	—	2	2	—	—	72
1856	15	—	—	16	4	11	7	5	—	—	58
1857	19	—	—	6	9	14	5	2	—	—	55
1858	33	—	—	—	2	28	13	3	—	—	79
1859	27	—	—	—	—	17	—	2	—	—	46
1860	29	—	—	—	—	2	37	2	—	—	71
1861	60	—	—	—	—	—	12	—	3	—	75
1862	71	—	—	—	2	—	5	3	4	—	85
1863	56	—	—	—	10	—	11	3	4	—	84
1864	57	—	—	—	5	—	26	1	3	—	92
1865	59	—	—	—	6	10	—	7	13	—	95
1866	69	—	—	—	—	10	—	—	2	—	83

Abstract of foregoing Table.

Year.	Remarks.	Great Britain, Ireland, and Colonies.	Remarks.	Foreign Countries.	Remarks.
1834		4		0	
1835		0		0	
1836		0		0	
1837		10		0	
1838		17	Germany begins France begins	9	
1839		21		26	
1840		26		18	
1841		30	Holland begins	21	
1842	Panic in England.	33	Italy begins	15	
1843		11	Russia begins	21	
1844		20		15	Russia ceases for a time.
1845		32		17	
1846		43		20	France ceases.
1847	Railway mania in England.	67		20	Germany ceases.
1848		84	Revolutions abroad	0	
1849		70		0	
1850	Reaction from mania.	28		8	
1851		24		0	
1852		25		0	
1853		34	Spain begins	11	
1854		42		25	
1855		45	Egypt begins	27	
1856		15	Russia begins	43	
1857		19		36	
1858		33		46	
1859		27	South America begins	19	
1860		29	One for France	42	
1861		60		15	
1862		71		14	
1863		56		28	
1864		57		35	Spain ceases.
1865		59		36	Italy ceases.
1866		69		14	

VI.—Tables showing the Exports of Machinery and of Iron and Steel (Unwrought) in the First Three Months of 1865, 1866, 1867.

Machinery.			Iron and Steel (Unwrought).	
Year.	Steam Engines.	Other Kinds.	Year.	Tons.
	£	£		
1865	538,149	757,643	1865	277,450
1866	310,169	657,595	1866	335,363
1867	397,833	604,471	1867	353,903

Showing in Machinery a decrease; in Unwrought Iron an increase.

VII.—Table showing Imports of Unwrought and Wrought Iron in the Years 1851—1866.

Mr. J. Robinson.

1 July 1868.

——	Unwrought Iron.	Manfactured Iron.
	Weight.	Value.
1851	40,279 Tons.	—
1852	33,376 „	—
1853	44,776 „	—
1854	41,745 „	—
1855	37,407 „	—
1856	51,935 „	—
1857	50,163 „	—
1858	25,464 „	—
1859	42,713 „	—
1860	54,061 „	£47,869
1861	35,489 „	184,320
1862	49,662 „	202,565
1863	46,635 „	261,077
1864	53,918 „	332,876
1865	51,464 „	391,696
1866	64,178 „	

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned.

1, Park Prospect, Westminster, Tuesday, 14th July 1868.

Present:

Right Hon. the Earl of Lichfield.
Lord Elcho, M.P.
Herman Merivale, Esq., C.B.
John Arthur Roebuck, Esq., Q.C., M.P.
Thomas Hughes, Esq., M.P.
Frederic Harrison, Esq.
William Mathews, Esq.

HERMAN MERIVALE, Esq., C.B., in the Chair.

Mr. James Nasmyth examined.

Mr. J. Nasmyth.

14 July 1868.

19,095. (*Chairman.*) You have kindly favoured the Commission with a statement of your views on paper, I believe?—In order to make out a groundwork for the Commissioners to found their questions on, I have set down the points that struck me as being the most prominently important.

19,096. I think that we shall most probably arrive at your views more easily, if you will please to state them generally in the same way in which you have put them here, beginning with the relation between employer and employed?—My view on this subject is that the true basis on which all transactions in reference to it should be conducted is that of free trade, the non-intervention of any third party between two parties who wish to treat together. For instance, if there is an employer who wishes to employ a workman, those two, it occurs to me, should alone judge of their respective capability of dealing with each other; the intrusion of any third party is, I consider, derogatory to the interests of society at large, and to trade in particular.

19,097. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) I should like to know how far you would carry that out. When men are making a contract I think that you are quite right that there should be only two parties to it; but supposing, for example, that in a workshop there was a common opinion, should you not think that that public opinion of the workshop might be brought in some way to bear upon the master without giving offence to the master or being derogatory to him?—No, I think that the best interests of society in general, and of the workmen themselves, would be promoted by a strict adherence to the fundamental principle of the non-intervention of third parties. I look upon that as the great foundation stone upon which the whole superstructure of any legislation or any fair dealing between man and man should be built.

19,098. That is quite true when the parties are both equal, but do not you think that by the position of circumstances the working man alone is not equal to the master?—I do not see that.

19,099. Do not you think that the master is a much more powerful man than the workman is, if dealing with him alone?—Unfortunately the present circumstances show that it is quite the other way.

19,100. He does not deal with him alone now, but in combination with his fellows. I want to know if the almost helpless working man might not get the assistance of his fellow men so long as he only brings to bear upon the master the public opinion in his workshop; do not you think that it is fair that he should bring to bear the public opinion of his fellows when entering into a contract with his master?—I do not think so when the whole area of employment is open to him. If a workman is dissatisfied with the conduct of his employer or the quality of the work put before him, he is free any day to remove his labour to where he can meet with something more satisfactory to him; there is no compulsion, the workman is a free agent.

19,101. Do not you think that the poor working man who did that might starve?—No, by no means. There are no signs of starvation among working people who conduct themselves properly. It is quite notorious all over the country that the demand for working men is ahead of the supply, and that lies at the basis of all this trouble. I believe that if there were three working men applying to one master for work they would be thankful and content to get any employment, but the moment three masters or two masters are seeking for one man, then, according to the common principles of supply and demand, the men who are sought after perhaps become a little outrageous in their demands.

19,102. I think in your paper you say that you think there ought to be some penal law to prevent the interference of a third party in a contract?—Yes.

19,103. I want to know what sort of interference you would render an offence?—For instance, to put it in the shape of a common commercial transaction, supposing that I wished to go into a baker's shop and buy loaves that I saw were in quality and price what I wanted. Supposing, in attempting to deal with the

Mr. J. Nasmyth.

14 July 1868.

Baker, a third man came and stood on the doorstep, and said, "You shall not go into the shop."

19,104. Supposing he said, "I recommend you not to buy that loaf"; would you allow that?—No, because we must look at what is behind that recommendation. My 30 years' experience of trades unions shows me that even under the smoothest language there is a most terrible power which few employers have the boldness to face.

19,105. I am looking at the matter as a legislator, and I want to know how to frame a law for that?—That is a point which I have not given minute attention to, and it requires a great deal. We have made a great step this year in reference to picketing. In the year 1836 or 1837 I was exposed to a most formidable turn-out, the details of which I could give the Commission presently, and I have had two subsequently to that, and we should have had no trouble in getting over the difficulty if it had not been for the picketing of the avenues of my establishment for two or three miles around. I allude to the Bridgewater Foundry at Patricroft, near Manchester.

19,106. (*Mr. Harrison.*) What trade were those men engaged in?—In mechanical engineering.

19,107. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers was not then in existence?—No.

19,108. Were there any unions then?—Yes, there were unions; the men turned out under the dictation of some society in Manchester. They sent delegates down to us to try and talk the matter over, and I was perfectly firm on the principle that I took up in resisting the first beginning of this strike, which was caused by the employment of a man who had not served a regular apprenticeship to the trade. These unionists wished to cause me to discharge this man. We were perfectly satisfied with him, and we would not discharge him.

19,109. What was the name of the union?—It is so far back that I do not remember the specific name. If they had any distinct name it was the Engineers' Society, or something of that kind.

19,110. Is that union in existence now?—It is merged into a very formidable one now, that of the amalgamated societies.

19,111. You are clear that it was one of the societies which have since become amalgamated?—Yes, I am sure of that; it was the Engineers' Society. I forget the exact title that they gave themselves. Seeing that we would not give in to the demand to turn away this man, they said that there would be a strike of our men, and the men struck, all except, perhaps, about 24 sturdy fellows, who remained with us, and we kept them together, and they were perfectly content. But in order to prevent any new hands coming in we were picketed round in every direction.

19,112. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) But did those pickets do any violence?—Every man that happened to be a working man, coming in our direction, was got hold of, and then they tried cajoling, and they were driven away from us; but some fought their way through and resisted all the blandishments of the unions and got to us, and so the new hands kept dribbling in, it might be one or two in a week or so, whereas we wanted a couple of hundred men to carry us on properly. This sort of thing went on for three months. It became very serious, and our customers, who were very patient at first, began to show a little impatience that their orders were not executed; and though we explained everything to them, there was evidently a great urgency brought to bear upon us to get to work and to deliver the orders in our hands as quickly as possible. It was then that I took a rather formidable, and as it turned out, a very successful course. I was determined not to deal with these trades unions or invite any people into our works who were not willing to enter the employment upon the principle that I laid down, namely, the perfect free choice of the employer and the employed, in fact the non-intervention principle. I then went into Scotland and made a statement in the public papers in Glasgow, and Aberdeen, and Dundee, and various other localities there, because I knew that in my own native country the unions had less power. At that time the men there were working on a perfectly free individual principle, and after hunting up and down the country for some time we got together about 64 first-rate men, who had been wheelwrights and carpenters, smiths and stonemasons, and that were likely to prove themselves intelligent men, though not bred to my business. I had a steamboat in Glasgow for them, and appointed a rendezvous for them to meet on a certain day; and 64 of those men with their wives and families, and chairs and tables, &c., were brought up in one body, and brought into the establishment at once. This was such a formidable way of meeting the turn-out that they withdrew the pickets. These men were such sturdy fellows that they challenged the other men to a fair stand up fight if they wanted to prevent them.

19,113. Supposing those pickets not to have employed any violence, and simply to have confined themselves to the blandishments of which you spoke, if they did not commit any breach of law, do you think that there ought to be a law made to prevent a man explaining to another what he thinks to be his duty?—Yes, under these circumstances I think that there ought to be, or I think it would be ignoring the absolute state of facts of the case. If you were to say that we must wait until there is a broken head before the law can interfere, I think you would fail in giving the necessary protection to the working classes who desire perfect freedom of labour. As I said before, you may have a deputation that may come from the union to talk with the employer and try and reconcile parties, but every employer of that class of men knows perfectly well what is at the back of that deputation. In the smoothest way they talk of brotherly love and utter all sorts of fine sentiments; they are pleasant men to talk to in their way, and very often intelligent men and clever fellows, and I daresay they skilfully advocate their views of the matter; but at the same time it is quite well known to all who have these workmen in their employment that behind those smooth blandishments there is a most formidable cause of loss and annoyance to meet.

19,114. Now supposing that I as a legislator am asked to grant a law to prevent that being done, what would you say the law should be?—To give the greatest facility to the working man who is subject to this sort of interference of bringing any case of interference before the magistrate.

19,115. Then you see I want the law?—It is for you legislators to find that out.

19,116. There really arises the difficulty. I want to know how I can prevent half a dozen men talking a matter over, and saying, "We will talk to their man and tell him not to go to Mr. Nasmyth's." Would you make that an offence?—It would be very difficult to prove that it was an offence. It is one of those nice points where you get to the boundary of what is right, legitimate, and proper, but the next step after that may lead to what is very improper.

19,117. Legislation consists in those nice points. I being a legislator should feel it exceedingly difficult to draw a line of that description, and I want your assistance to tell me how I should do it?—It is a very difficult matter indeed, and I am quite aware that till there is a broken head, a breach of the peace, or some overt act of intimidation, or something against the usual laws of the country, the magistrate cannot interfere.

19,118. I am not quite sure of that. My belief is (there is a lawyer opposite to me who will correct me if I am wrong) that the net spread by the word "conspiracy" is a very wide one, and you might make out that those 12 men had conspired to do a thing contrary not only to your interests but to those of the public; and if you could bring them before the magistrate, and if you could establish that, you could bring them under the law?—Yes, and in the tailors' strike lately they did not wait for breaches of the peace. The judge in that case defined what he considered as a breach, not perhaps of the peace, but of the liberty of the subject in going to seek for employment from

those who were desirous of employing him. There was an intervention of a third party; there was picketing. There was no open violence, but still it was such as to be put down as being contrary to the law.

19,119. I think the law was stated to be applicable to people conspiring together to prevent people exercising their free will as to their engagements. I want to know how I can put it into any more specific words than that, for those words are so dangerous, they would give such a wonderfully large power, that I rather shrink from using the words?—I should like to go upon the definition given by Mr. Baron Bramwell. His handling of the subject seemed to be founded on the most common sense principle in defining what is obstruction to the free exercise of a man's will in bringing his labour to market.

19,120. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Then if Mr. Baron Bramwell laid down the law satisfactorily, you do not recommend any alteration?—No. I think that is sufficient; and there was action taken on it, was there not, in that case?

19,121. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) It put an end to the strike, you mean?—Yes; I looked upon that as one of the most successful exhibitions of the powers of the existing law that we ever had.

19,122. What I wanted to bring you to was just what Mr. Harrison has asked you, whether you thought the present law enough?—Yes, if that decision of the judge in that tailors' strike can be upheld. If you can withdraw the picketing system, and put an end to that system of either active or passive annoyance towards men who were going to seek employment, in their passage between their houses and the employer who is desirous to give them employment, I think that you have attained a very great point in arriving at what I would call the free trade in labour and employment.

19,123. But there is a system with which I have no doubt you are conversant, namely, sending men to Coventry?—I know it too well.

19,124. Would that be an offence, in your view, to be put down by law?—Decidedly.

19,125. If a man conspires together with A, B, and C, not to speak to that man, would that be an offence in your view?—No; mere silence would not do, but anything like calling out opprobrious names, and flinging things at the man, and getting his tools broken, should be an offence; yet most difficult is it to trace who did it, they are so exceedingly clever in concealing such offences.

19,126. (*Mr. Harrison.*) What would you do if you could not trace who did it?—You must wait till you have some fact that you can lay hold of.

19,127. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Putting a man into Coventry is simply determining to have no communication or converse with him, is it not?—It requires to be very skilfully managed, it is so apt to assume a more practical form. I have known instances of men who have taken employment and have been quite satisfied with it, and have been put into Coventry in that way, and their lives rendered so utterly miserable that they were obliged to give it up, and yet you could not put your finger on anything that you could call a breach of the peace.

19,128. I can perfectly understand that. If a certain number of people conspire together, that is a thing which you can prove, but unless you can prove a conspiracy I do not know how you could make out my not talking to A. B. to be an offence?—That would not be an offence, of course.

19,129. If a man were working at the next bench to him, and he said, "Give me that tool," the man would say nothing, but not give it him; you would not make that an offence, would you?—No, still we all know that that silent mode is more intolerable often than an overt act of insolence.

19,130. (*Chairman.*) Supposing that a number of men were to combine and say, "We will not associate "with another man who has taken too low wages," that would be oppressive, and in your opinion it ought to be punishable?—I do not know how such passive offence could be punished.

19,131. Supposing the same men were to combine together and agree, "We will not speak to so-and-so, "for he is a bad character, and has committed a "felony," would you say that that should be punishable?—I do not know that you can legislate upon the subject, it must be left to discretion.

19,132. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) If they conspire to do anything that should be adjudged in contravention of the interest of trade, that should be an offence; perhaps you would draw the line there?—Yes, on the same principle as truth is said to be a libel, you may speak the truth and yet commit a libel. The court must decide what has been the *animus*, that dictated the thing. If you can prove a bad *animus*, or desire to injure, the person ought to be made amenable to law.

19,133. (*Chairman.*) You have favoured us in this paper with a summary of your views on the subject of apprenticeship; will you state them?—I have a very strong opinion about apprenticeship, and I back these opinions by my own practice. After the great turn-out, or lock-out of 1851, when the Amalgamated Engineers' Society tried to get the upper-hand of all the employers, there was a formidable resistance made to it by the employers, and I saw clearly that one of the most probable ways of resisting their encroachments upon the liberty of employment was to do away with apprenticeship *in toto*, and practically ignore the apprenticeship system, because in my previous experience of seven years, bound apprentices, I generally found that the lads, after they knew that they were bound by indenture, both you to them and they to you, took advantage of that fact. Whatever was their idleness or misconduct, you could not punish them for it, unless there was something so serious as to bring it before a magistrate by which you can break up an indenture. All the while a lad may be doing no good to himself, and he may be annoying every one around him, so that when that turn-out occurred I was determined to put an end altogether, so far as I was concerned, to the apprenticeship system; and I took all the boys I could get, and filled the works with as many clever lads as I could pick up here, there, and everywhere. The system on which I employed them was simply from day to day; that whatever was the worth of their labour, they got wages according to their worth. We generally commenced with them at 3*s.* a week when lads of 14 or 15. If in the course of a week or so they showed themselves worth 6*s.* they got 6*s.*; their remuneration was measured by their value to me, not by the length of time they took to learn the trade. It is remarkable, when they have emulation before them, how very rapidly those younger boys will get to great excellence in the management of machinery. I may make the remark in passing that one great feature of our modern mechanical employment has been the introduction of self-acting tools, by which brute force is completely set aside, and the eye and the intellect of the workman are called into play. All that the mechanic has to do now, and which any boy or lad of 14 or 15 is quite able to do, is to sharpen his tool, place it in the machine in connexion with the work, and set on the self-acting motion, and then nine-tenths of his time is spent in mere superintendence, not in labouring, but in watching the delicate and beautiful functions of the machine; and a boy with quick intellect can do it; he does not need to labour with chisel and file, and so weary himself out.

19,134. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) So that a boy of 16 is really as useful as a man?—I was fortunately the contriver of several machines for giving geometrical forms to metal work with such precision and rapidity, by certain modifications of the planing machine, that all that class of men who depended upon mere dexterity were set aside altogether, and I was able to move on with these lads. Instead of having the old proportion of one boy to four mechanics, I had four boys to one mechanic nearly. There were an im-

Mr. J. Nasmyth.

14 July 1868.

mense number of labourers in the neighbourhood, bargemen and others, the Bridgewater Canal Company's servants, and I got them into my employment, and in a short time they were as good workmen as could be desired.

19,135. Was there any action taken by the unionists against that?—Yes, but we defeated all their combinations; their funds were so low that our three months' lock-out used up their funds.

19,136. (*Mr. Harrison.*) When did that occur?—From December 1851 to March 1862.

19,137. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) How many men did you employ?—My highest number was 1,500. When I began to introduce those mechanical contrivances that facilitated the production of work, independently of dexterity, enabling me to do the work with boys and labourers, I reduced the numbers fully one-half.

19,138. You have stated that the number of your own employés was reduced, do you believe that the number of those people employed in the same business as yours was decreased generally?—Not in the same proportion. I rather took the lead in this non-apprentice system.

19,139. I want to know whether your economy of labour really did not lead to a greater employment of profitable labour in other ways?—I should fancy that according to the usual principles of political economy it would be so, but I am not able to trace it out in that respect. Only my profits were so increased, that if I had wished to expand the establishment and build additional workshops, from the profits resulting from this new system, if instead of putting it into three per cent. consols I had put it into additional workshops, I might have taken on 400 or 500, or 1000 workmen, and expanded the business.

19,140. And would you have had work to do?—Plenty of work. The chief cause of the attempt on the part of the Amalgamated Engineers at that time to get the upper hand of us simply arose from there being two masters looking after one man; there was a dearth of labour in the market, and the consequence was that the men took advantage of that, finding that there was a great deal of trade going on and a great demand for their labour, to urge their unreasonable demands. The first open movement in the dispute of 1851 was a demand made upon Messrs. Platt of Oldham to discharge all labourers whatever from machines. They were going upon the same principle as myself, in respect of employing what was called unskilled labour to superintend those automaton machines, and this was a matter which gave great umbrage to the regular trade union workmen. They did not like it. They said, "If you have a machine that a labourer could work, you must not "employ a labourer but a regular seven years mechanic "to superintend or to stand and look at that machine."

19,141. Was not that in reality the same sort of dispute as took place about the hand-loom weavers?—I fancy it was, but I do not know the merits of that question. This demand was made on Messrs. Platt of Oldham. They were determined to resist it, but as they saw that the whole power of the union would be levelled against them, they called a meeting of the employers and said, "Will you make common "cause in resisting this most unwarrantable infringe-"ment on our liberties, that we are not to have the "advantage of our machinery; that the economy re-"sulting from those improvements is not to go into "our pockets but into the pockets of the union men."

19,142. You broke down the power of the society, as I understand it, by increasing the area from which you drew workmen?—Yes.

19,143. And whereas before there were two masters bidding against one and another for one workman, you turned the tables against them, and found so many workmen that the workmen were more numerous than the masters?—Yes, and the moment you have a natural balance of employers and employed you will have no strikes.

19,144. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you consider that a prosperous state of things?—Up to that point it is beneficial to the workmen.

19,145. You mean that is is beneficial that there should be more men seeking employment than there is employment to give?—Yes.

19,146. That it is beneficial in short that there should be a great many of them idle?—No, not idle, but not so many of them as to dictate terms to the employer. I would choose of the two evils the least, and the least of the two would be a little excess of the desire for employment.

19,147. Of idleness?—No, not idleness, want of work.

19,148. How are this proportion of men who are out of work (which you consider to be the normal state), in the absence of unions to support them when out of work, to live until you are ready with orders for them?—If they are careful in their husbanding of their results in prosperous times they will have no difficulty. Every man getting ordinary wages, if he conducts himself in such a way as I conceive he ought to do, ought to have some bank of his own, or else go into some society, by which he will have savings to maintain him during the slackness of trade. That applies, I may say, to employers as well as workmen.

19,149. You think that a good thing that employers as a class, say engineers as a class, should have their works standing still a certain portion of the year?—No.

19,150. Why not?—I do not see why they should. If you have your works standing still the interest of your money is running on and your machinery and a great deal of property are deteriorating in that way; and also the workmen themselves, if long out of employment, get into bad habits.

19,151. Why then is it a good thing for a working man to have periods when he is out of employment?—I do not say it is.

19,152. I understood you to say just now that you considered it was better that there should be more men seeking employment than there should be employment for them?—Any good principle may be put into an absurd position by exaggerating it. If a thrifty workman who is well conducted has been in the habit of receiving 30*s.* a week, and he has been known to live on 20*s.* he can be banking up 10*s.* a week, which many of them are quite able to do if they tried it; it would form a fund which would put them in a very different position in that way, and they would be able to do without employment just as a large manufacturer when trade becomes slack ceases to manufacture or else is able to stand the loss.

19,153. Do you think it good that a working man should come upon some reserved fund at different periods?—Yes, but my idea is that it should be an individual fund belonging to himself. I am quite opposed to these benefit funds.

19,154. Will you explain why in the same way it is not good that the employer who employs that man should not periodically come to live upon his capital?—So employers do.

19,155. You think it good for him not to be making any profit, but to have to live upon his capital?—Well, very often when bad times come upon him it drives him to consider where he can economise, where he can bring out a greater profit that would enable him to go on with less prices, and consequently keep his men longer at work. When a man is carrying on a very nearly losing trade, the moment it becomes losing there is a tendency to discharge the men; but if he so conducts his business that what would be otherwise a losing business is not so he can work along and keep his men together, and many an employer does that, and I think that that is a desirable mode of carrying on an establishment; not to let your men scatter all over the country, but to wait for the good times to come, which generally do come sooner or later.

19,156. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) I want to understand how you can make the position of the workman and the master nearly equal. You say that that sort of conspiracy which I have talked of, men uniting together for a

similar object, you would put down by law; would you apply that to masters also?—Yes.

19,157. For example, when Messrs. Platt wrote to you would you have stopped that by law?—Yes. They were obliged to write to us because it was combination meeting combination; they were resisted by an overpowering influence from the unions that if resisted by them alone would have been utterly fatal to them. If there had been a law against the combination of workmen I should have advocated a similar law against the combination of employers.

19,158. Then I understand you to disapprove of the repeal of the old combination laws in 1824 by Mr. Hume and others?—I do not know what those laws were, but I think too much was done then.

19,159. You think that the law as laid down by Mr. Baron Bramwell is sufficient now?—Yes, if carried out properly.

19,160. I gathered also from you that you object to what you call benefit clubs?—That is my own individual opinion. I think it is better for every man to be his own benefit club.

19,161. You should not take the advantage which nature gives you from the fact that when men combine together a certain number of men die out and the funds are not applicable for them, and thereby the remainder get a larger sum?—No, I would say not.

19,162. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You never insured your own life, perhaps?—No, I have gone upon my own legs.

19,163. (*Chairman.*) Do you object to the principle of life insurance?—I think you can insure yourself if you are prudent. When I came up to London first I got 15*s.* a week from Mr. Maudslay, and out of that I saved money.

19,164. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) When was that?—In 1829 to 1832.

19,165. You were born in Scotland?—Yes. I had made myself a good workman without serving any time at all. I had learnt to work in metal, and I was a pretty good draughtsman, and I came up to Mr. Maudslay and went a little beyond merely telling him what I could do. I brought up some cases of models and steam engines, and drawings, and other things I had done by myself in Robinson Crusoe style. I came with a hackney coach the next morning full of these things to show to Mr. Maudslay. They were all work done by myself, and such jobs they were that I would not be ashamed to put them down beside any piece of good work done this day. The moment he saw them he gave me employment at once of the most honourable and delightful kind. He made me his own private assistant. I was to sit at his left hand, and we worked together for nearly three years.

19,166. Where did you get what I may call your scholastic education?—I may say that my best school was my own home, my father being an ingenious man and an artist. He was a man that occupied all his leisure time in amusing himself, if I may say so, with very hard work, making models of all sorts of mechanical things and artistic models to paint from, so that from the earliest days I got used to tools. You will find all this in Smiles's book. I never was regularly bred, and I thank my stars I was not.

19,167. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You do not wish to see the Robinson Crusoe life introduced generally into society?—I would like to see the Robinson Crusoe feeling introduced into society.

19,168. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You mean you would like to see a man rely upon his own endeavours; you would like to see self-reliance rather than dependence upon other people?—Just so; it was always a maxim with my father in that matter, "If you cannot get a stick, make a stone do, but get the work done; do not sit down idle because you have not the exact tool supposed to be necessary to do it." Now, it would be a great thing if that principle were inculcated in the education of our workmen from their earliest days—what I call resourcefulness, shiftiness, self-help. The great distinguishing faculty between a first-rate workman and an indifferent workman is that happy faculty of resourcefulness. Any employer will see that one workman will have it and another not. One finds no difficulties in his way, the other is constantly complaining that he has not the right tools, and so on, but it is generally an evidence of a want of that important faculty the possession of which leads to great success.

19,169. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) I suppose, then, you would believe that what is called division of labour does not conduce to the strength of the intellect or the improvement of the artizan?—No, I think not.

19,170. Though you may get more work by it, you do not get so good a man?—Not so resourceful a man. I remember a favourite maxim of Henry Maudslay's. He said that to be able to cut a plank with a gimlet and to bore a hole with a saw (he had a very striking way of putting those things) was the great criterion of a thorough mechanic, a fellow that could not be beaten; and if that principle was inculcated from the earliest days of education, God only knows what a great nation we should be.

19,171. (*Chairman.*) Then I am afraid that any improvement in machinery must have the effect of diminishing the power of individual men?—Not altogether. I have often noticed the great effects of these improvements in intellectualizing a man. If you call for the brute force of a man you will degrade the man. He goes to his home so physically exhausted that it is an utter absurdity to say to that man, "Read and improve yourself." He would fall asleep immediately; he must go and take some excitement. But if you take the man who has been superintending some piece of mechanism all day, in which there is a very little or only a minimum of call for his brute force, you will find that that man's intellectual power if he has any at all, will come forth, and he will be a reader and a self-cultivating man. I have found that again and again. I think this is the result of machinery, that it takes away the necessity for brute labour, very much elevates the intellectual and moral position of the working classes.

19,172. (*Mr. Mathews.*) With respect to the division of labour, the labourer becomes part of the machine instead of an entire machine, but in the case of a man who has self-reliance enough to study his work, he becomes the machine in himself?—I do not say that exactly. The functions of all machines are most interesting, and after a time the men begin to feel it. Some of our modern machines are as exquisite in their structure and results as the finest astronomical instruments, requiring extreme accuracy and delicacy, and affording exercise for all the intellectual functions to meet the conditions constantly arising in dealing with the work, and that in itself is a most valuable kind of education. Then, again, there are the most beautiful geometrical forms always presented before the men, and the mere looking at anything absolutely correct or true in geometrical form, I think, has in itself a tendency to improve the mind.

19,173. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) In your experience of late years of the working man, have you seen any change in his manner and mind for better or worse?—Yes, I think a good deal for the better in regard to his habits of life.

19,174. And as to his intellect also?—I think so; but how to trace it and to what to assign such an improvement is a very difficult question. There comes in the question of *post hoc* and *propter hoc*. A man may be improving along with the current of society or in spite of the current of society, he may be improving in spite of his occupation or because of his occupation.

19,175. Do you think that these great improvements in mechanical power at all tend to deteriorate the intellectual and mechanical power of the men?—Far from it. The man ceases to be so muscular as before; he cannot file all day with a 14-lbs. rubber, sweating over his work, but he sits watching the working of his half-dozen machines perhaps. One of the results of these mechanical improvements is, that where one automaton machine was going on with its work, and would occupy six or eight hours to complete it, now,

Mr. J. Nasmyth.

14 July 1868.

instead of the man standing still, you give him another machine to look after. I had an instance in my own works where I gave a labourer a machine to bore the cylinders for steam-engines. In the first instance he had only one machine, and after the cylinder was put into the boring machine he had to stand with his hands at his back perhaps reading an old newspaper or a new newspaper as the case may be, and then putting a drop of oil now and then; he had such a surplus of time on his hands that I thought proper to give him another boring machine, and it ended by my giving him six, and with every additional machine I gave him a shilling a week extra. I do not mean to say that a shilling was a fair measure of the benefit that I got, but it was satisfactory to him and to me, and he got the shilling a week for each additional machine he superintended without any undue exhaustion.

19,176. This increase of wage, I suppose, eventually led to his receiving a large wage—how much per week do you think he received?—When I put this man to this work he got 15*s.* a week, and when I left business he had 21*s.* a week.

19,177. Did you remark whether that man saved money?—Yes, and he was always well dressed and got a superior house.

19,178. We have had evidence here of men getting 9*l.* a week and really not saving a penny; perhaps you have known such cases?—You will find that generally I think with men who trust entirely to handicraft.

19,179. But these men to whom I refer were employed in actually guiding others and pointing out what there was to do, and we were told that those men did not save money?—I think that must be exceptional; at least my own experience is that those men whom I promoted from mere labourers by teaching them how to work those automaton machines improved both morally and socially in consequence.

19,180. Were the large majority of the workmen in your employ English or Scotch?—The largest number were Scotch. In the first instance there was that importation of the 64 men to which I have alluded, and soon nephews, and brothers, and cousins came crowding up because they found that at last there was a shop open to them in England, without any of the union restrictions. Some of the finest of those men came from East Lothian. One man now at the head of a large establishment in London is one of them, that is John Dudgeon; he was brought up from Haddington, I think, and many of those men have now risen to superior positions.

19,181. (*Mr. Harrison.*) With regard to the man whom you subsequently employed upon six machines, what were his wages when he had one?—16*s.*

19,182. He was worth 16*s.* to you?—Yes.

19,183. Probably more, I mean that the profits derived from that man's labour were worth say 20*s.*?—Yes.

19,184. When you put him upon six machines his profits to you were therefore 6*l.* a week?—Yes.

19,185. And he received 20*s.*?—Yes, I was very niggardly in giving him only 21*s.* a week, but it is quite possible to spoil a man like that by giving him too much at once. If I had even halved the profit, I do not know that in such a case as that, it would have been to his advantage. However, he was satisfied. I was the employer and he was the employed, and we were dealing together to our perfect mutual satisfaction.

19,186. You think that for a man who managed six of these wonderful machines, and who was earning 6*l.* a week for you, to have received more than 21*s.* a week would not have been a good thing?—I think not, I should have liked to have tried the experiment, only the usual principle of business to get your work done as economically as possible deterred me, because any very unusual wages given to that man would have soon spread over the establishment

19,187. (*Mr. Mathews.*) If he had not been satisfied with the 16*s.* a week you could have readily got another man?—At once; even a boy could have done the work.

19,188. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You could only get some one else at that rate supposing that there was more labour in the market than there was employment to be had?—Labour of that kind.

19,189. So that in order to keep that 6*l.* profit to yourself, and not to divide it among the workmen who enabled you to attain it, it is essential that there should be a large margin of unemployed labour ready for employment?—And so there is always if you would open the alleys and allow that unemployed labour to come from every possible source.

19,190. You say that a boy could have looked after these six machines?—Certainly. There was no function requiring the action of a man. And I say that the day will come in which steam engines will be made by girls. There is as much mechanical skill required in superintending a power loom or a spinning jenny with its thousand spindles as a steam engine.

19,191. When you reformed your works you said that you had something like the proportion of four boys to one man, did you not?—As many as we could get.

19,192. Do you think that your neighbours, if they had introduced the same system into their establishments, could have done the work on it?—Yes, and many have.

19,193. Do you think that, supposing improvements go on, and the wonderful machines which you yourself and others have introduced become more common, practically speaking, the whole of the trade might be carried on in that way by boys and labourers, with a very small proportion of skilled men?—Not to the entire exclusion of men. I think that you would have to cheapen the work done by machinery, because a manufacturer after taking considerable profits from these economical arrangements takes the proper course of lowering his price to meet competition from various quarters, and then both the public and the working man partake of the benefit.

19,194. Still you think that in a system which you can conceive of as practicable, the bulk of the engineering trade could be carried on by boys and not men?—Yes.

19,195. You think that we are coming to that?—In certain departments of the work.

19,196. Have you thought what is to become of the men who have been brought up to middle age in the trade?—I think that they would get absorbed, particularly if they were of the Robinson Crusoe sort of shiftiness. It is the men who have been brought up to make the head of a nail or the eye of a needle only that have nothing to fall back upon. If it were made a branch of education even in our schools to make boys shifty and ingenious and to bring out their ingenuity (for lads are all naturally more or less so), you would be giving them the greatest benefit you could possibly do in the way of education.

19,197. When these skilful clever lads who have been bred up in your establishment grow up to middle age and have families, you would displace them and have fresh boys; what is to become of those who are displaced?—They would not be displaced if they were careful.

19,198. You would give only the wages of boys to them?—I do not think that the entire mechanical work of the world can be done by boys. I do not know what is to become of them in the case you put, but I should leave it to the natural operations of society. I think that they would find a field for themselves somewhere.

19,199. Do you think that the same process might be carried and is being carried into other manufactures, as glass making, for instance?—Yes. There are some trades where the application of machinery is comparatively limited, but even in glass making machinery is being introduced. Men could only be glass blowers a short time ago who had tremendous lung power, and could blow like bellows. Now that is all done away with, and they blow with a piston and a tube. There is a piston and a cylinder attached to the mould, one

man produces a force of blast that 50 men could not blow, and moulded glass, so produced, now takes the place of cut glass. I believe that blowing large glasses is now done by mechanical means in that way.

19,200. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Those are some of the shifty men you have alluded to?—Yes; that is what has made us the country we are, and anything that impedes that and impedes the migration of a man bred up in one trade into another where he finds that he has a better chance, and for which his faculties are better suited, is mischievous. I would give every possible facility for that sort of migration of intellect in every branch of life, but especially in the mechanical, and that is what the unions impede, as I understand it, and as I found to my cost in the first turn-out when trying to employ a man that was a brass founder to work in iron. A man that works in wood is forbidden by the union to go into an iron shop. Now, why should not that man have the right of using his intellect in working iron if he finds that he can more profitably to himself employ it in working iron than wood? And I believe that even in the most strict unions if a man will pay a sufficient fine in money to the society he may migrate from the carpenter's shop to the smith's shop if he likes. It is a money question; it is not a rigid question of being bred to the trade; that is all nonsense. I daresay that Mr. Harrison could tell you whether a money fine will not admit a crossing sweeper, if he is able to handle the tools, to be received into an engineering shop to-morrow. So that the whole thing ends in a means of extorting money for the benefit of the lazy ones who hang like parasites on the industrious; and I believe that that is the principle of the trades unions, the lazy ones hanging like parasites and barnacles upon the industrious and active men. I would have no apprenticeship at all, and let lads get work where they can.

19,201. (*Chairman.*) Would you prefer in your trade the entire abolition of apprenticeship?—Entirely, in every branch of business; I think the apprenticeship system is the fag end of the old feudal system.

19,202. Do you believe that benefit would result, if you did not go so far as to abolish apprenticeship, from reducing the term?—No, I would do away with terms of apprenticeship altogether. If you are not satisfied with a boy you should have the right of putting him way at the end of the day, and if he is dissatisfied with you he should have equally the right of going away from you. I think that if you were to go on that principle all young people would be brought under the influence of emulation.

19,203. (*Lord Elcho.*) You have no doubt heard the union argument about apprentices, that their reason for limiting the number of apprentices is that they think it unjust that a skilled workman should at his own cost, as they express it, be training up and teaching a youth for the benefit of a master, when that youth is destined perhaps to supplant him or pull down his own wages. What do you say to that argument, which was used at the interview between the trades unions and Mr. Gladstone?—I think that it is founded not only on a fallacy but on an untruth. The working men do not need to teach the apprentices at all. A boy will teach himself. You have only to put him where he can use his eyes and hands and he will teach himself.

19,204. Is it not the case in a workshop that a boy is attached to the workman to learn the trade?—Not to learn it, but to assist the man.

19,205. (*Chairman.*) He is attached to the man?—That may be for convenience, because a boy can do many things more handily in mechanical processes; from the smallness of their hands they can act into intricate parts of the machine.

19,206. (*Lord Elcho.*) It is an interchange between the workman and the boy, you say?—Yes, a *quid pro quo*.

19,207. And that the workman, but for the assistance of the boy, would not be able to receive the wages he does?—Just so, especially in piecework.

19,208. (*Mr. Mathews.*) If there were any case where the boy benefited much by the instruction from the journeyman, you would have no objection to remunerate the journeyman for it?—If it were anything very definite, anything that he could withhold from the boy, he must have a price for it in some shape or other; but in any mechanical trade I am acquainted with, unless a workman takes undue means to conceal things, I defy him to prevent a boy learning the trade, provided he has intelligence and industry.

19,209. (*Lord Elcho.*) Irrespective then of a system of apprentices or training boys to become skilled workmen afterwards, it is absolutely necessary in your business, that there should be a certain number of boys in the trade?—Yes.

19,210. That is to say you require boys to do work which could not be done by men?—That is not the case to a very great extent, but their quick sight and activity, and nice feeling, and small hands in special operations come in very useful.

19,211. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Would you extend your assertion about boys learning from associating with workmen to the higher class of art, say painting?—Yes.

19,212. Would you fancy that a lad putting himself under a great artist would learn a great deal from that artist?—No doubt.

19,213. Would you say that what the artist told him and the instruction he gave him was worth something and ought to be paid for?—Yes, if it were worth something he ought to be paid for it by the boy's zealous service.

19,214. You think that boys can learn a trade well without being apprenticed to it?—Yes; and if you were to look to biographies you would find that the most remarkable and distinguished men, the men who have served mankind in general, have been in the most important respects your non-regularly bred men.

19,215. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You do not draw an opinion hostile to systematic education from that, do you?—Anything but that. It depends upon what you call the system. Your system and mine might be very different systems, but I would have it systematic. The more systematic you have your education the better, but it depends upon what kind of system it is. I think that one of the greatest defects of our modern system of education in those intended to follow mechanical employments is the utter ignoring of one of the most important faculties of all men, that is the faculty of comparison by the eye. If you could get a a boy who would be able to lay a pea in the middle of two other peas, and in a straight line with those two, that boy is a vast way on in the arts, if the eye were educated, as it might be in every school in the country, you would have correct workmen produced in a short time, and men of more efficiency than years spent in learning grammar and geography would produce.

19,216. You think that that would be technical education in the best sense?—I think that it would be appropriate education, education that bears upon the after purposes in life that that education is to be applied to.

19,217. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Would not that be a very advantageous education for a military man?—Yes, I think it would be useful for men in all occupations. Whether you are putting nails into a door, or making a boat, or whatever work you are doing, the functions of the eye are of inestimable importance. When I have been watching men in my own work, I have noticed that at least two-thirds of their time, even in the case of the most careful workmen, is spent, not in working, but in criticising with the square or straightedge what they have been working, so as to see whether it is right or wrong. The work is not advancing all this while, but they are simply finding out whether they have done their work right or wrong. I have observed that wherever you meet with a dexterous workman you will find that he is a man that need not appeal in one case in ten to his straightedge or square; he goes straight ahead and every stroke is telling, whereas the cautious and incorrect man, a man I mean who has not correct eyes, gets fumbling away with the thing; he has to take it out of the vice and put it

Mr. J. Nasmyth.

14 July 1868.

into it again constantly, and time is lost in that way. Now that faculty of correctness of sight is a much more general one than people are aware of, and if you will only educate it you can do a great deal by means of it. Some people do not know that they have it, while other people have it to an almost morbid extent, so that if they see a picture on the wall not hanging level they are distressed by it. The teaching of the eye is in importance infinitely beyond the teaching of the ear or the tongue in mechanical employments.

19,218. In the case of skilled labourers being superseded by unskilled labourers or boys in the various departments of the trade of this country, would there be any difficulty in the skilled workmen finding labour in other departments?—I never heard of it.

19,219. Even in that case there would still be a greater field for those men than exists under the power of the union?—Quite so. I never once had an application from an able mechanic in these days of automation and perfect machinery, saying, "Will you "employ me, sir, for I cannot get employment else- "where, because my dexterity is no longer wanted." There is always a market for it somewhere if accompanied by good conduct.

19,220. So that the result of your experience is this, that notwithstanding the introduction of machinery, notwithstanding the introduction of juvenile labour, and notwithstanding the introduction of unskilled labour, there is still a greater field open for skilled labour now than would exist if the unions had full power?—Yes.

19,221. You think that the reputation of this country has arisen chiefly from the excellence of our machinery, and that we still maintain that?—Yes.

19,222. (*Lord Elcho.*) Do you think that the increased use of machinery and other causes that might tend to diminish the demand for skilled labour are due to the unions?—I think so; the annoyance caused by them is felt to be so insufferable, and there is a sort of passive persecution that the employer has to experience where the unions had the upper hand. Before he can introduce even some of the most obvious improvements he will have to consider, "Will my men like "this; will they turn out? Will Tom, Dick, and Harry "cause me annoyance in consequence of this?" and the trade is consequently restricted, and the progress of improvement is impeded. For myself I was so annoyed with walking on the surface of this continually threatening trade union volcano that was likely to burst out at every moment, that I was very glad to give it up and retire from the business at a period of life at least 10 years before the age at which I otherwise would have retired. I did so on account of the annoyance I experienced, and many a nervous headache have I taken home with me at the end of the day in consequence of such annoyance.

19,223. You withdrew your capital from a trade where otherwise you would have left it?—Yes, I saw such a storm of annoyance coming on, that in defence of my own happiness I gave it up altogether. And I am the envy of some engineers; they say, "You are a "lucky fellow, Nasmyth, you took down your sign- "board at the right time."

19,224. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you think it unreasonable, if you introduce a new machine and put men to a new employment, that they should consider how it affects their interests?—Not at all; they are quite welcome to do that.

19,225. Do you think it unreasonable that they should confer together as to whether it is a loss to them or a profit?—No, they are perfectly welcome to do that.

19,226. If they think it a loss, or if they think that it involves a lower rate of wages, do you think it reasonable that they should come to you and tell you so?—No; there I stop. I think that no set of men have a right under any circumstances as a body to come and tell me that, for I employed all my men one by one, and from the very first to the last I always resisted deputations.

19,227. From your own men, do you mean?—Yes. I said, "I did not hire you as a body, and I will not see you as a body; I will receive no deputations."

19,228. Do you not in any case deal with them as a body of men?—No. If two men came and knocked at the door of my counting-house and wanted to work for me I should say, "You must come one at a time."

19,229. Do you employ each man individually in the shop separately and give him separate instructions, so that he has no connection with any other man, or do you issue any general instructions or general orders?—Yes, I have issued general instructions.

19,230. Are there no common hours?—Of course there are.

19,231. Are there no two men engaged on the same piece of work?—Yes.

19,232. Several men, for instance, in working at a hammer?—There is the man that lets the steam on and off, and the other that handles the iron under it.

19,233. Do you not think that if men have a common interest in each other's work it is reasonable that they should combine?—No, there is no such common interest; at least, there ought not to be.

19,234. They have nothing to do with each other, in your opinion?—No, unless they voluntarily combine; but, as I tell you, my practice was, and I believe that it is the right basis on which to found your dealings with the men in your employment, to avoid anything like combination, not to recognize the men in any capacity except as individuals, that is to say, in that capacity in which you employ them.

19,235. Supposing that you had six men engaged on one machine, and that you put on a seventh man who, from being a very inferior man to the others in your employment, has very low wages—say, a third of the wages—but that you consider him quite worth that, do you consider it possible that that seventh man might cause a great deal of extra labour and annoyance to the other six men?—No, if there is a foreman properly looking over them. You would put this labourer, perhaps, to tighten up bolts and to perform many functions requiring what would not be considered the highest class mechanical skill.

19,236. But supposing that you put him to a function requiring skill?—If you, as a master, are satisfied, or if your foreman is satisfied, with the profit derived by his labour, that is sufficient. If you are paying this man 15*s.* a week, and you find that he is doing you a service worth 15*s.* a week, then the account is just balanced, but in all probability he will do you 18*s.* worth of service, then you will put the 3*s.* a week in your pocket, and that is your trade profit.

19,237. I want to know whether you consider that the six men have no sort of interest in the way in which that seventh man is doing his worth?—No, they have no right to have any interest in that.

19,238. Have they any interest, I ask?—No, unless he is a bungling man and lets a piece of iron fall upon them.

19,239. But supposing that he is such a man, what then?—Well, I may say that my experience of these shop assistants is, that they are a very careful class of men.

19,240. But if there is a careless man put among gang of men who are at work upon one particular piece of iron, each man in that gang has some common interest in the way in which the others do their work in regard to carefulness, has he not?—Such an evil as you refer to would soon cure itself, because a piece of carelessness would be a direct loss to the employer; a careless workman would break something and so cause a loss to his master.

19,241. Still it is a matter of common interest to them, is it not?—I do not know. If you have a gang of workmen all working together, it may be to their interest that all should go on agreeably together.

19,242. Do you consider that the six men have no right to come to you and say, "Employ this seventh "man if you please, but if you do we shall leave your "employment when our time is up?"—They are

at perfect liberty to go, but not to come and see me about it.

19,243. Supposing that they come and say to you, "We will leave your employment if you employ that man," what then?—In the first place I would not receive the deputation.

19,244. Supposing that the whole six came, you would not receive them?—No. One might come. I would deal with him if he came forward as an individual. He might be the nominee from the whole shop, in that case I would not recognize his talking to me as representing the whole shop, but if I thought it was anything reasonable and just that those men had to explain, and that there was a man working along with them that caused the risk of their limbs, and it was desirable for the sake of their safety that this man should be looked after, I would then institute inquiries through the foreman to see whether this representation was right or wrong, and if my confidential foreman said, "This is really an awkward fellow, running risk "to the men and the work," I would consider whether it was right to discharge that man.

19,245. You think that they would have a right to say, "We will not work for you upon those terms"?—They would have a perfect right to go away upon any consideration. It would be a balance of the attractiveness of my wages against the risk they were running, or (to put it in a more fanciful form) the degradation that they were undergoing, by working with an inferior man.

19,246. You consider that they would have a perfect right to come and tell you that?—No, not as a body.

19,247. Would you call that interference if they did?—Yes, because I know what is at the back of it.

19,248. Would it be a case of what you would call dictating?—No doubt of it, if this man was really doing his work well, and they have taken some umbrage that I could not investigate thoroughly, because it would involve a long course of inquiry to know whether they had justly taken umbrage at this individual or not.

19,249. Would you call that the interference of a third person, because you say that you would make it a penal offence for a third person to interfere?—Yes, but it is more in reference to a man desiring employment and coming to a master to be employed, that I said that.

19,250. Take the case that we are already upon of these six men. Suppose they say, "This seventh man "is a careless man, we object to him and will not work "with him, and we give you notice that we shall leave "simultaneously when our time is up if you continue "to employ him," do you propose to make that a penal act?—No. I would not make it a penal act in that case, because these men are absolutely by the supposition in my employ at that moment, and are in my establishment. I would not receive a deputation from them, but the representation would come to me through the foreman in the usual way.

19,251. Supposing you were satisfied that the man you employed was earning the wages you gave him, and the other six men struck, or the whole shop struck, do you propose to make that a penal act on their part?—No; they have a perfect right to strike and go away in a body to the last man in the works; but then if my employment was such as to attract other men to come to my works, and that self-discharged body of men stood between a man so desiring to come to me and my door, I should say that that would be penal; that is like your standing in front of the baker's shop door and preventing customers coming in.

19,252. Supposing we take another step. Supposing that one of their body stood within sight of your works, and when he saw a likely man coming for employment, went to him and said nothing but this: "We are on strike there; it will be for the interest of "our order that you should not apply for work until "the strike is over," and that simply by moral suasion he induced that man to leave your door, is that a case of interference which you propose to make penal?—I would look upon it as a case of picketing on the part of the man who stood and cajoled the other man.

19,253. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Does not that come under what I put at the beginning of your evidence, that there are two questions; first of all, Was there a conspiracy? and the next, Was the thing done in restraint of trade? and that when both questions are answered in the affirmative a case of offence is made out?—Yes, decidedly. They may evade the law, and instead of sending a dozen of men round your door send only one man; but that one man lets it be understood that he is not there as an individual, but that he is an emissary, and therefore in the eye of common sense he is there as representing an unseen power behind him.

19,254. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Which may do something?—Which may do something very serious.

19,255. Do you propose to carry through the rest of society the rule that a man whom you suspect is likely to commit an offence should be punishable?—When you come to a point of law I cannot argue it with you; it is like asking me the distance of the fixed stars.

19,256. We will try to make it clearer. It is not now possible for a man who is suspected by a policeman of being the sort of man who might commit a burglary, when he has no evidence whatever of the intention of that man to commit a burglary, to be taken up on the highway as he is walking along?—That is done every day, I think. Here is a work on strike, and the men have all turned out. Here is a man standing at the avenue. The law, I should say, has a perfect right to ask, "What is your business "there?" Circumstances may exist to render it highly suspicious that he is there for an illegal purpose, and I think that under an apprehension of that kind there is sufficient ground to warrant that man being removed.

19,257. Supposing that a policeman asks him what he is there for, and he says, "I wish to tell any man "that comes here that there is a strike going on, and "to warn him peaceably without committing any "violence," and supposing that there is not the slightest proof that he is going to commit an offence, would you make that penal?—I think I would, because he is there under suspicious circumstances.

29,258. Why do you propose to make that penal in the case of a strike of workmen which is not penal under any other circumstances?—But if the circumstances are such as this that you are dealing with, an injurious and illegal state of affairs, a state of affairs that is contrary to the public interests (which I hold all strikes to be in a broad sense), then I think if you find any man contiguous to those circumstances, who cannot give a very clear and reasonable account of his presence there, he ought to be removed.

19,259. But if two railway companies having the sole command of a certain locality confederate together to raise their fares against the public, that is contrary to the interests of the public in one sense; do you propose to make that penal?—I have not considered the matter in its operation upon railways. I suppose it would be a conspiracy against the public interests, and if you could prove that it was a conspiracy against the public interests I should think you could bring it under the law.

19,260. (*Mr. Mathews.*) If there there was a conspiracy between two railway companies against an individual to raise the fares charged to him, that would be penal, would it not?—Yes, I should think so.

19,261. And is not that analogous to the case of workmen conspiring against particular works to prevent men going to it to seek employment?—Yes.

19,262. There are three modes of proceeding in the case of a strike which workmen adopt. The first is violence, and the law meets that?—Yes.

19,263. The next is threats, and the law meets that?—Yes.

19,264. The next is persuasion, and the law does not meet that. But from your experience can you draw

Mr. J. Nasmyth.
14 July 1868.

any distinction betwixt persuasion and threats; are they convertible terms, in your view, in the case of a strike?—We know quite well that they are convertible terms in the case of a strike.

19,265. If it is left open to other people to try and persuade a man not to come and work for you, does not that amount in the case we are supposing to threatening that man?—No doubt of it; it arrests the freedom of interchange of labour between a man and the employer.

19,266. And you would make such a persuasion come under the same category as threats or violence?—Yes.

19,267. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You said that it was your experience that "persuasion" was convertible with "threats," and then you said that you proposed to make it penal because it was contrary to the interests of the employer?—Yes, and contrary to the interests of the employed as well. I do not know what the strict definition is of "restraint of trade," but my idea of the definition of that term is that it is something injurious to society in general. I do not know whether I am right in that, but such persuasion is in restraint of trade as I view it. The stopping of free interchange between the employer and employed, who are both willing to deal with each other, by the interference of a third party, would be in restraint of trade.

19,268. When you said just now that you proposed to make simple persuasion penal, do you mean because it is an injury to the employer or the public, or because it is identical with criminal intimidation?—It is identical with criminal intimidation when a strike is in progress. I would not consider (I would even give them the benefit of this) anything like persuasion to try and instigate a strike as penal; but when the strike was in progress, and there was any interference by persuasion or otherwise that would prevent and force away from entering the service of the employer men perfectly willing to do so under the disputed circumstances, I would look upon that as penal.

19,269. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) But supposing that it were done by a newspaper; that instead of sending a picket these people used a newspaper or placard to effect the same object, would that be an offence in your view?—I think it would, but still I would let them do as they like in that way.

19,270. (*Lord Elcho.*) You look upon persuasion and intimidation as practically the same thing, as I understand you?—Yes.

19,271. I suppose it is in this way that you arrive at that view. There is, we will suppose, a strike at your works. You advertise for new labourers. I happen to be a mechanic who has been a month out of work, my wife and family will be very glad for me to get employment, and I shall be very glad myself to get it. I come to your works and you are ready to give it me, but I meet a man who tells me that there is a strike on, and persuades me not to go there. Do you think that, considering that I had been out of work a month, in spite of that persuasion I would go there if that were a solitary man unconnected with any union?—Yes.

19,272. The probability is that I would not be persuaded in that case?—Yes, that is the probability.

19,273. But if I knew that that man did not represent himself only, but that he represented the whole power of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, we will say, then you think it is very probable that I should turn back and not go into your works?—Yes.

19,274. Therefore practically this persuasion by a single individual amounts in that case to the concentrated power on this person of the whole Amalgamated Society of Engineers?—Yes.

19,275. So that in your opinion practically the persuasion even of a single individual who belongs to a corporate body such as the Amalgamated Engineers, amounts to the whole power of the whole body, or as you put it, it amounts to intimidation?—It is practicaly intimidation.

19,276. (*Chairman.*) Supposing that an employer were to offer to any of his workmen unfair terms, terms which in your judgment would be unfair terms, and supposing that an individual were to come to those workmen and explain to them that the terms were unfair, and were to endeavour to persuade them not to accept them, would you make that penal?—Yes, I think I would if the men were quite satisfied with the terms themselves.

19,277. (*Mr. Mathews.*) The difficulty would be to know what were fair terms?—Yes, the proof of fairness of terms is a voluntary service, or voluntary acceptance of them.

19,278. Your proposition is this, that anything that interferes with the free employment of men should be made penal, as being against the welfare of society?—Yes, decidedly.

19,279. That there should be a free trade for the employer to employ any man whom he may choose to employ, and for the workmen to work for what employer he may choose to work for?—Yes.

19,280. And anything that interferes with the free course of that action on either side you would make penal?—Yes, and I would be equally strict in applying that to combinations of employers as to combinations of workmen; the general broad principle of non-intervention I think is the only safe basis on which you can rear the structure of legislation in these matters.

19,281. That is the principle upon which you found all the observations that you have made to us?—Yes.

19,282. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You must know first what the word "interfere" covers, must you not?—In all common sense when you find one man sent forward to talk to people who wished to come into your employment, and if either as the result of blandishments, or coaxing, or threats, you find that a man who was coming to your works ceases to come to your works, you know that that man must have been acted upon by some appeal to his fears that has frightened him away.

19,283. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Might it not be that the blandishments were addressed to his intellect and not to his fears?—Yes, no doubt; it depends upon the natural constitution of the man whether he is more accessible to flattery or to personal fear. My own acquaintance with that sort of thing leads me to say that it is both; it begins with blandishment and ends with an appeal to fear.

19,284. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You propose to make both penal?—Yes.

19,285. (*Lord Elcho.*) Have you ever experienced picketing us a workman yourself?—Not as a workman, only as an employer.

19,286. (*Mr. Harrison.*) This is not merely your abstract opinion as I gather from you, but I understand you are prepared to give it as your experience that in all cases of picketing the picketing really involves the threat of a criminal act?—I think so, because I consider it criminal and penal to prevent a man bringing his labour and intelligence to any market that he things proper.

19,287. What I mean to ask is this, do you give it as your experience that there is no such thing as persuasion in cases of picketing unaccompanied with threat of violence upon life or outrage?—It begins with a mild persuasion, and talk, and cajolery, and glass of ale over the subject, and "Let us discuss this matter," and so on; and then if the man is not persuaded, and is not overpowered by these blandishments, but still desires to enter my employ, he tries to fight his way through these other men, and then begins the difficulty.

19,288. Have you known instances of it?—Yes, men have come into my employment with bleeding faces and torn jackets, after struggling in an heroic manner through all sorts of impediments. The man's reaching me is a mere measure of strength, for if the opposing force is sufficient he never gets to me at all. If he is a bold enough fellow to get through (which many men have done in that way, requiring surgical

assistance as soon as they had succeeded) the moment he enters my gates the man is safe.

19,289. Your experience of picketing is that violence of that kind is the rule?—It used to be.

19,290. Up to what date?—For instance, in the great lock-out, as it is called, of 1851 there was no violence. There was a marked improvement in the way of dealing with the subject. Both parties drew into their citadel.

19,291. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Was there picketing then?—There was picketing then, but not accompanied with open personal violence.

19,292. Mr. Harrison has brought you to this point. He asked you if you believed that there was any picketing at all without violence, and I think that you might have said "Yes." But is there any picketing without violence in the background for enforcing what is intended to be enforced?—I say that that is always in the background; just as, for instance, you may pay your taxes amounting to 50*l.* to a poor old man, the tax gatherer; you do not pay them for fear of him, but you know what is at at the back of him, namely, the whole power of the law.

19,293. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You mentioned the strike of 1851, in which you say there was not this violence. To what date does your practical experience as a manager come down; when did you cease to be a manager?—In 1856.

19,294. You have had no experience since 1856?—No.

19,295. Between the great strike of 1851 and the year 1856, that is to say for the last few years of your career, was actual violence the rule in cases of strike?—There were very few strikes in that period.

19,296. Then you have not had practical experience of the outrages due to picketing since 1851?—Since 1851 I have had no practical experience of that.

19,297. Is not 1851 or 1852 the date at which the Amalgamated Engineers' Society began?—It began I think before 1851, and their first overt act, I think, was the shot fired at Messrs. Platt, of Oldham.

19,298. When you say "shot fired" you mean a strike?—Yes, they commenced a battle to see who was strongest.

19,299. Your experience as to the violence of picketing, and the outrages, and so on, relates to a time previous to the time when the engineers' trade had been organized on its present footing by the union?—Yes. After I got over that trouble in 1851, I poured in a quantity of lads into my place, and I soon weeded out the men that I did not want and took in able men of all kinds, and then all things went on as pleasantly as could be. But at the same time I heard the distant rolling of thunder, and saw that there was a storm coming on, and so I made a compromise between my desire to be very rich and my desire to be very tranquil and comfortable, and resigned the business into the hands of my sleeping partner, and appointed a practical manager to take my place. In point of fact the thing has gone on pretty well since, in spite of trades unions.

19,300. In point of fact, the men are not as docile machines as you could wish to move in the way you desire to move them?—There is no desire to take undue advantage of them. I always like to be upon pleasant terms with the men in my employment, and when they were left by themselves to deal with me everything went smoothly; but the moment that these emissaries came in amongst them you saw the difference at once. I should like to state here that I am anxious to rub out that fallacy about the necessity of apprentices and the men having a claim upon you for teaching apprentices. I do not think that there is any just claim of the sort. The boys will soon pick up knowledge, particularly if you give them the stimulus of paying them in proportion to their ability. If a clever lad in three years could do as much work and as well as a seven years' workman I would give him the same wages.

19,301. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) In your time have you had any experience of any attempt at a regulation to prevent men doing as much as they could under the notion that they were hurting their health?—Not that they were hurting their health, but that they were doing what is called "chasing." If a very active fellow got forward in that way, you generally saw the intimidation begin by the men jeering him.

19,302. That was in your time, was it?—Yes. I saw instances of it; but when it was very annoying we generally met it by displacing that kind of dexterity altogether and taking a machine. Dexterity has an unhappy knack of getting drunk (at least it had in my earlier days) and not coming to work till Wednesday, because a man knows that he can make a living by his three days' work instead of six days'. But when he finds that there is a machine rising in the background which will displace him altogether if he goes on with those tricks, in the first place there is a great tendency to check that man in his bad career, and in the next place if he perseveres it will displace him altogether. That is the history of nine-tenths of the improvements that we have got. This is just one illustration of the way in which good often comes out of evil. I believe that if there were a debtor and creditor account made up of strikes and lock-outs with the interests of society, up to a certain point they would be found to have been a benefit. Such has been the stimulus applied to ingenuity by the intolerable annoyance resulting from strikes and lock-outs, that it has developed more than anything those wonderful improvements in automaton machinery that produce you a window frame or the piston rod of a steam engine of such an accuracy as would make Euclid's mouth water to look at. These things are pouring in in quantities as the result of the stimulus given to ingenuity through the annoyance of strikes. It is not being coaxed on by some grand reward in the distance, but I think a kick from behind is sometimes as useful as a gentle leading forward in front.

19,303. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You think with Mr. Gladstone that strikes have been indirectly of some benefit to trade?—I think that they are one illustration of that glorious principle that seems to pervade all nature that out of evil springs good. But no thanks to the evil, otherwise we would worship typhus fever to-morrow.

19,304. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do not you think that the workmen would be far more ready to introduce new appliances and machinery if he got something more out of the increased profit of the employer than the 1*s.* out of the 20*s.* which you told us of just now?—So he would and so he does. Look at the wages now paying to what are called skilled mechanics, in spite of all the competition and machinery, and even to unskilled mechanics, men who superintend machines. Mr. Robinson, I think, mentioned some facts on that subject the other day.

19,305. His evidence was that the increase is rather small, that the unions have not raised wages?—Speaking from my own experience, when there was not so much machinery used, we were paying for skilled mechanics somewhere about 22*s.* or 24*s.* a week, when I left off it was more like 36*s.* a week.

19,306. Speaking in the broadest way, do you not think that it would tend towards influencing the whole working class in every department of industry in favour of the introduction of new processes and new machinery, if they felt quite certain that a very much larger proportion than now comes, and than you think a fair proportion, of the increased profits would come to their share?—Yes, and that is what I am so anxious to see brought about, a sharing of the receipts between the employers and employed, dividing their advantages. I think that if there were more of that done, it would result in great benefit both individually and collectively to society.

19,307. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Have you heard of the proposal of the Messrs. Briggs with that view?—Several have proposed it, but I think that they have gone beyond proposal.

19,308. You have heard of their limited liability society, in which the profits have been divided between the employer and the employed?—Yes. That I look

Mr. J. Nasmyth.

14 July 1868.

upon as even better than legislation upon the subject, if you could extend it.

19,309. I was going to ask you whether you approve of that plan which Messrs. Briggs have adopted?—Most warmly.

19,310. (*Lord Elcho.*) Do you think that there is any probability, assuming that that plan is an admirable one, and is perfectly sound, of its general and immediate adoption?—Neither of its general nor of its immediate adoption.

19,311. To become generally adopted it must be the result of great success in a considerable number of instances, must it not?—Yes.

19,312. To prove success you must have good times and bad times, and strike the balance of the general result?—Yes, strike the average.

19,313. And assuming that it is a remedy needed, the probability is that before such a remedy can become general a great number of years must elapse?—Yes. I think it will come creeping on, for reason and justice are on its side, and when reason and justice are on the side of anything it will prevail.

19,314. In the meantime, therefore, it would be desirable, if possible, to get some other system for more immediate action?—Yes, as the only way to deal with the present evil.

19,315. You have heard of what they call courts of conciliation and arbitration?—Yes.

19,316. Have you any faith in those?—No. I think that there is such a deal of fallacy mixed up both on the part of the employers and on the part of the employed on these subjects, that you might talk for months and not come to anything like a just conclusion. Different passions and interests get into the question.

19,317. Do you not know of instances where this other system to which I allude has been successful?—No, but I have been for a long time out of business.

19,318. I think I understood you to say that although in this question of apprentices it was an interchange really of benefit between the skilled man and the lad in a manufactory, if it could be shown that the lad derived some direct and immediate benefit from being taught any particular branch of his trade by the workman, in such a case as that you would not think it unreasonable that the workman should be paid?—Certainly not; there might be a mutual arrangement between them then.

19,319. You would not think it unreasonable in such a case that the employer of both should, in consideration of this teaching which is imparted to the boy by the good workman, add something to his wages?—And it practically exists in piecework now. When a man takes a piece of work on piecework he often stipulates that he shall have two or three boys. The cleverest boys in the works are picked out, and the men pay these boys 2*s.* 6*d.* a week extra of themselves. It is not the boy paying the man, but the man positively paying the boy, and the effect of that has been to make every boy emulous and anxious to make himself worthy of being picked out. Not only is there the honourable distinction that puts him above all his mates of being picked out by John Thomson, or whatever his name is, but it takes a more substantial form than that; they actually get a share in the profits of the men by rendering something more than their own natural assistance.

19,320. It is in piecework that this has happened?—Yes.

19,321. But now let us take the case of day work. Would you consider that in day work a man's wages should be raised in consequence of his teaching an apprentice?—No, I think not, unless, as I said before, it was some information that the man is able to refuse to the boy, and does refuse.

19,322. Information which that boy could not naturally have picked up in the shop?—Just so; but I never saw a shop in which there was any job going on where a boy would not pick up knowledge if left to himself.

19,323. You said that any law in regard to combination should apply equally to both parties, employers and employed. Do you believe, taking what was your own business, that there combination to the extent to which it exists in the Society of Amalgamated Engineers can exist on the part of employers?—It is quite impossible.

19,324. For instance, we have had it in evidence that 23 shipbuilders on the Clyde, in anticipation of a strike, formed a society, and that they established very stringent rules, binding them to act together on the basis of a union; that they undertook to frame a common fund for mutual defence, and that they now have a fund of 96,000*l.* which they can turn into cash at any moment, and it was said that the result of that has been that there has been no strike since. Do you think that possible in your trade?—I should like to have three years' experience of that. I think that the combination will melt away. It may meet a temporary emergency, but I do not believe that it will be permanent.

19,325. You think that the masters' wish to undersell each other and to compete would break up any such combination?—Yes.

19,326. Their interests are more divergent than those of the men, in your view?—I think so.

19,327. You talked of the wages that you first got when you came to London being 15*s.* a week, and you said that you saved considerably upon that. May I ask how much you could save out of 15*s.* a week?—I saved 3*s.* a week, and I got a little apparatus made to cook my dinner, which I have at home now.

19,328. You invented a little apparatus for that purpose, did you not?—There was no invention about it at all; it was so simple. It was heated by an oil lamp below the pan, like what they cook children's food with in the nursery now. It cost me a halfpenny a day for oil.

19,329. You put your dinner into that apparatus, did you not, when you went out at breakfast time, and it was so calculated that when you came home you found your dinner cooked?—Yes. I indulged in leg of beef. By walking across from Lambeth to Farringdon Market I could get it at 2½*d.* a pound instead of 3½*d.*, and it was stewed to perfection by my apparatus.

19,330. That little pot you show, do you not, as the foundation of your fortune?—Yes, that it was the spirit of self-denial and love of true independence that did that.

19,331. What did you pay, if I may ask, for lodgings?—Two shillings and sixpence a week.

19,332. With regard to food and clothing compared with the present time, was it cheaper or dearer?—One large commodity of my consumption was East India rice at 1½*d.* a pound; it was so cheap that the grocer would not give me a bag to put it in; that, with a few raisins in it and a little milk, gave me dinner for some days in the week, and then I indulged in leg of beef dinner the other days.

19,333. Nowadays if a workman were as careful and industrious as you were then, could he, do you think, with the present price of lodgings and food and clothing in London save 3*s.* out of 15*s.*?—No. I do not know what lodgings are now, but many other things are enhanced in price. Sugar and tea are cheaper, and bread is not dearer, I think, but butchers' meat is much dearer. Still he might save if he set himself to it

19,334. Have you turned yourself at all to the question of foreign trade, so as to know how far English trade has been injured by it?—I cannot say that I have had any practical experience of that, but I know that machinery is coming over, and material in a more or less manufactured form from abroad; there are some special beams used by builders, I believe, coming from the Belgium works, and the locomotive engines from Messrs. Schneider, at Creusot, and elsewhere.

19,335. I have heard it stated that it is not the action of unions that causes that result, but that manufacturers in this country do not make the most of their manufacture; that they might employ improved

processes of machinery to a much greater extent than they do. For instance, I have heard that in America there is no such thing as a horse shoe nail made by hand, whereas here for those nails to be made by machinery is the exception; and that it is in that way in great measure that foreign trade is competing in the market with English trade. Would you agree with that?—Well, I may say that I was some years ago at a certain ironworks in Wales, wher I saw the machine used called the Squeezer, and I put it to the gentleman who managed the works: "That is a bad "way of making iron, to put the puddle balls into a "thing that squeezes them like baker's dough;" and I said, "There is not half the scoria squeezed out of it." He said, "That is just because we want to sell scoria "for iron." There he was aiming at cheapness. Now, when you had got the hammer it drove out the heterogeneous materials and cleared the iron of them. It is in that respect that the great distinction is between the foreign iron and the English iron. In the foreign iron they not only use the hammer, but they work it with one or two processes more to squeeze out this heterogeneous material. The common test of an iron bar is not merely the breaking of it, but putting the end of the bar into a forge and making it red hot, and seeing if you can punch a hole near the end. If the tenacity of the iron will allow you to punch a hole through it, without splitting open at the end, that is good iron; but if you have not squeezed out all this material that is in it, it will not stand that test. When you want good iron you should have nothing but iron, and there is the value of the Bessemer process; all that other material is got rid of.

Mr. J. Nasmyth.

14 July 1868.

19,336. (*Lord Elcho.*) Have you taken any part in this movement for technical education?—No.

19,337. Do you believe that it will be desirable to promote it?—Yes; appropriate education I would call it.

19,338. Would you have a special education for all the different trades?—I would not carry it so far as that. I would carry it up to a certain point. I would be quite content with that education of the eye of which I have spoken.

19,339. You would go in more for general education than for education in any particular branch?—Yes; but let it be specially appropriate to the prospects in life of the pupil.

19,340. (*Chairman.*) Have you any further evidence arising out of your paper to offer to the Commission?—No.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. Anthony John Mundella examined.

Mr. A. J. Mundella.

19,341. (*Chairman.*) I believe that you have come to state to the Commissioners your experience with reference to arbitration?—I was requested to communicate something to the Commission on the subject of arbitration as we practise it at Nottingham. And I divided it in this way: Firstly, the state of the relations betwixt masters and workmen in the hosiery trade (which is my own trade) prior to the establishment of a board of arbitration and conciliation; secondly, the circumstances under which that board was established, and its influence on those relations; and, thirdly, the application of such boards to other branches of industry. That occurred to me as the proper order. In speaking of the first point, the state of the relations betwixt masters and workmen in the hosiery trade prior to the establishment of a board of arbitration and conciliation, I may say that that goes far beyond my recollection, because although I was born, so to speak, in the hosiery trade, and have been engaged in it ever since I was six years old, yet the dreadful state of the relations betwixt labour and capital is a matter of history. I have before me the best authority on the subject in the shape of a book by Mr. Felkin, a fellow of the Statistical Society, giving "a history of the machine-wrought hosiery and lace manufactures," published last year, and as that will in a few words state better than I can what were the previous relations of the trade, I will, if you will allow me, read the index to one chapter. "Luddism" (luddism is a technical term known in the hosiery trade as machine-breaking). "Stocking frame break- "ing, 1710, in London.—By Act of 1727, if frames "using woollen yarn, punishable with death.—In "1770 loom breakers hanged in Spitalfields.—Frames "and a house destroyed at Nottingham.—In 1773 "frame breaking at Leicester.—In 1811 stocking "makers much distressed.—Swept the streets for "food.—Several gangs of frame breakers organized. "—Frames broken almost daily.—One man shot.— "Magistrates' appeals unheeded.—An offered advance "in wages.—Secured a body of machinery.—Daring "escape of a Luddite.—Nottingham seemed in a state "of siege.—1812, Trentham, a hosier, shot.—Punish- "ment of death extended to all frame breakers.— "Lord Byron's speech.—General insecurity.—Gar- "ton's house attacked.—One man on each side shot. "—In 1816 Heathcoat's frames broken.—A work- "man shot.—Six of the Luddites executed.—Luddism "ceased.—This nefarious work done for hire.—Heath- "coat's awarded damages 1,000*l*.—Never received." And so on. The fact is that owing to disputes about the rates of wages and the introduction of improved machinery, the breaking of machinery was fashionable, so to speak; that is to say, it was the practice in Nottingham and Leicester up to 1820. Since that time machine-breaking has ceased. The trades unions have taken a different form. There has been a stricter and stronger combination and more frequent strikes; but generally without violence. A good deal of persecution against individuals, which is very much to be deprecated, and a great deal of personal abuse of manufacturers. I am only stating this in order that you may know what we had to deal with in the first instance.

19,342. (*Mr. Harrison.*) All that you have mentioned as historical was at the time when combinations were illegal by law?—When they were illegal; the moment that they became legal men combined openly. The disputes about wages and the resistance to machinery continued, but in a different form, from 1820 up to 1860. The hosiery trade may be said to be divided into three branches: the hand looms, which are the original old hand looms, narrow looms; the wide looms, also used in domestic manufacture, the workman employing them in his own house; and steam power machinery, an introduction since about 1848.

19,343. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Had you not any steam before that?—None; there was no hosiery manufactured by steam power before 1848. All these branches that I have just mentioned had their separate trades unions, and their mode of regulating wages was simply by a strike on the part of the workmen, or a refusal of work on the part of the manufacturers. The system was simply this. In times of depression a manufacturer pressed down the workman as low as he possibly could; and the less conscience he had, of course the more he pressed down the workman; and when the time for an advance came, or better trade, although the natural state of things—that is to say, the natural demand for labour—would sometimes force up wages a little, yet it was always resisted as much as possible. The men sent deputations from trades unions round to the hosiers' warehouses. At one warehouse they would be told to walk downstairs, they would not acknowledge trades unions. At another they would be told, "Well, we shall wait till we see what our neighbours do." After going round to the different firms and being received in that way, the chances are that the men would go home and strike; and it would depend upon circumstances how long they could keep out. They would, perhaps, ask for more than was the natural rate, more than the trade could

Mr. A. J. Mundella.

14 July 1868.

fairly give. It was simply starving out the manufacturer or the workman till a compromise was effected. Well, in 1860, we had in a single branch three strikes, one of which lasted 11 weeks. There was rather a good demand for the American trade; when the time came for the delivery of our goods, we had no goods to deliver, the men having been out 11 weeks. The manufacturers came together to consider what we could do to completely change this state of things. We resolved to do something as we considered it in self-defence. I may say here that of course the one branch that was out was supported by the branches that were at work. It was only the Sutton branch as we call it, the wide hand frames, which require rather a skilled class of men, that were out, still a number of steam power men and narrow hand frames, and glove hands, all contributed their quota to maintain these men while they were on strike. It was proposed that we should lock out the whole of them, that is to say, that if these men would not come to work on our terms, we should cease to give them any kind of work, and we would stop the steam power frames also. We knew what this meant; it meant throwing the population on the streets, and we should have had a dreadful state of commotion. We were sick of it, and some of us thought that better means might be adopted.

19,344. What was the real subject in dispute?—The men asked a large advance of wages in one branch.

19,345. Upon that the whole subject turned?—Yes, upon that the whole subject turned. As I say, some of us thought that we might devise some better means of settling the thing. I had heard of the Conseils de Prud'hommes in France, and with one or two others I built up a scheme in my imagination of what I thought might be done to get a good understanding with our men and regulate wages. The result was that a handbill was issued (I have one of the original bills here) inviting the men to a conference. At a meeting of hosiers it was arranged that a number of middle men and workmen should meet together, at least we invited them to meet together with us, to consider the suicidal character of their proceedings, and three employers were deputed to confer with the workmen. We say at the end of the bill, "We hereby invite the workmen in the branches "referred to, to depute persons to take part in the "conference, and to arrange with us the time and "place of meeting. Signed A. J. Mundella, Thos. "Ashwell, J. H. Lee," those being three of the largest manufacturers. We met, and we debated in our Corn Exchange for two or three days.

19,346. (*Lord Elcho.*) Do you know what steps the men had taken?—The men consulted together and put out a handbill. They said that it seemed a fair proposal and they would meet it.

19,347. How did they choose their men?—They chose the leaders of their trades unions undoubtedly. We three met perhaps a dozen leaders of the trades unions, and we consulted with these men, told them that the present plan was a bad one, that it seemed to us that they took every advantage of us when we had a demand, and we took every advantage of them when trade was bad, and it was a system mutually predatory. And there is no doubt that it was so; we pressed down the price as low as we could and they pressed up the price as high as they could. This often caused a strike in pressing it down and a strike in getting it up; and these strikes were most ruinous and injurious to all parties, because when we might have been supplying our customers our machinery was idle, and the probabilities were that some part of our trade was going to our rivals in France and Germany, for we have constant competition with France and Germany, and we suggested whether we could not try some better scheme. Well, the men were very suspicious at first; indeed it is impossible to describe to you how suspiciously we looked at each other. Some of the manufacturers also deprecated our proceedings, and said that we were degrading them, and humiliating them, and so on. However, we had some ideas of our own, and we went on with them; and we sketched out what we called a board of arbitration and conciliation. What we were going to do was very indistinctly prefigured in our own minds, except that we had agreed that to this board we would refer all questions in dispute, and that an equal number of workmen and manufacturers should be elected annually, the manufacturers by their body and the workmen by theirs, and that we would bind ourselves to agree to the decision of the board; of course the parties selected to sit on the board being manufacturers and workmen in equal numbers.

19,348. And how was the chairman chosen?—When we came to make our rules it was agreed that the chairman should be elected by the meeting, and should have a vote, and a casting vote when necessary. I was chosen the chairman in the first instance, and I have been the chairman ever since. I have a casting vote, and twice that casting vote has got us into trouble. And for the last four years it has been resolved that we would not vote at all. Even when a working man was convinced, or a master convinced, he did not like acting against his own order, and in some instances we had secessions in consequence of that; so we said, "Do not let us vote again, let us try if we can agree," and we did agree. This (*producing it*) is a copy of our rules as originally formed, and although they are very simple indeed, yet we have never amended them from the day they were made. Our proceedings are exceedingly informal, they bear no likeness to a court. We sit down as you are now sitting, round a table, and the workmen and masters are often interspersed.

19,349. (*Chairman.*) Have they a secretary?—The men appoint their secretary and we appoint our secretary, and we pay the expenses between us. We pay our secretary 10*l.* a year, and they pay theirs for his loss of time. And we sit down and discuss all questions. At first we thought that our business would be merely to discuss any disputes that had arisen.

19,350. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Why have you two secretaries?—Because the workmen like to report to their own body what takes place. We have only one secretary for the purposes of the board. He is not a member of the board. He is a young man who is an employé at one of our warehouses. The rules require that notice of subjects to be discussed at the board shall be given in writing, and we do not even enforce that.

19,351. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Do you fix the days of meeting?—We fix that we shall meet once a quarter at least; but that on the request of three members on the committee of inquiry we shall meet oftener, as often as may be required, and we meet on the average once in each month. Originally we had on the board nine of each side, now we have ten. We appointed from our number two on each side as a committee of inquiry, and they try to confer on questions that arise, and settle them privately. Supposing that it is a question of wages, and we want to draw up a statement as to what prices shall be (we have what we call statement of prices for every class of work made in the trade), it is then referred to the board.

19,352. All the work in the trade is done by piecework, I suppose?—All the work in the trade is piecework from beginning to end. There is a statement of prices signed by manufacturers and workmen (*exhibiting it*).

19,353. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Is that a code of rules as well?—No, a statement of prices simply.

19,354. (*Lord Elcho.*) Is it a yearly or monthly statement?—It stands good till it is altered. These are statements of prices in other classes of work (*exhibiting the same*).

19,355. (*Mr. Harrison.*) They hold good for the future?—Yes, if we had only to discuss quarrels that have arisen about the past state of prices we should have almost nothing to do, because it is rarely that there is any dispute what shall be the rate this

week, but the dispute is what shall be the rate next week.

19,356. Is there any notice required for any alteration of the rates of wages?—Yes, it stands on our minutes that if the workmen require an advance of wages or a manufacturer a reduction, a month's notice must be given by either side.

19,357. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Notice is given, say by the men, that they want an advance of wages on a particular class of work, that notice is sent to you, and then you discuss it?—That is given at a board meeting, and it is a month from that board meeting; when the month is up then the board meets to discuss the question.

19,358. Supposing that the board come to a decision that the advance ought to be given, and you issue that as your opinion, what is the result of that?—The result is that the manufacturers in the trade, universally in fact, give the price. If there are one or two that stand out (and there are some, I will explain that immediately) we wait upon them ourselves, and say, "Now for peace and quietness' sake, agree to "this; it has been agreed to by the other manufac- "turers, we are all willing to act by it, and why should "not you?" There are about 40 manufacturers in Nottingham. We govern by our board Nottingham and Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and the whole of Leicestershire, up to Loughborough. Leicestershire on the south side we have nothing to do with; they have a separate board of their own which was established last year. There are two manufacturers who come from Belper to the board, and one from Loughborough, the largest manufacturer there, and seven Nottingham manufacturers; and we set out with 10 workmen representing the different trades unions, and we discuss these questions courteously and friendly. The men come to us perhaps and say, "We want an advance on this "class of work; the hand-loom work is the least paid "work in the trade." And so it is, because two men will sit side by side on the board, one earning 12*s.* and another 2*l.* a week, and the 12*s.* man may be as good a man as the 2*l.* man, and the 12*s.* man says, "Cannot you give me an advance?" "You know the reason why you are not paid more." We say, "Yours is a narrow machine, and if we were to "advance it to anything approximating the wages of "the man who stands next to you, we should shut out "that altogether; what we want is to keep the trade "in our town," and the men agree to that. We sent two of them to France last year and a third to Germany to see for themselves the prices paid there for that work. They came home and said, "It will not do, we must be content as we are for the present." We produce on the table the articles made in France and Germany, and the men are convinced by their own senses of the justice of what we say and by their knowledge of the laws that govern trade, because this system has been a complete educational process for our men; they know as well as we do whether we can afford an advance or not; they know whether the demand is good or bad, and at what prices the article can be made in France or Germany; and they are accustomed to consider the effect of a fall or rise in cotton just as we do; and when they think that things are going well they ask to share in the benefit, and when they think that things are going wrong they are willing to take lower rates.

19,359. They have, in fact, confidence in your board?—They have now. At first it was difficult to inspire that confidence, as we did not confide in each other; there were not above half the manufacturers that came into it at first, but when we put our names to these statements the others could not for shame stand out, and now we have only three or four who hold aloof, for there are men in our trade as there are in every other trade who for the sake of a few shillings a week would not hesitate to put a whole district in confusion—masters who are perfectly indifferent as to the effect upon the trade in general, so that they can gain a little more.

19,360. (*Lord Elcho.*) What number do the ten men on your board represent?—Fully 20,000 men.

19,361. (*Mr. Harrison.*) I think it might be convenient if you stated to us now what was the exact constituency of your board on each side; for instance, supposing you take the employers first, there was an employers' association, was there not?—There was. We got all the employers we could together and the Hosiers' Association was formed; it was not a combination and we were not combined for any purpose; for employers to be combined it is not necessary to have an association at all.

19,362. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Ten persons representing the employers on the board were chosen by the employers?—Yes.

19,363. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Who has a right to vote for them?—The employers who are members of the Hosiers' Association.

19,364. Those outside of that association would not have the right?—We have only about three such.

19,365. And the ten men's representatives are selected by the men's different unions, are they not?—They are selected by the men's unions; and I believe the non-unionists voted for them in the first year. I believe it was by universal suffrage that they were chosen, they actually polled the number of votes. So many men were nominated, John So-and-so had so many thousand votes, and so on; and the nine with the highest number of votes were appointed.

19,366. Who had the suffrage?—Every man who worked at the trade.

19,367. Did they take the votes at central voting houses?—I think the votes were sent to the secretary of the trades unions.

19,368. Then the vote was collected by the trades unions putting themselves at the head of the working men of the town?—Yes, we could have done nothing without the organization of the union, and it was to deal with that that we adopted this plan.

19,369. What proportion of the men are in the union?—The great bulk.

19,370. Do you suppose that you could have got hold of them without such an organization as that of the union?—No; when we proposed to the men the formation of a board of arbitration they took our proposal back to the trades unions for consideration, and the trades unions determined to give it a trial. Here is the way in which it is worked in the lace trade. The third rule of the board of arbitration and conciliation for that trade is this: "The board to consist "of eight manufacturers and eight operatives, three "of each to form a quorum; the operatives to be elected "by a meeting of their own body, the manufacturers "to be elected by a meeting of employers. The whole "of the deputies to serve for one year, and to be eligible "for re-election." Now here is the men's circular: "The committee earnestly request that a delegate be "elected from every workshop, and those factories or "shops numbering more than ten workmen are "requested to send one delegate for every additional "ten workmen, to meet in the office, Rigley's Yard, "on Thursday evening next, the 4th day of July, at "7 o'clock, when it is intended to choose eight work- "men according to the above-named scale" (that is to say, that every ten men should choose one, and that out of that number they should choose the eight who should represent them) "to meet the same number of "employers to draw up a code of laws, and to form "the board for the ensuing year."

19,371. (*Lord Elcho.*) That is irrespective of whether they belong to the union or not?—That seems to be irrespective of whether they belong to the union or not. But this is my experience, that the men who are not in the union are always glad to take the advantages gained for the men by the union, and if you will deal with the leaders of the trades unions they will be glad for you to do so. If we were to attempt to adopt the principle which Mr. Nasmyth has been recommending to you this morning of dealing only with one man at a time I think it would be most unfair to the men.

Mr. A. J. Mundella.

14 July 1868.

19,372. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) I think Mr. Nasmyth's remark on that point applied to the contracts between employers and employed?—That is the rock on which I think employers split; and I think that Mr. Nasmyth only stated very boldly and frankly what many employers—indeed, the majority of employers—secretly feel; that is this, that they will not have anything to do with deputations at all, they want to deal with men one at a time. Now so long as there are 20 or 30 factories working in one town, and the men in one factory are getting 16*s.* a week and the men in the other factories 16*s.* 6*d.* a week, the 16*s.* men will not stand it, but they will form a combination with the 16*s.* 6*d.* men to get the extra 6*d.* and they will deal with you by their representatives, and they have a right so to do; because if I take men one at a time I being a large employer can trade upon their necessities and weed out the men that have any independence, and screw the rest down to any terms I may please. That is the rock on which too many of the employers split, and so long as we wish to make a world to please ourselves, and will not take it as we find it, I believe that we shall have these strikes and lock-outs. I see no way to avoid that state of things, but allowing men to avail themselves of the principle of association; although I believe there have been many wicked things done under it, and I always denounce in the strongest way I can any outrage, any intimidation, anything illegal or irregular, any opposition to machinery, any objection to work a particular class of stone; for instance at Bradford I have done so. I there told the men plainly what I thought of them and got them to go home and erase their rules the next day; yet I am quite sure that the men on the whole have benefited by their trades unions.

19,373. (*Mr. Hughes.*) You say that you quite admit the right of the men to deal with their employers by their representatives?—That is the only way of avoiding these difficulties.

19,374. And you have had great experience of the representatives of the men in your part of England?—Yes.

19,375. What sort of men have you found them to be?—I will tell you what has been the effect of our board of arbitration. The very men that the manufacturers dreaded were the men that were sent to represent the workmen at the board. We found them the most straightforward men we could desire to have to deal with; we have often found that the power behind them has been too strong for them; they are generally the most intelligent men; and often they are put under great pressure by workmen outside to do things which they know to be contrary to common sense, and they will not do them. They have been the greatest barriers we have had between the ignorant workmen and ourselves, and I know that is so. I have found it in my correspondence with trade union secretaries and leaders; all over England I have found that so. I know that they are opposed to most of the evils that pervade the trades unions, but there are some that are not so; it is quite clear that this Commission has developed that.

19,376. So that you consider them to be genuine representatives of the working men?—Yes, generally I do. I will now describe the first effect of this establishment of a board of arbitration. I must, although with a good deal of reluctance, put in a few handbills here. Our workmen do not like them to appear because they represent what was a very bad state of feeling in our district, but I have only selected a few out of some hundreds that came into my possession last year; they are by no means all, and what I have are not consecutive even, but they indicate what was the feeling between master and workman at the time that our board was established. Some of these handbills appeared just six months prior to the establishment of the board. The one from which I will first read was published only a month prior to the establishment of the board. It is dated September 6th, 1860, and our board was established I think on the 27th. "To the "trades of England we say, give us help and assistance "in the maintenance of our rights and liberties, and "show that you are determined to support those who "are prepared to sacrifice their all for the rights and "dignity of labour. To show you that the down-"trodden sons of toil in our society having done their "best to protect themselves against a conspiracy "which has been in existence for the last six months "to destroy us, we have expended near upon 1,000*l.* "in defending our wages" (this is this little branch of the framework knitters), "and as trade is flat, our "employers have taken the present opportunity (tiger "like) to pounce upon their prey, and by the offered "reduction to put, this present week, more than 700 "on strike and on our funds, and to give no work to "a larger number to keep them from paying to the "above men on strike." That, as I have said, is dated September the 6th, 1860. We issued our handbill at the end of the month, we got the workmen together, and that was the state of feeling in our district at that time. I believe the last handbill here is one dated September the 14th, in which my name is particularly mentioned as having deceived the other employers. It says: "Mr. Dobbs of Skegby is giving the price for "what he is making to Mr. Ashwell, and Mr. Wells "and Mr. Mundella are paying the prices at Lough-"borough and Sheepshead; therefore these manu-"facturers are getting their orders accomplished, and "gulling the rest of the hosiers that are acting with "them, making them believe that they are not giving "the price for anything they are making; at the same "time they are having immediate orders done and "giving the price for them, and laughing in their "sleeves to think how craftily they are doing all the "respectable houses in the trade in paying the price, "and do not want any alteration." The object of that was to sow dissension amongst us. That was the last bill ever published. There has been no attack upon an employer since.

19,377. How is it they came to make a set against you?—I had gone out of my own district to give the full price in order to get my work done, and I was gulling the manufacturers in the same district, they say. I must say this, that since I was a child I do not know that ever I walked the streets without seeing some of these handbills up to 1860; and since the formation of our board not one has been published. I was born amongst the working men, especially amongst the stocking makers, and the feeling on their part was that it was impossible for a manufacturer to be a just and honest man. The feeling at the present moment is more cordial, and more loyal and friendly, than I ever could have believed it possible to have realised. We have carried on the trade during the last eight years on this principle. When this Trades Union Commission was first constituted the Christmas before last, I must say that we never expected we were coming into publicity by our system. We simply adopted it for our own wants, but it attracted a good deal of attention, and the Speaker of the House of Commons was so delighted with it that he spoke in favour of it, and some others begged us to give some account of it. Up to that time we had never published an annual report even; the manufacturers simply gave their account to the manufacturers, and the workmen to the workmen. But in 1866 we published one signed by both masters and workmen. This is the report (*producing it*). It says this: "It affords the "Board much pleasure to report that the past year has "been, on the whole, a prosperous one in the Hosiery "Trade, employment in nearly all branches having "been abundant. The Board has met eight times "during the year for general and special business. "The Committee of Inquiry has also met on several "occasions, and all matters in dispute which have "been submitted to it have been speedily and amic-"ably arranged. The Board having now had six "years' experience of the practical working of the "system of arbitration, as opposed to strikes and "lock-outs, is thoroughly convinced that in a free "country where the workmen and capitalists have

" a perfect right to enter into combinations, the " simplest, most humane, and rational method of set- " tling all disputes betwixt employer and employed is " arbitration and conciliation. The Board is strength- " ened in this conviction by the fact that during the " past two years the demand for Hosiery has been in " several branches of an exceptional character and " labour in some departments usually scarce; and " notwithstanding the workmen have preserved their " Trades Unions by having a central authority to " to appeal to, composed equally of employers and " employed; all questions calculated to produce " irritation and lead to disputes have been promptly " settled; all inequalities in the rates of wages have " been adjusted; the manufacturer has been enabled " to accept his contracts without apprehension, and " execute them without delay; and the rights of " workmen have been jealously looked after and strictly " preserved. Whereas in neighbouring counties and " throughout the country a chronic warfare has ex- " isted betwixt labour and capital to the great injury " of both, owing to the want of some court of appeal " commanding alike the confidence of employer and " employed. It is with much satisfaction that the " Board is able to report that at no previous period in " the history of the Hosiery Trade has there existed " such a cordial understanding betwixt employer and " employed as at the opening of the present year, and " the Board trusts that this may long continue, " believing that it is calculated to advance the interests " of the trade, to improve the condition of the work- " men, and to further the progress and well being of " the community."

19,378. You report here that in 1866 the employment in the hosiery trade was abundant?—It was very abundant.

19,379. In 1866 there was a general slackness in other trades, was there not?—Not in 1866 I think. During the American war we suffered frightfully, but in 1866 we had a very large demand for America and for the Colonies, because our staple is chiefly cotton, and it was then coming down to a reasonable price; that is the testing time; the time when it is difficult to keep the peace is, when there is an unusual demand; and we never had a machine standing the whole of that time.

19,380. Do you find that the board has any effect on the regularity of the work in your trade?—Yes, we find that what is called the market price (I am speaking now with great deference to political economists, because I believe in political economy strictly, still I believe it is carried too far) is not always the market price, but in flat seasons the price is governed very much by the unscrupulousness, if I may say so, of certain manufacturers; for instance, one manufacturer, who is a very honourable man, will be content to pay 7*s.* for a certain article, another is not content unless he gets it at 6*d.* less than his neighbour, and takes advantage of a flat season to screw his men down. Now though we do fluctuate up and down under this board, we never fluctuate to the same extent as we did under the other system.

19,381. (*Lord Elcho.*) How often in the seven or eight years during which the system has been in force have you had a rise or fall; that is to say, what has been the number of times in which this board has regulated the wages either rising or falling?—I should think every year probably.

19,382. More than once a year?—More than once a year generally.

19,383. But you cannot say how often?—No. We have nearly 5,000 different articles to deal with and have to regulate them all. We are continually fluctuating up or down, but not down much, because the tendency of wages has been slowly upwards for the last 500 years. Men require higher money wages because the purchasing power of money gets less. Instead of the wages fluctuating downwards we generally let things remain as they are, and that has made things much more equal. I will give you an instance of that. Mr. Samuel Morley, who is one of the largest employers in our trade, for he employs 5,000 people, has told me over and over again: "In " good times I can lay up stock now; before I could " not do that, because I was always afraid of some " unscrupulous employer cutting me out with lower " prices."

19,384. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Are the fluctuations extreme?—They used to be, but except during the American war they have been very slight.

19,385. (*Mr. Hughes.*) I understood you to say that the fluctuations before the establishment of your board were very great?—Yes.

19,386. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Would the establishment of the board interfere materially with the price of the raw material?—Not at all.

19,387. So that in fact the establishment of the board has no reference at all to the price of the raw material?—It has some reference to it, for instance in regard to cotton.

19,388. What proportion of the cost of the finished article would consist of raw material and what of labour?—In the common class of goods two-thirds would consist of the raw material; in the best class of goods not more than 10 per cent. would consist of raw material. I am speaking now of the cotton hosiery trade strictly.

19,389. When you speak of labour, do you include in that the mechanical part of the labour?—Every part of the labour. For instance, in the making of stockings there is the machine working, then the sewing up, then the bleaching, then the boxing and finishing. A stocking of 30*s.* a dozen will not have above four or five shillings worth of material in it.

13,390. The amount of mechanical labour will vary in different classes, will it not?—Yes, the stocking of 30*s.* a dozen will have 14*s.* or 15*s.* of mechanical labour in it; a stocking of 4*s.* a dozen will not have above 8*d.* of mechanical labour in it, if they are made by steam power.

19,391. So that taking the mechanical operation and the raw material, the labour is subordinate to those two combined, generally speaking?—When I speak of the mechanical operation I mean the labour performed by the two with the aid of the machine.

19,392. You do not mean the cost of the machinery?—No; I understood by the term "mechanical operation" what would be paid to the mechanic for working the machine. Our machinery is valuable, and we have to put on every dozen stockings a certain proportion of value for the wear and tear of that machinery, but the work done forms a very small part of the cost of the article.

19,393. So that it leaves, in point of fact, as the material element in the cost of your articles, labour?—The material element is labour and cotton. If it is a silk stocking then it is reversed; silk is the great cost.

19,394. As I understand you, in the higher articles only 10 per cent. goes to material and 90 per cent. to labour?—Yes.

19,395. In the lower articles two-thirds is the material and one-third labour?—Yes.

19,396. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Have you ever considered whether there is any absolute necessity in the trade for wages to fluctuate frequently up and down? Of course we know that wages will rise or fall in the long run; but is there any necessity for an immediate brisk demand for the article being followed by a rise of wages?—I believe that the great fluctuations which take place in wages are rather a consequence of the operations of two parties combining one against the other; the workman combining against the master to raise wages up to a higher level, often to a level which is injurious to himself in the long run and drives labour away; and then the master, taking advantage of the state of things and to bring wages down to a level unjust to the workman.

19,397. You think that the healthy state of things is that the wages should remain fixed on the long run?—They must fluctuate according to circumstances.

19,398. You say "they must;" are you sure that they must. Have you considered this, that there are

Mr. A. J. Mundella.

14 July 1868.

a great many trades where they do not?—I never knew a trade where they did not fluctuate.

19,399. Throughout the whole of the building trades in London practically for 12 years there has been no fluctuation, has there?—The building trades are practically different from any other trade. You cannot import a house ready made; there is no foreign competition in that trade, whereas in our trade there is. If our price is a mere trifle above the price of France or Germany for the same article, the American, and West Indian, and Australian traders, and our own colonists, then go to France and Germany; and so we are obliged to govern our wages and our cost under the influence of those foreign markets.

19,400. (*Mr. Mathews.*) Is there much difference between the wages which you pay and those paid by the French and Germans?—Yes; the wages paid by the French and Germans are much lower than those paid by us. The German labour is perhaps 25 per cent. lower. But I will say this, that is not all saved. The English workman is the best workman in the world, excepting perhaps the American, who has some advantages over him. I mean if you take up a machine of the same size and turn it by steam power the same number of revolutions a minute, and give that same machine to a Frenchman and a German, the Englishman shall beat the others 30 per cent.

19,401. (*Lord Elcho.*) He beats them through what? through physical endurance, or training of the eye, or skill of the hand?—Training of the eye and rapidity; an Englishman is the more energetic man.

19,402. The English workman is more skilled with his hand and eye than the Frenchman?—Yes, quicker. Suppose, for instance, that a machine is making a piece of lace, or a cotton fabric, there is always some rectification of the machine wanted now and then, and the Englishman will take less time in setting his frame and rectifying the frame than the Frenchman. The foreigners are much slower, the Englishman has a quicker perception.

19,403. You employ some Germans, do you not?—We have a place in Saxony where we employ 700.

19,404. You can therefore compare results as between English workmen and German workmen?—Yes; I have been accustomed to go to France and Germany for 20 years. I have taken out patents in France, and sold the same machines in France and Germany as I have worked in Nottingham. I have friends in France who when we bring out a good machine buy it. I see their workmen working in their factories and our workmen in ours, and I compare the relative production, and I send our workmen over to France to see how they do the thing.

19,405. (*Chairman.*) You say that you have works in Saxony; how long have you had them?—About five years.

19,406. Were they established since your system of arbitration was set on foot?—No, they were established by another manufacturer in Nottingham, who during the American war lost money and stopped in consequence. We bought them with a view of concentrating at our depôts in London and Nottingham every class of production, so that our buyers should not be necessitated to go to Germany for German goods.

19,407. Does the work which you do in your German establishments differ from the work done in England?—It does; it is not precisely the same work. They have a lower class of labour than we have, and the old looms that are passé, that our workmen will not work, we send over there and they work them. They make a class of work from those looms adapted particularly to the American market, and that brings the Americans to us in Nottingham to buy these goods instead of their going over to Germany to buy them, and perhaps to buy other things as well.

19,408. Do you find that your works in Germany act in any way as a check upon the men employed in your works in England, by showing them what can be done?—There is as much hosiery machinery in Germany as there is in England, and the men know it. But the Germans aim at a different class of goods. I was about to point out that we have some other advantages besides the rapidity of the Englishman. Although the German workman is cheaper, we get our cotton cheaper. Liverpool is the depôt for cotton; the German must buy his there or at Havre. It is then brought by the sea passage to Hamburg, and then he must carry it 1,200 miles inland, and then there is a stupid government that inflicts a duty upon the raw material; then he has to pay the charge out from Leipsic to Hamburg again, and then a Hamburg steamer will charge him 3*l.* a ton for the freight to America for what we here can ship for 30*s.* a ton.

19,409. Under the new organization of the North of Germany that disadvantage will disappear, perhaps?—The new organization of the North of Germany is the great thing that England has to look to. In many things they are a long way ahead of us, particularly in scientific education.

19,410. Is it particularly Germany that we have to look to in that respect?—Yes; I think nothing of France.

19,411. In your trade, you mean?—In every trade.

19,412. I understood you to say that the American was more skilful than the Englishman in your trade?—I would not like to say that. The Englishman is on an equality with him, but generally the American is better educated.

19,413. Can you say whether the persons employed in your trade in America are native-born Americans?—They are frequently native born; they very often mix with English workmen. They like the native-born Americans the best.

19,414. In the iron trade, I believe, there is no such thing as a native born-American among the workmen?—That is because every native-born American gets to be a master as soon as he can.

19,415. (*Chairman.*) What is the part of the States in which your business is carried on?—Boston, Philadelphia, and Massachusets.

19,416. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Do you not believe that the high rate of wage in America has a great deal to do with the great skill and energy of their workmen?—I believe that some of our workmen are better off than theirs. That has been proved to me of late years, because some of our men have come back again for that reason.

19,417. Do you not think that when the wages in Germany reach the same point as ours, that will develop more energy and more skill in them?—I think probably that it will. The wages in Germany are advanced something like 40 or 50 per cent. since I have known them, and they are getting higher and higher constantly, and they have a very intelligent docile population, and very careful and very honest.

19,418. You do not believe that there is any inherent incapacity in the German to equal the Englishman in work if he has the same inducements to it?—I may be a little conceited on that point, but I give the Englishman the preference over all others. I think there is more "go" in him; he is not so slow and heavy.

19,419. Then you do believe in a difference of race?—I believe that there is a difference of race, and that the English race is the best extant.

19,420. (*Mr. Harrison.*) With respect to your answer just now, I understood you to say that the fact of foreign competition entering into a trade made it impossible for wages to be steady; that is to say, not to fluctuate, though of course wages in the long run will gradually rise or gradually fall. When you say that foreign competition is a sufficient answer to the suggestion that it is possible for wages to be steady, have you considered this, that of all the trades, that in which foreign competition is said to be entering in the most formidable manner is that of the engineers, and that the engineers of large districts in England, and most notably of London, I believe, have had perfectly steady unvarying wages over periods of 10 or 12 years at a time, broken only by a uniform rise, and that fluctuation of wages is in their trade unknown, I may

say, over the whole kingdom?—I am quite satisfied that in a trade that has to contend with foreign competition, fluctuations of wages are absolutely necessary. For instance, we had the woven glove trade; the men were getting good wages, wages went higher and higher, and we had strikes (this was before the formation of our board), till the wages reached a tremendous point. I said, "I am sure this will not go "on; they have the same machines in Germany, "and they will set about this trade." And they did, and we have no glove trade left. The result was that the glove hands came down to nearly half what they formerly had; they made for 1*s.* 3*d.* what they used to make for 2*s.* 3*d.*, and then they could not get employment, and the trade has nearly died out.

19,421. Does not that precisely bear out the proposition that the principle of constantly changing wages regulated by the immediate profits in that particular business, leads to a disastrous state of things?—Yes, when the wages are forced up beyond what is the natural price—that is, the price at which the goods can be sold in the market without foreign competition taking the trade out of their hands. Beyond that point our trade gradually dribbles into our neighbours' hands.

19,422. Have you ever considered the plan of keeping the wages fixed at a point that leaves a considerable margin for foreign competition and rise and fall?—I am afraid that I have not devoted much attention to that. You know that I am strictly a practical man, and not a philosopher.

19,423. It is a very practical question, I think, with respect to your board. For instance, the engineers are subject to immense fluctuations of profits; occasionally the great employers will be making enormous profits and occasionally working at immense loss. The wages of that trade, I understand, are so regulated that there is a margin which will bear the whole of the rise and fall, and the foreign competition, and all the rest, and the result is a nearly uniform wage?—I am quite sure of this, that if the foreign engineer, Hartzmann of Chemitz, can buy his iron as cheap as the English engineer, and can get his labour 35 per cent. less, he will beat the English engineer; and if the English customer can buy his goods cheaper in Germany, he will not care where he gets them from; even our own countrymen will take an article to a German manufacturer and ask him what he will do it for. I have known strikes drive away trade, and I have known strikes introduce trade in other localities abroad.

19,424. (*Mr. Mathews.*) So that given the same ability to make the same character of goods in England and abroad, the only advantage of the Englishman is superior intellect and adroitness?—Superior intellect and adroitness, and superior capital and machinery, and all these things have great influence, and where you have large capitals brought together you have more division of labour.

19,425. When you speak of large capital, you include, I suppose, the facilities of railroads and canals, which do not exist in Saxony to the extent to which they do here?—They exist there as well as they do with us.

19,426. A Saxon manufacturer has to import his cotton from Liverpool to Hamburgh, and then to take it on over a large distance, you have told us, to his works?—That is a natural disadvantage which he cannot get over.

19,427. (*Mr. Hughes.*) The position of England, and the fact that it has been so long the centre of trade, will for a long time give it a great advantage?—Undoubtedly, and if our artizans were only as well educated as those of our neighbours, and if a good feeling were cultivated between employers and employed, I should not have the least fear for English trade.

19,428. (*Mr. Mathews.*) But the English workman must look forward to this fact, that as the foreign manufacturers improve in their machinery, and gain other facilities that the Englishmen now have, the Englishman must put himself in competition with the foreign manufacturer?—But if the Englishman is as well educated as the foreigner he will still keep ahead of the foreigner. I believe that the Englishman is more inventive than any other man; our common workmen are very superior to theirs in that respect.

19,429. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Take the Englishman who has to make a dozen stockings, what is the education which the Saxon has had which gives him any advantage over the Englishman?—In this way; we are constantly introducing new machinery into our trade. The best machines in our trade are principally the inventions of working men. It is many years since I remember one being invented by a manufacturer, but those men are often a long time over them, simply because they have none of that scientific knowledge which I believe Germany has.

19,430. Do they make more rapid improvements in Germany than we do?—No, they get our improvements and improve upon them.

19,431. If so, where am I to see this great influence of education, because you say that the English workman works the loom more rapidly than the German, then where is the great advantage of the German education, I ask?—Because there are many things, such for instance as chemical dyeing and things of that kind, where his education is useful to him.

19,432. There is not much dyeing in cotton stockings, is there?—Yes, dyeing or bleaching. Every stocking goes through a process of dyeing or bleaching.

19,433. Does a white stocking?—It is bleached; that bleaching is a chemical process, and requires a chemical knowledge.

19,434. The German workman has not a good chemical knowledge, has he?—Those men have excellent chemical knowledge. You must bear in mind that we have had possession of the ground so long, that we have a certain amount of hereditary knowledge that has come to us; we do not know how we have got it. These men have, comparatively, only recently been making these great strides. But in regard to our competition with France and Germany, I can recollect that only 12 years ago there was scarcely a steam-power hosiery machine in France, now they are making as good as we are.

19,435. I am puzzled to understand why you attribute such great advantage to the German education?—I do not attribute great advantages to it, except that it makes their men sober, temperate, thrifty, law-abiding; but what I say is this, if you give the Englishman the same advantages he will go beyond what he is himself at present, and will keep ahead of others.

19,436. Putting aside the question of the moral education, I want to know where the great advantage is which is derived by the German artizan in the peculiar education which he has?—Let me give you an instance of Hartzmann and Zimmermann, two German firms. One is the rival certainly in quality of Whitworth, namely Zimmermann, he employs many hundred workmen as tool makers, he makes the most beautiful tools you ever beheld. I heard a Manchester man say last week, "I think that Zimmermann's tools are coming very close to Whitworth's;" and Hartzmann, who employs 4,000 men, says, "I will "not take an apprentice or an artizan who has not "been through our Polytechnical school;" the result is that these men who have been through this school are much more scientific in their application of principles than our men are.

19,437. Going back to my former example, a man, we will suppose, has to make a dozen of stockings: the Englishman, you say, is a better workman than the German; I want to know wherein the German who makes a rival dozen of stockings derives that peculiar advantage from his technical education?—I do not speak of technical education as applied to every artizan; there is not such a thing in Germany, it is only applied to the leading artizans, the inventors and over-

Mr. A. J. Mundella.

14 July 1868.

lookers, and managers. Perhaps in all Chennitz there are only 400 men qualifying at the Polytechnic school in that way, and out of a population of 50,000 that may be a small number; but we have not 400 either in London or Manchester.

19,438. Do you find that your over-lookers are beneath their work?—I am sorry to say that they are beneath their work.

19,439. The great difference, you remark, is in the overlooker, not the workman and the ordinary artizan?—No; technical education is not of great value that I can see to a man who has to superintend the motions of a machine, except that if he were an inventive man he might then understand what was going on in that machine, and suggest improvements for the benefit of himself and for the benefit of the country. But the man who has the superintendence of 100 machines, and is an inventor or constructor, is the man who would derive the benefit from technical education.

19,440. You say that this technical education is the great advantage of Germany over England?—Yes, but in primary instruction also there is no comparison whatever. Our manager in Saxony, who has been there for many years, says that he has never yet met with a man, woman, or child who could not correspond with him respectably; and I have been making inquiries to ascertain the state of education in Germany, and could have produced to you the signatures of the poor mill girls in Germany, their name, age, description, and all about them, given in their own handwriting; and I could have produced the writing of 200 mill girls, everyone of whom writes well, and whose signatures would do credit to any ladies in Mayfair. I am sure that if you were to go round and collect the same number of signatures from ladies in Belgravia, you would not find better writing than that of these Saxons.

19,441. You said that you would give us some information about the application of these boards of arbitration to other trades than your own; will you do so?—Yes, but perhaps I had better exhaust first what I had to say about our own trade. In the first place, instead of our workmen having to pay 1*s.* and 1*s.* 6*d.* a week, as they commonly did to their trades unions to support themselves on strike (for they never had donations, or benefit, or sick fund; all the money they paid in to the trades unions in Nottingham went for strike purposes), since the establishment of this board they have paid 1*s.* a year, 1*d.* a month, and that more than suffices to pay all their expenses. The secretaries get, I think it is, 6*d.* the hour. I have examined their trade union accounts, and I have seen that 2,300 men in one union have spent 93*l.* in 16 months. I stated just now to you that our voting produced two secessions of men who were dissatisfied with this system. They went away, but they came back again shortly. Just as an indication of the kind of feeling, I have copied two resolutions out of our minute book which were proposed by working men at our board. I should explain that in the first case one of our best firms have had their whole premises burnt down, and the working men wanted to express their sympathy. "Proposed by "Mr. Farrands, and seconded by Mr. Foster, and carried "unanimously" (that is we agreed), "That this board "desires to express deep sympathy with Messrs. "Lee and Gee, and with Mr. Lee especially as a "member of this board, at the calamity which has "befallen them, and to express a hope that a future "of health and prosperity may be in store for them." That was sent to Mr. Lee. Here is another proposed by Mr. Kendall, and seconded by Mr. Saxton (two working men), and carried unanimously. (I should explain that Mr. Samuel Morley found that at his narrow handloom his working men could not earn enough to save money for their old age, and he set aside as a fund for them 1,000*l.* a year for an annuity of 20*l.* a year for 50 workmen. This is the resolution proposed by the men on that occasion: "Proposed "by Mr. Kendall, and seconded by Mr. Saxton, and "carried unanimously, That the board of arbitration "desires to express its high appreciation of the unprecedented liberality and generosity of Samuel "Morley, Esq., in the handsome annuity granted by "him to his aged workpeople. Such noble acts "strengthen the hands of this board in its efforts to "produce a good understanding between employer "and employed, and the board desire to thank Mr. "Morley for his splendid example." It was very gratifying for Mr. Morley to receive that from the working men of course.

19,442. You said that you had two secessions of working men; have you had any secessions of masters?—Yes, only last week one master refused to submit to the decision of the board; said he would not pay the price, and so on. The result was that we appointed a deputation of our board to go and see him. There were three of them really that were not paying up to the mark. Mr. Lee, one of our magistrates, and Mr. Morley's partner, went, and two of them said, "Yes, we do not want a general reduction." The men stand by us in such a case as that; they say, "If you pay us the price we will not allow them to work at a lower price than you," and throughout the whole district we keep up a uniform price for performing a certain amount of work. Supposing, for instance, that it was making a dozen of stockings, and the price is 30*s.* and we pay 10*s.*, and everyone else pays 10*s.*, the men look pretty sharp after those outside the board, and we do the same with the employers, and we say, "If it comes to a necessity that "you have to withhold your labour, we will try and "find you employment."

19,443. (*Mr. Hughes.*) In fact you form together a great guild?—Yes.

19,444. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Are you not there interfering as a third party?—No, we are deputed by the employers to settle the rate of wages, and the men are deputed by the employed to settle the rate of wages; only, instead of bringing about the result by strikes and lock-outs, we bring it about by amicable means.

19,445. (*Mr. Mathews.*) In the event of any of the masters not being willing to agree to the decision of the board, you exercise your influence with those masters, and the men in the same way exercise their influence with the men?—Yes, I have been myself to some masters who say, "We will deal with our workmen only." Sometimes they ask whether we are not delegates from the trade union, and treat us sneeringly; but we talk to them and say, "We are all in the same boat; you do not want to make any dispute," but some masters do.

19,446. In your experience does your exhortation have any effect on these outsiders?—If it does not the men bring theirs in.

19,447. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) How?—They say, "We "will not work for you; if 19/20ths of the masters "are paying 10*s.* for an article, and 1/20th want to "pay only 9*s.* 6*d.*, we will not go and work for 9*s.* 6*d.*"

19,448. Supposing that some workmen did not go with the other workmen, but were recalcitrant, what would be done with them?—I never found a man recalcitrant in the way of wishing to take 9*s.* 6*d.* instead of 10*s.*

19,449. But supposing the workmen of a particular factory stood out, and supposing the employers said, "Now we will go into the market and see whether we could not get workmen for 9*s.* 6*d.*," could anything be done to prevent workmen from going to them?—No, nothing could be done to these men; but in case these men were refused work at 10*s.* a dozen, or whatever might be the price for the time being, the workmen would say, "Now we will keep these men on our funds," and they would do it. Supposing that the whole of the trade except one master says, "We will all pay 10*s.*;" but this one man says, "No, I shall not more than 9*s.* 6*d.*;" then the whole of the workmen say, "No, we will keep your men till you are prepared to do it." I am happy to say that I have never had such a case yet except some small matter. I believe only 60*l.* odd in several years has been spent for men who have refused work.

19,450. Whom do you find the hardest master, the great capitalist or the little capitalist?—It is not a question of how much or how little capital a man possesses; it is how much or how little conscience he possesses. I have sometimes found very rich men who are determined to have and will have the last penny they can screw out of a man.

19,451. (*Mr. Mathews.*) You think the capital and the conscience do not always go together?—By no means.

19,452. When you come to debate the point of a fair rate of wages, do you take what the majority of individuals will give and the majority of individuals accept as the substratum?—Yes.

19,453. And the outsiders, the small minority which you have been describing to us, do not constitute an element in fixing the value?—No. Last Tuesday the men came for an advance on one quality of work. They said, "We are badly paid," and we said "We know you are, but if we give you 1*s.* a head "more, that is 1*s.* premium to the Frenchmen and "Germans to take your trade; can we do that?" They said, "We do not want anything to drive the trade "away from the town; we mean to keep it if we "can, and it is better to have 15*s.* and 16*s.* a week in "full work than half work at 1*s.* a dozen more."

19,454. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Is there any reason why the handloom weaver should be retained?—Yes, there is a certain class of work for which he is needed. The best class of hosiery worn by the upper ten thousand is made by the handloom weaver, and he is the worst paid for it. The worst paid article in the trade is a fine silk stocking.

19,455. Could you not make it by machinery?—Yes, but not as perfectly as these men do it.

19,456. (*Mr. Hughes.*) But do not those articles bear their own price?—No, if you try to put 1*s.* a pair upon fine silk stockings, it is a fact that women will wear cotton immediately; they say, "Silk has "gone up to such a price I cannot afford to pay 12*s.* a "pair; 10*s.* is about my price." The man who weaves the commonest goods for the poor Hindoo to wear once a year gets large wages; the man who weaves a silk stocking for a princess to get married in gets bad wages for it.

19,457. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) I want to know whether you could not get a machine to make that silk stocking for the princess to be married in?—As yet we have not been able to do so, we are always approaching it.

19,458. Is the handloom weaver destined to be driven out by machinery?—I think he is in time, because we get nearer and nearer perfection, but we have not yet arrived at that perfection in machinery when we want the finest articles.

19,459. What is the per centage of handloom weavers to others?—Half. When a fine cotton stocking has to be made by steam one man may make 200 or 300 dozen of stockings a week, but a man who makes silk stockings will not make above 7 or 8 or 9 pairs a week.

19,460. What do you give him for making one pair?—Not above 12*s.* a week on an average. I have tested the wages of a number of clever men, old men they were, who made the trousseau for one of our princesses, and they did not average above 11*s.* 7½*d.*

19,461. Do you find that the young people enter that trade?—No, the consumption is steadily dying out, and the number of men going into the trade is dying off; but if you stopped it at once it would be a calamity, because they have these looms in their own houses and are able to do this work when they could not do other work.

19,462. Is the eye very important in that work?—Yes, but they can see very close to the eye with this hand machine, whereas in a large machine a man requires a good eye to see from one end of the machine to the other.

19,463. So that I think we may conclude that the handloom weaver will die off in time?—Yes; he is much better off now than he has been before.

19,464. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Because of the regularity of the employment do you mean?—Not on this account, because we have weeded them of all the best men and put them to steam power machinery, and the more machinery we introduce the more wages the men get. I am convinced that so far as our trade is concerned machinery has been a great blessing.

19,465. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you find now any indisposition on the part of the men to the introduction of new machines?—Not a bit, that is all gone; there was plenty of it till the introduction of this board.

19,466. What do you attribute that opposition to?—They thought it was going to ruin them, it was their ignorance. If I have illustrated the working of the board sufficiently, I will now point out its extension to other branches. I may say that about last Christmas 12 months the members of the board said, "We ought to do something to make its operations known." We published that report, when I was asked by our chamber of commerce to represent them at the Associated Chambers in London, where 30 or 40 chambers meet annually, to show the advantages of the thing to the merchants; our chamber also urged the lace trade to adopt it. The lace trade has been as bad for those calamitous strikes as the hosiery trade, and of late years even worse. I was applied to by the men, and discussed the thing over and over again, and went to their trade union and talked it over. The masters held back. It has been the most difficult thing in the world to bring masters and men together. At last the men issued this notice in the lace trade. (The quarterly meeting of the lace trade was held in the Assembly Rooms, Nottingham.) "That this com-"mittee being fully aware of the unpleasant diffe-"rences our trade has been subject to, and the bad "effect they have had on all concerned, and the need "of a better arrangement for the settlement of the "same, we are of opinion that some better system "might be established for the settlement of disputes "that may arise in future; and we are willing to meet "the employers for the purpose of forming a board of "arbitration and conciliation, so that any difference "which may arise may be fairly and honestly dis-"cussed and settled amicably, so that employer and "employed may work in harmony with each other, "and be the means of building up the trade of our "Good Old Town."

19,467. (*Mr. Hughes.*) This first step came from the workmen?—It came from us in the hosiery trade.

19,468. As far as the lace trade was concerned it came from the men?—Yes, and then the workmen found that the masters held back for a time. "At a "subsequent meeting held June 17th, it was further "agreed to solicit A. J. Mundella, Esq., President of "the Chamber of Commerce, and Chairman of the "Board of Arbitration in the Hosiery Trade, to com-"municate with our employers, and if possible to "arrange a meeting." I went to their masters and did arrange a meeting, and here are the rules of the lace trade which I hold in my hand. They are a little different from ours, they call in a referee. A gentleman who has retired from business, an old manufacturer and magistrate, a man of great uprightness and integrity, is appointed as referee in case they cannot agree. There has not been any dispute in that trade since, though they used to be constantly placarding the streets previously. I have pointed out to you that the first operation of our board was to reduce the men's subscription to their union. The second was this: we found that men in the country under small middle masters, who do not take these men individually, but employ 50 or 100 men, were being oppressed, and truck was going on. We immediately advertised that we would prosecute anybody that trucked, and we did, and stopped it. Another thing which these little masters would do was this, they would go on late on Saturday night, and not pay the men till Sunday morning. We set to work and stopped that. We stopped many abuses that really cost us nothing, and that restored good feeling between the masters and men, and produced a good state of feeling in the neighbourhood.

Mr. A. J. Mundella.

14 July 1868.

19,469. In every case I suppose you have had the concurrent aid of the men and the masters?—Yes, the working men are generally ready, but the difficulty is to get the masters to move.

19,470. (*Mr. Hughes.*) Had they ever tried anything of this sort in the iron trade?—Several other trades have adopted it, but the iron trade not as yet; though I believe they are about to do so.

19,471. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Does Lord St. Leonards's Act help any of these cases?—I have thought a good deal about Lord St. Leonards's Act, but I cannot work it. I am no lawyer, it ties you down under pains and penalties, and that seems to me a disadvantage.

19,472. (*Lord Elcho.*) It is done by talk round the table?—Yes, we have what the men call a long jaw; we settle it by that means.

19,473. (*Mr. Mathews.*) If you were to introduce any strict legal formula you would fail in your object you think?—We should frighten our masters away, if we tried to bring employers to join in it under those pains and penalties; they would never come near us.

19,474. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Have you any machinery whatever for enforcing your decisions?—None but moral influence, and we have always succeeded. You will bear in mind that if any master sinned against the board and his men struck, he would have the whole people in the district against him. They would say, "You are a pretty fellow, your own equals have given decision against you, and yet you resist it." And the public sympathy would go with the men in that case. I may say with respect to the iron trade, of which I have been asked, all I know is this, I was asked a few weeks ago to Wigan while that dispute was on—the colliers' strike—and I went and saw that they were in a very bad case, that they had been out nine weeks. The young men said that they could stay out three months longer, but the married men said that they could not. The masters offered a reduction of 15 per cent. The history of that matter has been before you in evidence. I said, "What do you fellows want?" "Well we want arbitration; we have had enough of this, if we can only arrange." I said, "Will you go in "on the masters' terms, if I can get the masters to "consent to arbitration boards for the future?" They said, "Well, we believe our men will." I went and saw Mr. John Lancaster and others among the masters, and they said, "Well, we are not combined, but we shall be quite willing to consider your suggestions." I arranged these terms—that the men should go in at 15 per cent. reduction (the men had consented to 10 per cent.); that there should be no distinction made between union and non-union workmen; and that they should as soon as possible try and form a board of arbitration. I asked the men whether they would accept that, they said that they would call a meeting the next Monday morning, and in 24 hours they were all at work. I said to them, "If you will sacrifice five per "cent. it is nothing if you get a board of arbitration, "because that will prevent you having such calamity "in future." They said, "We will agree to that," and they did, and went to work. And since that the masters have kept their word faithfully, and have written to me that they are willing to try and arrange for a board of arbitration for the South Lancashire district. I am sorry to say that I am so overworked that I cannot go everywhere that I could wish. I have had a formal request from Middlesborough to go down there. They say, "There is "only one black cloud hanging over us in the future, "and that is the question of wages." I went to Bradford, and they have formed two boards of arbitration (in the mason's and builder's trades), and I have heard that they are going on nicely, and that they will soon have a third. When I spoke to them I pointed out to them the rules that they had; a gentleman who sits here now was on the platform at the time, and he said, "You had better go home and cross out those rules," and they did. A Mr. Nield, a builder, a very respectable man, is the chairman of that board. At Derby they have made a board of the masons, builders, elastic fabric manufacturers, and several other trades. Then I have the rules of a board of arbitration relating to the Staffordshire china and earthenware manufacture. Mr. Hollins, through having carried it at the Associated Chambers of Commerce, has introduced it there, but mainly on the advocacy of a working men's newspaper. All the working men advocate this everywhere. I am bound to say that in almost every trade the reports of the intelligent trades unions that I have seen for the last six months hold that arbitration is the thing that they are looking to to put them right. And my obstacle, my difficulty, wherever I go to get a board formed, is that masters have that old feudal notion they will deal with men one at a time; they expect the men to give up the advantages of association; and until the masters acknowledge that the men are right in associating there is no chance, I think, for peace.

19,475. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you think that these boards can embrace several trades together as you say is the case at Derby?—I am a little doubtful about that, but they are going to try it at Derby in this way. They have formed a rule of this kind: "The board to "consist of an equal number (not less than two or "more than four) of employers and operatives from "each trade represented on the board." There is to be a committee of inquiry consisting of four members, and those four will try and agree; and if they cannot, then the whole board, as I suggested, will be called in to try and reconcile the parties; but the whole secret is bringing the two parties face to face.

19,476. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What are those rules that you pronounce ridiculous, and which Mr. Applegarth told the men to go home and erase from their books?—It was a labourer's rule which stated that any man who worked too hard would be fined, and would be brought before the notice of the society. I denounced that as a most iniquitous rule, because I say that every man when he engages to serve his master should make the best bargain he can for his wages, but should give his honest services to his master and not withhold them.

19,477. You have not come across the doctrine of keeping down the number of apprentices, perhaps?—Yes, and there is a good deal to be said on both sides there. I certainly think that it would be an awful thing to have only women and boys employed in a trade.

19,478. You are in favour of regulating the number of apprentices?—I may say that I know, in regard to the file trade in Sheffield, that the men in that trade have asked their masters to form boards of arbitration, but the masters want to make some condition about apprenticeship beforehand. I say, "Go into the board "and then make your conditions afterwards." That is the distinction. It is no use one party saying, "We "will arbitrate with you providing that you make "certain conditions."

19,479. Have you really tried to induce them to form a board of that sort?—I have; I spoke to two or three, Mr. Hall and Mr. Atkinson, I think, who represent the Chamber of Commerce, and they have said that they would try; I am quite satisfied that they will be astonished at the results. Ours was quite a tentative effort.

19,480. They must be startled at any result which will bring the men into amicable relations with them; hitherto there have been hostilities on both sides?—I may say that I have had to stand sneers and opposition on all sides, and have been told that Nottingham is a sort of Agapemone, and all that sort of thing, and we have had our political squabbles thrown in our face. The masters are, as a rule, opposed to any inroad upon their old-established notions; they have not yet realised the new order of things, that is the truth of the matter, and they have to do that. At this moment I am inundated with applications to go to all sorts of places. It is not easy work going lecturing round the country, and it is not cheap work; it has cost me hundreds of pounds; I never received a farthing of expenses yet, and never will. All that I have done has been to bring masters and men together, and I am quite satis-

fied that if it had the endorsement of the approval of this Commission that would do more for its success than anything else. But it is this hostile feeling between masters and men that is the cause of the mischief. In the old time, when I was an apprentice, my master knew every man that he employed and knew his circumstances. When his wife was sick he helped him, or lent him money, or helped to send his boys to school. Now we employ thousands; we do not now know their faces; they are "hands" to us, they are not men; there is no sort of mutual sympathy, and that is the top and bottom of all the mischief.

Mr. A. J. Mundella.
14 July 1868.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to Wednesday, July 22nd, at 11 o'clock.

1, Park Prospect, Westminster, Wednesday, 22d July 1868.

PRESENT:

The Right Hon. Sir WILLIAM ERLE.
The Right Hon. the EARL of LICHFIELD.
LORD ELCHO, M.P.
Sir DANIEL GOOCH, Bart., M.P.
HERMAN MERIVALE, Esq., C.B.
JOHN ARTHUR ROEBUCK, Esq., Q.C., M.P.
FREDERIC HARRISON, Esq.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR WILLIAM ERLE IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. GEORGE LEVEY examined.

Mr. G. Levey.
22 July 1868.

19,481. (*Chairman.*) Are you a member of the Master Printers' Association?—I am.

19,482. How long has that association existed?—In a very definite form I think that it may be said only to have existed about 12 or 13 years.

19,483. Was it instituted in consequence of there being unions among the working men?—It was instituted in its present shape mainly, I think, in consequence of the compositors' union having, during an interval of abeyance of the Committee of Master Printers, acquired very considerable power which they were beginning to exercise rather unpleasantly.

19,484. You say "in the interval;" that implies that there had been a master printers' association before, which had had a temporary stop?—There were previous temporary associations, and there has always existed I believe, since the printing trade was introduced into England, a sort of committee of masters, that were appointed on each special occasion when the men required, as they did at various times, an increase of wages in consequence of the gradually increasing price of provisions and the gradually increasing price of labour throughout the country generally. On all those occasions a few of the leading masters of London constituted themselves into a sort of committee in order to meet and confer with committees similarly appointed by the journeymen. But as to any absolute society, I believe that none existed on the part of the journeymen till the year 1816, and none of an organized character on the part of the masters till the year 1854 or 1855 or thereabouts. There was a society of journeymen formed in 1801, but it ceased to exist in a few years; and there was an association of masters formed in 1836, but that, too, discontinued its meetings in 1849.

19,485. The meeting of the masters before that was in the nature of a general communication about the interests of the trade?—That is my belief. Formerly the masters met together, and agreed as the representatives of the trade generally, to confer with committees of the men similarly constituted, a few of them being appointed to confer with the masters; but there was no definite society on the part of the men till I believe about 1816, and on the part of the masters till about 1854 or 1855; I am not quite sure of the precise year. There were at different times, from the early introduction of printing into England, conferences held between committees of masters and committees of men for the purpose of settling from time to time increased wages as the necessity arose for that increase. In 1847 there occurred the last considerable revision of the Scale—that is, the Scale of Prices by which the masters and the men are equally regulated. In 1847 a conference was held between an equal number of masters and journeymen by which the Scale was then adapted to the existing state of the trade.

19,486. (*Mr. Merivale.*) When you speak of journeymen, are you speaking of compositors only?—Compositors only.

19,487. Who are there besides compositors?—There were then pressmen, and there are now machine minders.

19,488. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) The binders being distinct?—The binders are a totally distinct trade. This was the state of affairs in 1847 when the last great revision of the Scale took place; after that period there was an interval of quiescence. Soon after that time the masters' committee fell into abeyance, but during the whole of this period the organization of the men was being concentrated and extending over a larger and larger number of the compositors. In about 1851-4 the compositors in the union were making demands upon the masters in different houses, and it was thought desirable that there should be some combined body for the purpose of examining those demands and resisting them when necessary. Accordingly the masters in London were called together in 1855, and a society named the Master Printers' Association was then constituted, and by them a committee was formed. That committee is at present in existence, and is regulated by precisely the same rules that were then formed. Here are the rules (*producing them*). During the whole of this time the association of the men had been increasing in power. Prior to this period it had been the custom of the men, whenever a question arose as to the interpretation of any article in the Scale, to refer the decision to the Committee of Masters, who consisted of the leading masters of the trade, such men as Spottiswoode, Clowes, and Rivington, and many others whose names are familiar to the Commission; but about this period, 1853 or 1854, the men as a body seemed to hesitate very considerably about deferring to the decision of the masters, and various questions arose which it was found rather difficult to settle without reference to a court of law. That was thought a very undesirable thing, and after considerable negotiation a Court of Arbitration was formed, the rules of which are contained in the book which I have put in. That Court of Arbitration was thus constituted: it was to be formed as occasion required, that is to say, there was no permanent court, but when the committee of the masters and the committee of the men arrived at different conclusions, and there was no possibility of settling the matter but by reference to a court of law, then this Arbitration Committee was to be called in instead of a court of law. It was to consist of three journeymen, neither of whom was interested in the question at issue, and three masters, neither of whom was interested in the question at issue, and it was to be

Mr. G. Levey.

22 July 1868.

presided over by a barrister; and evidence was to be produced to this court consisting of the six jurymen, so to say, and the president; and if the result of that evidence was that a majority of the six decided in any way their decision was absolute; but if the trade feeling and the personal feeling was so strong that the three masters remained of the same opinion as that with which they commenced their negotiation, and the three journeymen remained so too, then the barrister, who had heard the whole of the evidence, was to decide the question according to his judgment.

19,489. Who selected the barrister?—The barrister was mutually selected by the masters and men, and was appointed for twelve months; and at the end of that twelve months he was liable to be superseded. This Arbitration Court met upon three different occasions, and only upon three different occasions. The first two questions that were submitted to this Arbitration Court were decided by the six who constituted the jury without reference to the barrister, and they were decided in each case in favour of the journeymen. The third case, which was a very important one, and which was debated for a great many hours, was ultimately decided by the barrister in favour of the masters.

19,490. What were the questions on those occasions?—The first two were comparatively unimportant questions, questions of standing matter, and questions of whether certain matter that had been partially distributed and partially recomposed should be paid to the journeymen as a recomposition fully, or only partially. However, these were decided in favour of the men. I do not remember the particular circumstances of the first two cases, but of the third case I do, because I was concerned in it. It was a question of standing advertisements. There is a rule in the trade by which, in certain circumstances, standing advertisements belong to the compositor, that is, they are to be paid for over again. I will suppose that a sheet of advertisements is printed for a January Magazine, consisting of 16 pages. When the publication has been completed it is found that for the February number of that magazine a considerable portion of the advertisements is to be repeated, and I will suppose that there are five and three-quarter pages so repeated. The masters contended that the compositors were entitled to be paid for only 11 pages of the February number, that is to say, for the $10\frac{1}{4}$ pages entirely recomposed, and for the three quarters of a page, which, being a fragment, was given to them as a concession. The men on the contrary contended that, although in making up the second 16 pages, that is the 16 pages for February, there were five and three-quarter pages standing, if the fresh advertisements, consisting of only a few lines, that is a quarter of a page in the whole, were spread over the whole of these five and three-quarter pages, so that no one page consisted entirely of standing matter, but comprised 19/20ths of standing matter and 1/20th of fresh matter, in that case they were entitled to be paid for the whole 16 pages. That was the point of contention before this Arbitration Court.

19,491. (*Chairman*). And you supposed that the decision would apply to all future cases?—Yes.

19,492. The question was whether they were to be paid for that, as if printed *de novo*, or whether the master had a property in that standing matter; and the barrister said that the master had?—Yes.

19,493. (*Mr. Merivale.*) How was this decision of the barrister accepted by the compositors?—As far as that special case was concerned, his decision was considered conclusive, and acted upon, and the masters as a body immediately concluded that that settled the rule in the trade, and that hereafter all standing advertisements would be measured off, the quantity would be ascertained, the number of even pages would be the property of the master, and the fragment, whatever it consisted of, would be the property of the compositors; and that if in the re-making up of any number to the necessary length there was any change from one page to the other, the men who had the trouble of that re-making up would be paid the value of their time. Immediately after this decision two or three masters in the trade commenced to act upon that principle. I was one of them. I gave directions to the overseer in my office that the advertisement sheet in a certain magazine (I believe it was Fraser's Magazine) would in future be paid for according to the decision of that Arbitration Committee. I have reason to believe that that communication was never made by the overseer to the men. However, ultimately the men claimed the whole of the standing pages in which any new matter had been introduced.

19,494. How soon was that claim renewed after the decision you have spoken of?—The next month, and the compositors said in answer to us, "The Arbitration "Court have decided that case, but we cannot hold it as "a rule for future cases." The compositors commenced proceedings. The case was carried from the Court of Exchequer at Guildhall to the Court of Error, and the judges of the Court of Error decided against the masters.

19,495. What is the name under which that case is reported?—I cannot tell you that, but we have a full report of the proceedings in one of our reports. Such having been the action of the compositors, we felt that an Arbitration Court that really decided nothing was useless.

19,496. How long ago was it that this decision of the Court of Error was pronounced?—I think in 1856 or 1857.*

19,497. Since that have you renewed the Arbitration Court?—We have never had any Arbitration Court from that time to the present.

19,498. What was the expense which that put the masters to?—It cost us between 800*l.* and 1,000*l.*; I do not exactly remember the precise amount.

19,499. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What was the mode of proceeding before the Arbitration Court. You say that there were three journeymen and three masters, and one barrister presiding; was any barrister introduced to argue the case before them?—No.

19,500. How was it conducted then?—It was conducted by the masters on the one side with whom the question arose, and by the committee of the association of the journeymen on their side.

19,501. And had you any evidence?—Plenty of evidence, both oral and written evidence.

19,502. And, I suppose, questions were asked of witnesses just as they are at this board?—Exactly.

19,503. You mean, not bound down to technical rules?—No, not at all; it was considered rather a conversational discussion.

19,504. (*Mr. Merivale.*) To turn to a rather more general subject; have the wages of compositors risen in your experience?—A rise of wages has been effected within the last fifteen or eighteen months. That is the only rise of wages in my experience.

19,505. How long does your experience extend?—In London, since about 1826; but I know absolutely that no rise of wages till the end of 1866 has taken place in compositors' wages since 1810.

19,506. Do you think that the printer's trade is now at a greater disadvantage than it formerly was as compared with foreign countries?—Yes.

19,507. In what respect is it at a greater disadvantage, if wages have not risen?—In the first place, the wages in London have always been very much higher than they were in the country, very much higher than they were in Scotland, and considerably higher than they were in Belgium. Until the extension of our railway system, and the invention of the telegraphs, distance stood as a considerable obstacle to the transference of work from London, but now directions from an author to a printer can be sent by telegraph, and facilities for transmission by railway and through the Book Post are so great, that printing can be done almost as well for a London author in Belgium as in London; and inasmuch as the wages in Belgium are so

* The case will be found under Hill *v.* Levey, 3 Hurlstone & Norman, 7 and 702 (Exchequer, 25 Feb. 1858; Exchequer Chamber, 19 June 1858).

much lower than they are in England, and especially in London, the temptation is a very strong one, and it is a temptation that is being yielded to increasingly, for publishers to send their works to Belgium to be printed. I know that at this moment the great house of Murray, which has hitherto employed Clowes almost exclusively to do its printing, is now getting a large proportion of it done in Belgium.

19,508. As far as wages are concerned, that might have been as much the case in 1826 as now?—Yes. The last increase of wages has increased the disadvantage, but you are quite right in suggesting that other causes rather than the increase of wages have produced the present state of the London trade.

19,509. It is the competition abroad in consequence of the increase of communication?—That is true as far as the continent is concerned, but the other causes mainly operate as far as our provinces and Scotland are concerned.

19,510. Have wages remained stationary, do you think, in Scotland as in London till 1867?—They have increased, but not in the same proportion as in London. They were very much higher, in proportion to the London rate of wages, in 1810 than they are now. The increase that has taken place in 1866–7 has been mainly to the disadvantage of the London masters; that is to say, the wages in the provinces and in Scotland have not increased in the same proportion as in London, to the best of my belief.

19,511. Till this late increase wages in the provinces had been increasing more than in London, inasmuch as wages in London as you state had not increased at all?—Yes.

19,512. Up to 1867 you were better off as against provincial competitors as time went on, because their wages were increasing?—Yes.

19,513. About 15 per cent. was the average increase in 1867, I think?—Yes.

19,514. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) The system of arbitration referred to by you as adopted in your trade was only brought into action after the dispute had arisen, was it not?—Only after the dispute had arisen. The rule was, that the question in the first instance, if it was a question raised by the compositors, should be submitted to the committee of the compositors' union. If they decided it against the compositors there was an end of the matter, but if they decided it in the compositors' favour it was then submitted to the masters committee. If the two committees concurred in their decision, that was an end of the matter; but if they differed, then the Arbitration Committee was called in to settle the question.

19,515. Had you never been in the habit of settling these matters between yourself and the persons in your employ beforehand?—Constantly. These questions have constantly arisen, and as a rule there has been little difficulty in settling them; but of late years the men, when they would willingly have acceded to the masters' view of the question, have been obliged by the laws of the union to refer the matter to their committee, and many questions have been litigated much to the unwillingness of the men themselves.

19,516. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) When you say the "men themselves" you mean the men themselves interested?—Yes, the men themselves interested and personally engaged in the matter.

19,517. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Do you not think that if you had been in the habit of meeting your men and discussing these matters before the dispute arose there would have been a better chance of settling the differences?—We have always been in the habit of doing that while there was any use in it. It was only when the men were obliged to defer to the decisions of their committee that we had to adopt another course.

19,518. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Can you fix the date when that change took place?—It was gradual. As the union of the men became more and more extended, and more and more concentrated, their influence became larger and larger. When first I had experience of London compositors it did not happen that in the majority of offices there were above two out of five who were members of the union. Now it is a difficult thing to find a single man in an office not a member of the union.

19,519. To turn to another matter, are there any records of the history of the trade generally in London?—I think that the only records which we have will be found in the reports of the Master Printers' Association, and I suppose that there are similar reports of the compositors' union.

19,520. In what year was that Masters' Association instituted?—I believe that these reports do not go further back continuously than 1855 or 1856. We have a copy of a report issued in 1839.

19,521. You say that an association (or committee) began pretty much with the beginning of printing; have you any records of that?—No, none whatever.

19,522. That is a tradition, I suppose?—There are records in existence; I believe that Mr. Hansard collected together and published a history of printing. There have been two or three histories of printing that have been collected together, in which these different statements appear. I think Mr. Hansard's Typographia contains pretty well all that is known of the history of the trade in England. There are also Savage's Dictionary of Printing, and Johnson's Typographia.

19,523. Could you tell me whether you have any knowledge of this fact, as to which I want to establish whether it is a fact or not? Supposing that printing began in England with Caxton, have you any idea of there being some affiliated firm from Caxton downwards, that has a history of the doings of printers?—I do not think there is any such.

19,524. Have you any idea when the firm of which Caxton was the beginning ended?—I know that Dean Stanley has very lately connected the first printing in Westminster Abbey with Caxton.

19,525. Have you any further information that you would wish to give?—The only thing that I should be inclined to say, would be that it appears to me, with regard to the existence of an arbitration court, that if it were constituted something after the style of the one that we constituted, and were made absolutely binding upon both masters and men, and its decisions were treated as part of the law, that would facilitate very greatly the operations of the printing trade in London, and would prevent all the disputes and strikes between masters and men, and would, in every sense of the word, conduce to the harmony and well-being of the various members of the trade.

19,526. (*Mr. Merivale*). Supposing that the compositors asked for an advance of wages, is that a matter which you would have settled by this body whose decisions should have the force of law?—Most certainly.

19,527. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Then, again, to whom would the effect extend? Would you confine the effect of that arbitration court to the persons who voluntarily came in and said, "We will be members under that court;" or would you extend it to anybody in the trade?—I would extend it to the whole trade that worked by the Scale.

19,528. Whether they came in or not?—Whether they came in or not. Of course, I first take for granted that there is an established scale of wages, (which has always been the case for a period of 70 or 80 years in London,) by which certain work was to be paid for; that that rate was a fixed and absolute one, by which, on the one hand the masters, and on the other the men, were bound; that such questions as arose from the development of the trade, or from the change of circumstances subsequently to the settlement of these prices—whatever change took place—should be settled by the arbitration court from time to time as the questions arose; and the general circumstances of the trade, and the general circumstances of the country as to the rate of wages, and the price of provisions and other matters, should also be taken into consideration by this arbitration court, consisting of an equal number of masters and men,

Mr. G. Levey.
22 July 1868.

and presided over by an independent and educated person.

19,529. (*Mr. Merivale.*) Then you would have this arbitration court fix the rate of wages from time to time?—As circumstances rendered it necessary.

19,530. Only by the agreement of both parties?—Yes.

19,531. And that then any man refusing to work for the wages the court so fixed should be liable to what?—I do not say that you could force him to work for such wages, but I would say that he should not be able to recover more than the amount that had been settled by this arbitration committee.

19,532. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You are aware that by this plan you would entirely get rid of individual enterprise and responsibility?—No, there is a good deal to be said there. Our trade is different from a great many. If a table has to be made, it may be made well or ill; but if a page of type has to be composed, it must go to the public complete and perfect, and therefore whether it is well done, as far as the composition is concerned, is an affair which the public have little to do with. Of course the capable men, who did what they had to do well in the first instance, and had very little correcting to do afterwards, would get their reward in not losing their time in rectifying their own errors.

19,533. Supposing there were an ambitious person in the trade, and he said, "I think I could drive a "better trade if I had my own individual liberty, and I "would begin first of all by saying I will lower the "price of my books, but to do that I must lower the "price of wages;" you would not allow him to do that?—I do not think that a reduction in the price of books would be affected by the question of the rate of compositors' wages, at least, not to the extent which you fancy; that is to say, that there would not be the possibility of so testing the market, and raising or reducing the price a little more or a little less. I believe that now the price of books is regulated almost entirely by the price of paper and by the extent of the probable circulation, and little, if at all, by the rate of wages paid to the compositor.

19,534. You are aware, no doubt, of the effect produced by Charles Knight, who introduced a set of much cheaper books than are accustomed to be sold here in London?—But he did not pay less for the composition. The compositors engaged upon one of those books received the same rate for their work as if it had been one of the most rare and expensive books produced.

19,535. So that in fact his power of selling a cheap article did not at all depend upon the amount of money he paid to his compositors?—I do not think it did. I think that the wages of compositors are as low in London now, even after the recent rise, as it is fair they should be, and that men cannot live respectably, considering the rate of expense that London life entails, upon any lower rate of wages.

19,536. What do you think would be the effect of a publisher going abroad—of Mr. Murray for example, having his publications printed in Germany?—He will get them done at a cheaper rate.

19,537. Will that render the life of the London compositor more difficult?—No doubt. The facts are that the increase of wages for the last 18 or 20 months has had the effect of driving a very large proportion of work out of London, and at this moment the number of compositors who are unemployed, or only partially employed, is almost unprecedented, and I believe partly from that cause.

19,538. (*Mr. Merivale.*) Compositors generally work by piecework, do they not?—Yes, four-fifths of them I should say.

19,539. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Are there distinctions in the Scale; for instance, if a compositor sets a book with various sorts of type, would he receive anything more than a man who sets only one sort of type?—Yes, there are many distinctions in the Scale; for instance, if a compositor sets a book in a foreign language, he gets paid at a higher rate per 1,000. The wages are regulated by the square of the page, and that is calculated to contain a certain number of thousands of type, and the printer gets paid a higher price for a foreign language, and for Greek or German, or any other foreign characters, than he would be paid for English, in order to compensate for the slower progress he must necessarily make, and the greater amount of intelligence that he must possess.

19,540. All that is pre-ordained, if I may use the expression, by the Scale?—Yes, by the Scale of Prices.

19,541. The Scale contemplates every case that can happen?—It certainly contemplates every case that could have happened at the time of its constitution.

19,542. If a new case were to arise, how would you settle it?—I would settle it by reference to the arbitration court. Perhaps it might be desirable that the president of the arbitration court should be appointed by the Home Secretary or by the Board of Trade; and it might also be necessary, in order to protect the public interests from monopoly, to allow appeals to a higher court (the Court of Chancery, perhaps) in certain cases approved by such president. If every trade had its Masters' Committee and Workmens' Committee for mutual conference, and its distinct legal arbitration court for ultimate decision, on something of the same principles as those proposed by the printers of London, I believe that nearly all the evils of trades unions would be removed, and that their operation might become beneficial to both to the respective trades and the community at large.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. M. D. Hollins.

Mr. Michael Daintry Hollins examined.

19,543. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) You are engaged in the pottery trade, are you not?—I am.

19,544. And your firm employs a very large number of men in the trade?—We employ about 1,500 men, women, and children.

19,545. Formerly there were a great many strikes in the pottery trade, and a great many disputes between employers and employed, I believe?—Yes. About three years before I became connected with the business there was one of the longest, perhaps, and most determined strikes that ever occurred in this country. I think it lasted some four months or more before it terminated, the whole of the manufactories being closed during that period.

19,546. What date was that?—I think it would be about 34 or 35 years ago. It resulted in a very considerable loss to most of the workpeople as well as to the manufacturers, and in the breaking up of a very strong union, and for some time after that period the district was more or less quiet from any disputes between the workmen and the masters.

19,547. What was the cause of that strike?—I am not acquainted with that; it was some time before I was connected with the district.

19,548. Did it arise out of a question of wages, do you know?—I think so. After that period, during some years the men were frequently agitated by delegates coming down into the district and always making it appear that the masters did not act fairly towards them. We have in our district, as you are aware, a form of agreement—an annual hiring paper; and this was always said by these delegates to be one-sided in its action; that is to say, that it favoured the master more than the man.

19,549. The workmen are engaged for 12 months under that form of agreement?—For 12 months; and the delegates held out to the men that it ought really to contain a mode of settlement, if during that 12 months any dispute arose, and that it should not be left entirely to whatever the master might choose to say; he was willing to pay for any fresh article that he had to make.

19,550. When was the arrangement as to that form of agreement made between the masters and the men?—That has been in existence almost from time immemorial; the original agreement—the hiring paper—I mean.

19,551. Was not an arbitration clause introduced into that agreement?—I, as chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, induced the manufacturers to agree to the introduction into that agreement of an arbitration clause. That arbitration clause consisted in the appointment (in case of a dispute arising) of three masters and three workmen, who were to appoint an umpire and proceed to adjudicate upon the case in dispute.

19,552. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What year was that?—That is about 15 years ago.

19,553. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Has there been any strike since then?—There has been no strike since that, till about two years ago. It was not exactly a strike, but there was a wish expressed on the part of the workpeople that this form of hiring should be entirely discontinued throughout the trade.

19,554. The yearly hiring, you mean, with the arbitration clause?—Yes, that there should, in place of that, exist monthly agreements. It was also wished that the rule of working, which we term "good out of the oven," should also be discontinued. The manufacturers considered that those two matters were matters affecting the trade to a considerable extent, and that they were what might be termed usages of the trade, and they thought it advisable not to relinquish either of them. The works were closed, but I think that none of them were closed for more than 10 days. At the end of that time they relinquished these points with a sort of understanding, I think on the part of both masters and workmen, that the hiring agreement, if they did not wish to have it, would be discontinued, and I think that last year probably there were no men hired under that agreement.

19,555. I believe that you have established a court of arbitration?—The men, about six months ago, wrote to me as chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, to request that I would use my influence along with them in forming a court of arbitration and conciliation, and they intimated that as far as they were concerned the rules which they had been advised were in use at Nottingham should form the basis of a court of arbitration and conciliation in our district. I then brought the subject before the manufacturers in our district, and we have established now a board of arbitration and conciliation which consists of 10 masters and 10 workmen; and we have got up to this point that the masters will hold their meeting on my return home, probably next week, to appoint out of their number the 10 who shall act as the masters' arbitrators. The workmen will elect their own 10, and they with the 10 masters will form a permanent board, meeting quarterly to discuss any subject which may arise. I may state, that out of the 10 masters and the 10 men there are four elected as a working committee, two masters and two men, and before any question of dispute can be brought before the board of arbitration it is to be referred in writing to this working committee. They will endeavour, in a conciliatory kind of way, to bring the matter to an arrangement. If they fail in doing that, then it has to be referred to the board of arbitration.

19,555*a*. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) The whole of this is entirely voluntary then?—Entirely voluntary.

19,556. Supposing that the ultimate decision of the arbitration court should not be accepted by anybody, you have no means of legally enforcing it?—None whatever.

19,557. You do not seek to have it?—We do not. We consider that if this board of arbitration is carefully and judiciously managed, the moral effect of any decision which it may come to will make it binding either upon any master or any body of workmen.

19,558. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) You have not said whether you have an umpire appointed for this board?—We shall have a standing umpire appointed. After the 10 masters and 10 men forming the board have been elected they will proceed to elect the umpire.

19,559. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) This court has not yet acted?—It has not yet acted. The former board was called into operation several times and decisions were given, and they were never disputed.

19,560. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) The satisfactory working of your board up to the present time has induced you to carry the system further, and you propose to do so by having a larger board?—And having that board permanent, which I think is a great advantage over the one that was called into action only when the dispute had arisen.

19,561. Now you propose a permanent board to discuss these questions before the dispute has actually arisen?—Yes. Any party on that board would at the quarterly meeting bring it forward, if it was a case likely to cause any dispute, it would then be discussed before the dispute had arisen, and if possible all ground of dispute removed.

19,562. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Is there any purpose of giving any salary to the members of that board of arbitration, or to the umpire?—None.

19,563. Then they give all their services gratis?—Yes. There are two secretaries to be appointed, one for the masters and one for the men, and they will be paid secretaries.

19,564. Will the working men not be paid for their time at all?—No. I may state with regard to the previous board, that I have known occasions when I feel quite satisfied that the mere fact of its existence had the effect of preventing the board being called, that is to say, a knowledge that this arbitration clause existed has brought both masters and men to settle the matter in dispute amicably.

19,565. Do I rightly understand you to say that that arbitration clause was admitted into your agreement more than 10 years ago?—Yes.

19,566. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Several points of dispute have been satisfactorily settled by that board?—Yes.

19,567. I believe the principal cause of disagreement between the employers and employed in the pottery trade is the question which you have referred to "good from the oven"?—Yes.

19,568. That is that the goods when they have passed through the oven should be of the proper quality?—That anything defective after being fired is not paid for by the master. Frequent disputes arise from the fact that some masters will take these defective goods for which they have not paid the workmen and appropriate them to their own use. The rule in the trade is that they should be broken.

19,569. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Is there not another element of dispute; does not the workman allege that it is not his fault that the work does not come out of the oven sound, but that it is the fault of the fireman?—That may frequently be the case, but I believe that any master can always judge as to where the fault really exists. I know that in our own establishment we always concede the point to the workman if it can be shown to us that the fault is not his, and that if it is from some defect in the crucibles or from the fault of the firemen I should always make an allowance in such cases.

19,570. It would be a question that would come before the foreman, not before the principal, except in case of dispute?—The workman is always at liberty to come himself to the master if he cannot settle it satisfactorily with the foreman.

19,571. I suppose that it is a case of almost daily occurrence, that what is put into the oven does not come out sound?—Yes, the best workman will always lose two or three per cent.

19,572. Then it becomes a question whether it is a failure arising from the defective work of the workman or whether it is from a defect of the oven. That is always a matter for arrangement in the particular case?—It does not always follow that there must be a dispute about it. Both the workman and the foreman would tell you immediately where the fault was.

Mr. M. D. Hollins.

22 July 1868.

19,573. In many cases it is obvious?—Yes.

19,574. It is always a question for arrangement between the workman and the foreman in the first instance?—Always.

19,575. The rule still remains now that the workman is responsible under all circumstances?—Yes, the rule is that the workman is paid "good from the oven."

19,576. If the failure arises from a cause over which he has no control, that is a matter for which he is still liable, but for which an allowance is usually made him?—Yes, by any master who conducts his works properly.

19,577. Do you think that there is no mode of altering that rule which is obviously one that may lead to constant dispute?—No, I think there is no mode of altering it to the advantage of the workmen as a general rule; on this ground, that if it were altered, the workmen must agree to a certain allowance for defective ware, in lieu of this working "good from the oven." The effect of that would be that the best workmen and the most careful workmen would lose a greater per-centage by that allowance than under the present system.

19,578. Supposing it is put in this way, that the workman be paid for every article which he sends to the oven, without respect to its coming out at all?—The answer to that is that no manufacturer and no overlooker, whatever care he may exercise, would be able to state positively that each piece of ware would come out good, or that it would not come out good, owing not to any improper treatment in the oven, but simply to a defect in the workmanship.

19,579. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) The test of the work is really the fact whether it does come out good?—That is the test of a good workman; and the fact that some workmen will lose double and treble what others do is a simple proof that it is the test; and you can apply no other test because nothing but firing will absolutely tell you.

19,580. (*Mr. Harrison.*) At the same time it is not a regular test, not an infallible test, but a test that occasionally breaks down?—It is infallible as far as this, that any workman would be able to tell you after the article is fired whether the failure was the fault of the workman in making it. All those defects from workmanship have on them a certain character which a good workman or foreman can always distinguish.

19,581. Not before it goes in?—Not before it goes in.

19,582. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You say the general rule is that it is "good out of the oven" that you pay for. Now, supposing that the article is highly ornamented porcelain with painted flowers upon it, would the artist who painted those flowers run the risk too?—No; as far as the rule goes it is simply applicable to biscuit earthenware; that is to say, that if it is moulded by the workman and it passes through the first fire, that is the only time when it is "good out of the oven," because that is the only time when the workmanship can come into question at all. After once having got a piece of ware in the biscuit state perfect, we know perfectly well that it would remain perfect throughout the other processes.

19,583. Then the artist paints it after it has been fired?—After it has been fired and glazed.

19,584. Then the artist runs no risk of that sort?—No, the rule does not apply.

19,585. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) In calculating the rate of wages is any allowance made for the probable loss on these goods in passing out of the oven?—It is always understood in fixing the prices (it is all piece-work), that there is a sufficient allowance made to cover any casual loss, any probable loss from anything but absolute bad workmanship.

19,586. (*Mr. Harrison.*) In this court of arbitration of which you have spoken have they power to entertain cases of that kind?—All cases. It will have the power of entertaining the very question of payment for "good out of the oven."

19,587. That question is a fruitful cause of dispute in certain works, is it not?—I never heard of its being made a point of to any extent till the last year but one.

19,588. I think the local newspapers have been full of it?—It is a subject which so few understand that the local newspapers make a great many mistakes and write a great deal of nonsense on it.

19,589. I suppose in point of fact the easy settlement of the question depends on the confidence that the men have in the particular foreman?—The foreman and manager; in fact it is a case which in respectable works never arises.

19,590. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What do you suppose will be the number of persons, masters, and men, who will really subject themselves to the jurisdiction of this court?—I expect that at once we shall have perhaps 70 to 80 out of about 130 manufacturers, the others being only very small manufacturers. We have now got all the principal manufacturers and they are quite sufficient of themselves to rule the rest.

19,591. That being the case, how many do you suppose will be the aggregate, workmen included?—I suppose that those men would employ some 25,000 to 30,000 men.

19,592. So that altogether you would say that there would be 30,000 persons that would subject themselves to the jurisdiction of this court?—Yes, and that if the court becomes established and works as I expect it will, the moral effect of it will include a great many more.

19,593. (*Mr. Harrison.*) How are the representatives of the employers on the proposed committee to be selected?—They are to be selected by the manufacturers who have subscribed to these rules. I shall call a meeting next week of those manufacturers who have subscribed to elect their ten representatives.

19,594. How are the representatives of the men to be selected?—They will do it in their own way.

19,595. Through whom—through the union?—They may go to any body they like. They have their unions, their meetings, and committees; we do not interfere with them.

19,596. This body is to act in union. The first thing you will do will be to see that the ten men who come from the men to meet the ten on your side have been legally selected. What sort of constituency are they to have?—They will elect themselves from their own bodies, no doubt taking care that each different branch of the trade is represented, but as to their mode of selecting them I do not know what it will be. They may have considered it, but the rules leave it entirely open.

19,597. "Ten representatives of the men" is very vague. You have 30,000 men; and supposing that knots of these, 1,000 men in one place and another, claim the right to send one representative, is the election to be by absolutely universal suffrage of the whole 30,000, in which case every man and boy employed has a right to vote, or are you dealing with a union, because if dealing with a union you are dealing with a distinct body, you know?—We do not deal with any body, but the ten men that will be sent to us.

19,598. Supposing that 20 come and say that they are all representatives of the men?—Then we refer it back to the men. We have dealt with them. They send representatives to us; we believe that they are representatives, and do not question their being so. We have settled with three or four men these rules, and we expect that when we have elected our 10 men they will likewise elect their 10 men. We shall not question the power by which or the way in which those 10 men are selected.

19,599. (*Mr. Merivale.*) Have you any doubt in point of fact that they will come from the union?—I have no doubt that they will come from the union, but that the men who will send them are in connexion with the union. I firmly believe, in fact I know, that the majority of the workpeople in the Staffordshire Potteries are connected with the union, and therefore it would be absurd to say that these men did not come with the cognizance of the unions of the different branches. There is a union in the Staffordshire Potteries for every branch of the trade, and it is

no doubt through those unions that the representatives of each branch will be sent.

19,600. (*Mr. Harrison.*) It could not be worked without the organization of the union, could it?—I do not think that the working of it will be exactly working with the union as it is worked at present.

19,601. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) How many different branches are there in your business?—12 or 14.

19,602. And has each branch its own separate union?—Yes.

19,603. Supposing there should be a dispute between No. 10 and No. 11 whether they should be represented, how would that be arranged?—When the rules were agreed upon, or rather when the consultation or meeting took place for the arrangement of the rules, the men were very anxious that each branch should be represented upon this board. I objected to that on the ground that it would make the board so large that I thought it would be almost unmanageable, that is to say, if they were to have two men from each branch, making from 28 to 30 of the workmen, the masters, of course, must have the same number, and you would have a board of 60 people, which I consider was far too large for working purposes, and therefore I proposed to limit it to 10 masters and 10 men, and they agreed to that, and they would settle as to whom they should send in the best way they could.

19,604. Then in fact now it is unsettled, and has to be settled by the men themselves, and you do not know the mode in which it will be settled?—We do not know the mode in which they will elect their delegates.

19,605. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You have no doubt that it will be done by the society taking the lead, and that they will be men, if not exclusively, yet principally representing the whole body of the union?—Yes.

19,606. You do not anticipate that men will come and say, "We are not any unionists, but we select 10 men of our own"?—We do not anticipate that, because we could not receive any other 10 men.

19,607. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) You say the majority of your men are in the union?—There are exceptions, but the majority are in the union.

19,608. You feel very confident that all these questions of difference that have arisen up to the present time will be satisfactorily settled by a board of arbitration, such as you propose to establish in your trade?—I think there is every probability of such being the case.

Mr. M. D. Hollins.
22 July 1868.

19,609. And you think that the same system might be applied advantageously to all other trades?—I do not see any greater difficulty in any other trade than there would be in ours. We have perhaps as many different branches and as many difficulties to contend with as almost any other trade. Those are the rules of the new arbitration court (*handing them in*), and that is the form of the old agreement with the arbitration clause marked (*handing it in*).

19,610. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You settle wages prospectively?—Men are usually hired under a schedule of wages which exists on the works, and of course any alteration of that must be a subject of arrangement between the masters and the employed.

19,611. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You do not ask any legal sanction but the decision of the board; you do not wish it to be enforced by law?—No, we would rather not have it so.

19,612. You would rather leave it to the voluntary good feeling of the people concerned, than ask for the sanction of the law?—Yes, I think that if you asked for the sanction of any third party it would lead to mutual distrust and dissatisfaction.

19,613. I daresay you heard what Mr. Levey said just now, that his plan would contemplate that it should be made imperative by law?—I do not think it would be possible to carry such an arrangement out in the pottery trade.

19,614. Why do you doubt it?—In the first place you cannot compel men to come under such an arrangement.

19,615. The law can compel anybody to anything?—But I question whether you would get the opinion of the country sufficiently in favour of a compulsory power of that kind. I think you would find it difficult to get an expression of opinion in favour of it. Both among the employers and the employed I believe that the general opinion would be against it, and I am sure that the feeling in our district of both employers and employed would be against any such measure.

19,616. You think that the general feeling of the employers and employed in your district is in favour of trying the voluntary system, but you believe that they would not be in favour of trying a compulsory one?—I think they would not be in favour of trying a compulsory one.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. Charles William Henry Wyman examined.

Mr. C. W. H. Wyman.

19,617. (*Chairman.*) You are chairman of the Association of Master Printers, are you not?—I am chairman for the year.

19,618. You have heard the evidence of Mr. Levey to-day on the subject of printing?—Yes.

19,619. His account of the origin of the association was that the fact of the compositors having an organized association, made it necessary that the masters should have a well-organized association. Is that according to your remembrance?—I have no remembrance of it, but what knowledge I have from looking back would tell me that a slight error was made by Mr. Levey on that point, and that there was an association with reports, issued similar to those which I have here, as early as 1836. I think Mr. Levey was slightly in error as to the origin of the association having been so late as he thought it was.

19,620. He, as I understood, stated that there was a meeting of the masters who met to consult about the interests of the trade having some of the effects of an association in 1832, but in 1854 it became necessary to have the organization more complete?—Yes. The fact was that the Association of Master Printers was always a very mild and moderate association. There was no very vast amount of politics in our trade, and it lapsed from mere want of activity. We got on amicably and pleasantly with the men, I suppose. I am a young man and cannot state that from experience, but my knowledge, derived from my father and from others who preceded me, would show me that there were not moot points to occupy the association, and it lapsed. In the interval the men became more active in their organization, and it was found in individual cases that a master was no longer left to settle with his men, but that he had to deal with a body out of doors as well. That led to a revival of the association of the masters. I have a series of reports which I propose to hand in, and the first of them dates 1856. The earliest of the reports that I have handed in has reference to our arbitration committee. The masters felt that as there was a growing organization, which might be called an opposition to them, among the men, the proper and desirable course would be, since we are ruled by a scale which is an Act of Parliament to us and admits of many interpretations and requires very nice discrimination to do justice in all cases, to have a court of conciliation or arbitration, and they conferred with the men, as the men and the masters had been in the habit of conferring on previous occasions, and the result of their joint action was this court of arbitration and those rules. The masters felt that a very great thing had been achieved by this, and that the result would be that if any case were tried, such as that which Mr. Levey has alluded to, which involved a principle that would occur often, the precedent having been established, the thing should not be

Mr. C. W. H. Wyman.

22 July 1868.

retried, but that it should be considered *res adjudicata*. But the men took a different view. They accepted the verdict when it was in their favour on the two occasions of which Mr. Levey has spoken, and on the third occasion they also accepted it as far as that particular case went; but they repudiated it for the general practice of the trade, and it was to determine and assimilate the general practice of the trade that the court of arbitration was thought to be most potent and most desirable. In consequence of that there have been no more cases tried under arbitration, but the rules of the arbitration court exist, and if a proper understanding could be arrived at between the masters and the men, I am confident that I may say for the masters that they would be only too delighted never to go to law on any question that touched the trade.

19,621. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) I suppose that cases of dispute have arisen since the arbitration court ceased to act?—Yes.

19,622. How have you settled them?—In many cases, though the amount in dispute is not large, it involves a principle, and then they go either to the city, before Mr. Commissioner Kerr—who has tried many cases, indeed the majority of them—or they go to the county courts; but as county courts very much vary in their practice, the masters have a strong disinclination to accept their law, because we do not get a determination of principles in those courts, and the masters have sought to establish a principle in all cases.

19,623. So that in fact the disputes that have arisen since the cessation of the arbitration court, have been settled by courts of law?—Yes; in the old way. Generally speaking a technical question was at issue which the judge could not deal with himself, and he has not uncommonly referred it to an overseer in the trade, who has given his opinion in the matter, and by the judgment of such overseer the judge has been governed. I have cases amongst my papers here. There was one which Mr. Commissioner Kerr referred to Mr. Day, the overseer at Clowes's, and Mr. Day gave his answer, and upon the strength of that the judge gave a verdict in favour of the masters.

19,624. (*Chairman.*) The masters are desirous of getting a principle established, as I understand you?—They are most desirous of that.

19,625. And they are convinced that the decision of a specific case is of importance to the parties, but not of the least use generally in the trade or business?—I think I have not quite made myself understood. The masters' feeling has been this, that where these cases arise they always involve the question of a precedent, as for instance, this question of standing advertisements. To adjust that question was a very desirable thing for the men as well as the masters, and we wanted to establish a precedent. Of course you could not expect men to be bound in a case that was not on all-fours with it, nor would the masters be bound in such a case.

19,626. I understand that the question tried in the Court of Exchequer was the very same that had been settled by arbitration?—Not exactly the same, but it was tantamount to the same. As a technical question it was the same. It was a question of standing advertisements.

19,627. Then the arbitration did not bind the parties?—No more than in the one case.

19,628. Nor did the decision bind, because I know enough of the law to know that a decision in a case between A and B does not bind between C and D?—No, but it has this effect, that the masters would not go against a declared decision like that in law.

19,629. Is not the whole of it a matter of contract? If I hire you as a compositor, I hire you to be paid at so much for the work that you do for me, but if there is a standing advertisement I am to be allowed for that, and you are not to be paid at all for it, or you are to be paid one-half or three-fourths, or whatever the contract may be?—I can explain the relation of the compositors and the employers. We have a Scale of Prices, the result of various conferences, and in 1866 the rate per thousand was increased by $\frac{1}{2}d$. This Scale is really our law.

19,630. It is law for any parties who choose to agree to it?—There are only a few among the large houses, such as Woodfall and Kinder, and Spottiswoode, that do not acknowledge this scale, and the *Times* is not governed by commonly accepted rules. The rule is that we all work under this scale, and it is binding between us as an Act of Parliament. It is binding in a court of law because it has been mutually subscribed by masters and men.

19,631. It binds on all who have agreed to it?—In practice both masters and men have always treated it as binding on them all round. Anything contained in this scale I should feel myself as a master printer bound by as much as by an Act of Parliament.

19,632. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Might there not be a question as to what the scale meant?—Yes, that is what we often want to arrive at, and that is where our differences arise. I think that my meaning would be made clear if I read the passage here on which the difference arose. We say in this scale which we both subscribe to, "Standing advertisements, or stereo blocks, if "forming a complete page, or when collected together, "making one or more complete pages, in a wrapper or "advertisement sheet of a magazine, or review, not to "be chargeable, the compositor to charge only for his "time in making them up." The master's idea was this: there might be a classified advertisement sheet; that, for instance, we should put all the hatters in one portion, all the clothiers in another portion, and all the bootmakers in another, and so on. In the standing advertisements in the sheet that went to press last week, we will say, two or three hatters or clothiers might be taken out and new matter imported. In a printing office to measure new matter we take a piece, of cord and run it over the page, and then say there are so many pages of standing matter. The men, however, took us on this expression in the scale, "if forming a complete page, or when collected together." We said that "when collected together" meant when run together in that way which I have described. They said, "No, you must not insert any "new matter in that page, or else you will destroy the "idea of a standing page." We could not go to our customers and say, "We are obliged to charge this 40 or "50 times over to you because our men insist on being "paid for it," and the result was that when the decision was given in the Court of Error the masters were forced to do such work on the establishment, as it is termed; and it had this effect on the journeymen's interests, that it compelled the masters to keep establishments at fixed wages, which I conceive to have a depressing effect on the men, and to be undesirable for the master as well, because he could neither afford to turn away his work or to have his house in continual conflict.

19,633. (*Chairman.*) In consequence of your being obliged to pay for the advertisements collected together you were obliged to put certain workmen on fixed wages?—Yes, because if there were in a gross amount, say $20\frac{3}{4}$ pages of standing matter, the whole 20 pages might not any one of them remain intact from the previous publication; but when collected together they might come to 20 in the gross, or $20\frac{3}{4}$. The three-quarters of a page we gave the men, but took the 20 as ours. But the men say that if the integrity of a page is interfered with by the insertion of any fresh matter, then it ceases to be a standing page. Taken simply as a verbal rendering of the scale I do not consider it is so, and it was against the understanding of those who framed that rule in the scale.

19,634. What is the meaning of the "fixed wages" to which you referred just now?—When we pay a man on fixed wages he is our servant in a matter of that sort, and the thing is indifferent to him. It is the interest of the journeymen that this work should be capable of being done on the piece, but owing to their insisting on this peculiar interpretation of the scale, and as we cannot go to the public and get paid what the men claim, we do it as we say "on the establishment." If a man is on the establishment,

in contradistinction to being on the piece, he does his master's bidding in any description of work, and as long as his master is satisfied with his work for the week it is not a question he cares about, the work can then be charged in any way the master chooses, and the scale becomes so far a nullity to a man on the establishment. Practically, the result of it was that it led this work, which might have been done by piece hands, to be forced on the establishment, and the piece hands are frequently idle in consequence.

19,635. (*Mr. Harrison.*) They may charge for composing the same advertisement 30 times over when it is only composed once?—Yes, and our interest was evident. There was no reason why we should continue to give the men that work when we might give it to our establishment men.

19,636. (*Chairman.*) Then it would be to the advantage of the workmen to consult the mutual interests of both parties?—I am perfectly certain that it would have been to their advantage to have let the decision of the arbitration committee stand. I am sure that they have lost by the course that they adopted.

19,637. They are for the most part men that know their own interest; cannot they be induced now to come to terms so that the general principle should be settled by arbitration, and then workmen who are men of good faith, who have assented to the arbitration, would work under it afterwards?—I think the difficulty is this. When the master printers and compositors have met together they have always got on very well, as far as I am able to judge (and I have had some opportunity of judging), but the fact is that the men who send the journeymen to confer with the masters exercise a very great power over those men whenever they come to a decision adverse to the popular notion of the men, and they have to go back and argue these questions at a general meeting, which is a very bad arena for arguing nice questions. A case arose in 1866 where we got on very well in a conference between the masters and the men on a question of wages, but when the men went to their general meeting, although we had every reason to believe that whatever was accepted by the representatives of the men at the conference would be accepted by the men generally, they were cast over by their constituents; and I have documents here to show that at that meeting there was such a stormy state of feeling as rendered it impossible to deliberate the question at that meeting. The delegates were thoroughly competent men, but because the masters did not assent to everything that they went to propose it was thought that the delegates had failed in their duty, and that was very openly expressed by their own body.

19,638. The practical result of that is, that the decision of universal suffrage is less satisfactory than the decision of the chosen delegates?—It wants calmness and discretion.

19,639. The practical result is, that the chosen delegates who came to represent the compositors were men of sense and worth, and would have settled the thing in a satisfactory way, but they went back to the whole body, and the whole body came up with a great deal of excited feeling and decided that which was prejudicial to their own interests and hostile to the masters?—In the case that I refer to they did eventually see that it was necessary to yield somewhat, for after the masters had given up all they possibly could, they were willing to deal with these representatives, but the workmen themselves carried it to such a pitch that the masters felt "we have made a great mistake." They had felt before, "we have given more than we can afford; still we will make this concession for peace and quietness." And when this answer came from the general body of compositors they felt that they had wasted their time and conceded too much.

19,640. "As soon as we have established that gain, then we will demand more," that has been avowed as the practice in some cases?—Yes, and we were met in that spirit.

19,641. Have you contemplated the difficulty of getting an indefinite number of workmen to be bound by an agreement. If they are not men of good faith, and men to abide by the award, and if they do not like the award, they may go to the country and new men may come, and new men are not bound by the award, are they?—I still go back to this scale, this is what guides us, and while the scale lasts it is our law; it is just as operative to us as printers as the common law of the land is to us as citizens, and therefore we need do no wrong under the scale while the scale stands.

19,641*a*. Might not I as a compositor go to you as an employer and say, "I will not accept wages according to the scale"?—I should not agree to that, for this reason that it would be too troublesome. As a fact, nobody who comes to me for employment says, "Do you work under the scale?" nor do we say, "We are going to work under the scale." It is a perfectly understood thing.

19,642. What are the practical conclusions you wish us to draw?—I heard the evidence of Mr. Hollins, and I think that such an arbitration committee as he speaks of would in our London Printing Trade be utterly worthless, and I have not such an opinion of the voluntary principle as to like the idea of those who belong to a trade being sometimes liable to arbitration, and sometimes not. If you have a body of men capable of dealing with a technical matter, and you establish a precedent under their jurisdiction, and another case similar to that arises, what is the use of arguing that subject again? It ought to be a just decision at first, and if another case on all-fours with it is brought forward it ought to be accepted on the basis of the previous decision. If it is not so you would never get any person of self-respect to sit as an arbitrator and feel that that very self-same question would be discussed somewhere else and perhaps decided differently the next day.

19,643. (*Mr. Merivale.*) If I understand you rightly, you think that the difficulties of arbitration are considerably lessened where there is a charter to be interpreted, such as your scale, so that the arbitration is then only limited to the meaning of that charter?—Quite so. I think that there are many masters who would be glad to burn this scale, and destroy unionism, and go in for free trade in printing. I consider that though there are disadvantages in the scale, they are neutralized by the fact that we are accustomed to them. The advantages are that we know what we are to pay for our work, and again we know what our neighbours are paying, that is to say we know the cost that they can get the thing done for, and that governs us in giving estimates; besides which, the men are prevented from constantly varying their prices. And I think that in having reference to an arbitration court, the scale takes you a long way through the difficulty; and if there were no scale, the basis of arbitration would be extremely undefined.

19,644. You say that there are three considerable firms, the "Times" office, Woodfall and Kinder, and Spottiswoode and Co., that do not adopt this scale; what do they do instead?—I have taken some pains to ascertain that. I saw Mr. McDonald, the manager for the "Times," and he stated to me that owing to the exactions of the men on small points (and all our quarrels arise on small points—sometimes a question of a farthing, but involving perhaps hundreds of pounds)—they now manage their affairs in the "Times" office in their own way; but he declined to tell me how many men they employed or their precise earnings. The Messrs. Waterlow also do not (or did not) work under the scale, for this reason; they had a dispute with their men which was taken to trial and decided against the men. Similar work was put in hand a short time after that, but although the decision had been against them the trade union told the compositors not to go on with the job, simply because there was a decision against them. The result was that Mr. Waterlow then decided to have no union men on his establishment.

19,645. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) How does he get on without them?—He said very well.

Mr. C. W. H. Wyman.

22 July 1868.

19,646. (*Chairman.*) The compositors are non-union men in his office?—Yes; they were so, I know.

19,647. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Has there been any complaint of any interference with his men?—If you refer to picqueting and that sort of thing, I am happy to say that our trade has not shown anything of that sort, and in fact the relations between the Master Printers Association, who represent the master printers of London, and the Society of Compositors have always been of a very honourable and creditable character, as far as I am able to judge, and personally there is nothing in their intercourse different from what could be desired.

19,648. (*Chairman.*) When you referred just now to the delegates going back to a body consisting of large numbers, were they compositors?—Yes.

19,649. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Have you any idea of the number of compositors in London?—I am not so competent to give you that information as Mr. Self who will be subsequently examined. Such statistics of the business are more in the hands of the men themselves.

19,650. (*Mr. Merivale.*) You have heard what Mr. Levey said on the subject of foreign competition in your business; do you generally agree with him?—Yes; I am bound to agree with him from my own experience and from the evidence which I felt it due to this Commission to collect in reference to the matter. I have letters here bearing on the subject, some of which I will read. "27, Paternoster Row, "London, June 22, 1868. This is to certify, that a "volume published annually, entitled '* * * "* * *' and a magazine published monthly, "entitled '* * * ' were taken away "from Messrs. * * * printers, of London, "and given to printers at Aylesbury, Bucks, and "Frome, Somersetshire, solely on account of the "great difference in the price charged. Both these "works have been removed since the advance in "the London scale of wages. (Signed) JACKSON, "WALFORD, AND HODDER." That alludes to the advance of 1866. I should state that the masters and the men met at the suggestion of the journeymen, and in the abstract, as Mr. Levey justly observed, most of the masters felt that the compositors were, strictly speaking, underpaid. So were the masters for compositors' work; the fact is that printing is underpaid in regard to that part of it. But the question was not whether the rate of wages in the abstract was too much, but what was best to be done under a given state of circumstances. The masters felt that at that particular moment, when we were exposed to the competition of foreign houses, and provincial and Scotch houses, and when there were the increased facilities of the telegraph, and the railway, and of the book-post (which last has not been alluded to yet, but which increased the facilities of sending parcels of large bulk), they were at a greater disadvantage than formerly in reference to the class of work which can go out of London.

19,651. Taking the period before 1867 and up to this late advance, can you state any way in which the existence of the compositors' union intensified the force of foreign competition?—No, I do not think it did; as a union it had nothing to do with it.

19,652. The rise in 1867, though you think it just to the compositors, has placed you in considerable difficulty, as I understand you?—I think it was impolitic, but we were met in such a spirit by them that it was a question of concession or strike.

19,653. You think that they have overdone it in fact?—I should think that they have got more wages and less work, so that in the result they are not so well off, and the masters are much worse off.

19,654. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Mr. Levey said that there are a large number of compositors in London unemployed; is that your experience?—Yes, I know that many of my own compositors are unemployed or only very partially employed, and I know it in regard to other offices from hearsay.

19,655. Have you any specific evidence of work being sent from London to provincial towns or foreign towns?—The case which I have just adduced is an instance of that. Here is a memorandum given me by an eminent firm: "A work was offered to us by a "London publisher who prints largely in Scotland. "Our cost price paid to compositors was 1*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.* "To get the work we had to put only 12*s.* 6*d.* on this "price, which did not cover other charges (the "Scotch get nearly 100 per cent.)." Their wages and their extras go to make the cost of their work much less than ours. While we pay more per thousand it does not stop there. The London compositors, though not at all an overpaid class of men under the present system, get a great deal more than any other compositors in extras and various things, as I can show you by a statement which we prepared in dealing with the question when the men came to us for more money. We adopted this principle. We made inquiries as to what was paid in other parts, and the result of those inquiries led us to this conclusion, "You have asked for a halfpenny increase, and we cannot afford to give it you." The thing went to an extremity, and rather than have a strike in a busy season we gave the halfpenny, but I believe the best thing in the interests of all of us would be to go back to the former price per 1,000. Still, the compositor is not overpaid.

19,656. Then the real conclusion to be drawn from what you state is that the printing business ought not to be done in London?—No, not so at all; that would be to announce one's own dissolution. There is a certain amount of business that must be done in London; but there is a certain amount that used to be done in London, and that can be done in the country.

19,657. Which cannot profitably be done in London?—Not as things stand.

19,658. Is not the immediate consequence of that that it will go from London?—It has begun to go, and is going fast.

19,659. You believe, then, that under the present state of things London will cease to be a printing place?—It must always have a large amount of printing, but it will not be the place that it has been. London has hitherto been the centre of science and literature, and so forth, and therefore naturally printing has been chiefly carried on in London.

19,660. But all great works (I do not speak of periodicals) may be as well printed in the country as in London, may they not. Take a History of Rome; may it not now, with the facilities of which you speak, be printed in any country town, supposing that it is as well printed there as in London?—Yes, presuming that the printer has the establishment and the plant.

19,661. The solid and steady class of literature—for example, large works of history, Bibles, and so on, in fact, everything but periodical literature (including therein newspapers), could be as well printed in the country as in London, could it not?—Presuming that there was an establishment equal to the London printer's establishment. Hitherto we have had the cream of the workmen in London; till quite recently you could not get good work done except in London.

19,662. Mr. Levey, I think, said that there is no such great difference in your work. He said that a page printed is a page printed?—He did not mean it in that sense, I think. There is a difference in the quality of compositors' work. There is no doubt that by purgation and correction you may remove the first errors of a printer and dress his work into shape; that is to say, the compositor's work may be brought to perfection by correction instead of being set up right at first.

19,663. (*Mr. Merivale.*) I suppose that so long as authors continue to live in London, London will have a considerable advantage in the printing trade from the fact of authors liking to be near the printer?—All authors know that it is a great comfort to be near the printer, but still there is a great deal of work done in Scotland and in the country.

19,664. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Articles for the Edinburgh Review, while printed in Edinburgh, are for the most part written in London; is not that the case?—I am not sure about that. We print the Dublin Review

at our office here in London, and it does not follow that the Edinburgh Review is printed in Edinburgh.

19,665. Longman is the publisher of that review, is he not?—Yes.

19,666. At the time that Jeffrey was the editor of the Edinburgh Review all matter had to be sent down to him, and if it was printed in London, he, being in Edinburgh, had to look at every proof that was printed here in London?—Yes, that is possible.

19,667. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Is it not the case that the printing of foreign languages has principally gone to Germany and abroad?—Yes, of classical works.

19,668. Is not that in great part due to the superior education of the German compositors?—I do not think that it is entirely due to that, but that has a good deal to do with it, I have no doubt. The common compositor there may have had a classical education.

19,669. In point of fact some slight knowledge of the classical languages is to be had at a cheaper rate in Germany than in England?—Yes; I believe so.

19,670. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You say that works in foreign languages are sent abroad. Supposing that they sent a French book to Germany, there would be the same difficulty as in having it done in England, would there not?—I do not know anything as to the practice between those two countries.

19,671. (*Mr. Harrison.*) I was speaking principally of the Latin and Greek languages. I have been informed, and that seems to be your experience, that they are printed abroad?—Yes, they are very good classical printers in Germany.

19,672. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) When works are sent over from here to be printed in Germany, do you send over English paper?—That is a publisher's question, but I believe some English paper has gone abroad, though I do not think a very large quantity has for this reason, that the English papermakers are competing with great difficulty with the German, so that the publisher who makes his arrangements to print abroad, would save the carriage of the paper to Germany and buy it on the spot.

19,673. You know that the cheap classics printed on German paper are very queer things to look at, and that you cannot write upon them, or is it your experience that the German paper is now good?—It is a question of practice with them. They use unsized paper, it is very good for printing upon, but you cannot write upon it. We never make it except to order.

19,674. (*Mr. Harrison.*) I do not know whether you happen to know that with regard to Messrs. Williams and Norgate, in Henrietta Street, nearly the whole of the books which they publish, many of which are classical and some oriental, are printed as a matter of course in Germany, and hardly any done in this country?—Yes, they have a large amount in Germany. Here is another communication to me: "As "a small contribution to the information which "you are collecting, I beg to submit the following "illustration of the tyrannical operation of the "trades union in the printing business. Previous to "the '* *' newspaper, of which I was printer, "ceasing to be issued, in May of 1867, from certain "circumstances I was unable to give the 54 men em- "ployed upon that paper more than one week's notice, "and of course they claimed the two statutory weeks. "This was not resisted, but I requested the men to "come to work as usual and I would employ them "upon some ordinary book or magazine work, and "that only for a few hours per diem, so as to lessen "the loss. The majority of the men were at first "willing to do so, but several thought it would be "better to consult the society, and the result was, that "the society did not approve of the men working as "proposed, and instructed them not to work upon any "other work than that upon which they had been "engaged, viz., '* * *' newspaper. The con- "sequence was, the men came every day during the "remaining week, did nothing, and claimed and "received a total sum of 84*l.* 7*s.* 11½*d.* I am informed "that I might have contested this in a court of equity, "but I felt unable and unwilling to contest the matter "with such a powerful body as the trade union." That is a matter of fact, and the men by a recent decision would not be legally entitled to a fortnight's notice. Here is another communication:—"As to "the transfer of printing from London to country "offices and abroad, we regret to say we write "with a very bitter experience, as it has been our lot "to lose several works, especially novels, by the com- "petition of printers carrying on business out of Lon- "don; and it is our opinion that unless some change "can be effected the whole of the novel printing busi- "ness will be transferred to the printers doing business "in the country suburbs, and as a natural sequence "many valuable books will find their way to the same "sources, and in the end leave the London printers "nothing but newspaper, magazine, and such book- "work as may require to be done in very great haste "or under the actual supervision of an author living "in London. We feel that this is a subject of great "and vital interest to the master printers of London; "and while unprepared at present to suggest a remedy "we think it very properly worthy of the fullest con- "sideration before any evidence is offered to the "Commission, as undoubtedly the high scale of charges "has driven and will continue to drive large quantities "of work out of London, and in some instances on the "continent, although the latter we think is of very "rare occurrence."

19,675. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) You say yourself that the men could not live upon less money than they have?—I think they could not keep themselves properly: but the practical question is not that, but can we change it in such a way as not to send the work from us. But they are really prospering less under the increased prices than they were before, that is my argument. Here is another letter, which is from a firm of printers in London: "Disputes as to prices." On this point they are in favour of an arbitration board of masters and men. They say, "Legislative sanction should be asked for "the establishment of a permanent board of men and "masters to whom questions should be submitted, "and whose decisions should have the authority of "law. Leaving engagements without submitting "questions to this tribunal, or without notice, should "be punishable, in view of the serious results attend- "ing interruption to newspapers, &c." Then under "Apprentices," they say, "The rules existing among "machine minders seriously interfere with the Lon- "don trade, and are tending to the worst form of "tyranny to which employers can be subjected, "forcing upon them incompetent men. Overwhelming "proof can be given that the men in this department "are the best paid and the most incompetent of "workmen, and rule their employers to the serious "detriment of masters and men." Then under "Transfer of work," they say: "Recently two monthly "publications of large circulation, after going through "the trade and in our hands being twice reduced in "charge, were removed to the country; the price "now charged by the printers in the country being "less than the actual cost in London, notwithstand- "ing cost of carriage, &c. Another very heavy "order for bills, millions per month, transferred for "the same reason after the same process. If the "details of these cases are of any use they can be "had."

19,676. (*Mr. Merivale.*) The letter does not say where that firm in the country carry on their business?—At Frome, I think. I wrote to another master printer, and this is his reply: "I have to "acknowledge the receipt of your note in reference to "the evidence to be submitted to the Trades Union "Commission in connection with the printing trade, "and have much pleasure in forwarding to you my "opinion upon the three heads of inquiry which it "contains. (a) Disputes as to prices. As regards the "disputes respecting prices which have arisen "between me and the men in my employ, I have "every reason to believe, from their own statement, "that they were attributable to the advice given to "them by the council of their union. In confirmation

Mr. C. W. H. Wyman.

22 July 1868.

" of this remark, the case recently submitted by me " to the master printers' committee may be adduced. " Upon the men being asked to state the ground upon " which the increase upon the charge made in former " years was based, they stated that they had been " instructed to cast up the work according to the scale " as laid down in certain unauthorized memoranda. " The men themselves had charged for what they had " done as in former years. Subsequently they were " ordered by the council of their union to make the " demand for an increase in price, which led to the " dispute to which I have referred." The dispute was referred to the Master Printers' Association, and it was thought to be so wrong on the part of the men as to justify the master in resisting them even at law, but it was eventually withdrawn. As to apprentices, he says, " Until very recently I had no apprentices in " the book department, and consequently have nothing " to report under this head. The transfer of printing " from London to the country, &c. Owing to the late " increase of wages a great deal of book work has " gone, and will continue to go, into the country. " Messrs. Nisbet, Hatchard, Seeley, and Low, largely " employ Scotch and English country printers." I have got here a very interesting report, which I intend to hand in, which was the basis of our decision when we met the men in connection with this subject of wages. The masters took great pains not to judge without data, and they went to Glasgow, and Edinburgh, and Leeds, and here there is formulated a series of prices showing what is paid in Edinburgh and elsewhere, and what in London, and what the men desire to be paid, showing the excess that the men in London were asking over what the men were paid elsewhere, and it was in view of this that we said, " If we increase the wages, the work will go " away." We took the Quarterly Review as a test, " The following table will shew the comparative " prices in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and London, of a " sheet of demy 8vo., MS., and solid on a page of " the size of 'The Quarterly Review,' in six founts, " from small pica to nonpareil without extras." Then there is the Edinburgh and Glasgow scale, and the London scale. The result is this, that, " the excess " of the prices proposed by the London compositors " over those of the Scotch scales on the castings in " the foregoing table is as follows: small pica, 4*s.* 6*d.*; " longprimer, 6*s.*; bourgeois, 7*s.* 6*d.*; brevier, 9*s.*; " minion, 13*s.* 6*d.*; nonpareil, 1*l.* 6*s.* 0*d.* The " following table will shew the comparative prices " of the same sheet if it consists of mere reprint " solid." Then there is the same sort of information there and we get similar figures. Then again, " Table " matter is paid in Edinburgh and Glasgow, in founts " from English to minion, at 9*d.* per 1,000; in non- " pareil at 10*d.*; in London at double the price of plain " matter. The following table will show the compara- " tive results, a sheet of the Quarterly Review in demy " 8vo. being taken as the basis." Then the table is given, and it appears that the excess of proposed London over Scotch prices was, small pica, 11*s.* 6*d.*; longprimer, 16*s.*; bourgeois, 1*l.* 0*s.* 6*d.*; brevier, 1*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.*; minion, 1*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.*; nonpareil, 2*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*; the difference per sheet of 16 pages, as between what we were asked to pay in London and what they were paying in Edinburgh, was 2*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* The masters said, " We cannot contend against a disparity of that sort." " Foot-notes are paid in Edinburgh and Glasgow at " the rate of 1*d.* per three lines in 8vo. up to the price " of page in small type; in London at 1*s.* per sheet if " two notes, and not exceeding four pages in every 10 " sheets. Thus, if two notes consisting of three lines " or under occur in 10 sheets, the Edinburgh and " Glasgow compositor would be paid 2*d.*, the London " compositor 10*s.*" That is an illustration of the difference in extras that the London compositor enjoys over the country compositor; without any alteration of the scale he got 10*s.* in London, whereas in Scotland he would only get 2*d.* The conclusion that we came to was this: " From these particulars it results that " compositors in London not only enjoy a higher rate " per 1,000, as compared with those in Edinburgh " and Glasgow, but they have also a great advantage " in the more liberal payment of extras. Both these " causes greatly enhance the comparative cost of " composition in London, calculated merely according " to the present scale of prices."

19,677. (*Chairman.*) The paper with which you have furnished us contains the general conclusions at which you have arrived?—Yes. In that paper I gave this summary of my evidence: " 1. I believe that " many master printers would prefer the abolition of " trades unions both of masters and men, and the " abolition of the compositors' scale of prices; in fact " free trade in printing. I am not prepared indivi- " dually to go so far, for reasons which I have named. " 2. Presuming the continuance of trades unions, " proper legal recognition had better be accorded to " them, and the fulfilment of given duties and respon- " sibilities exacted. 3. I would suggest that all " trade associations should be licensed and their rules " settled by a government officer, none being sanc- " tioned which restricted, (I.) the liberty of the " master to make his own arrangements with his " workmen and plant, (II.) the liberty of the work- " men to be equally free and to belong or not to any " society, (III.) the separation of funds subscribed " for provident purposes, such as sickness, burial, " &c., from funds subscribed for trade purposes; such " as strikes, increase of wages, &c. (IV.) That it be " illegal for one trade union, in its collective capacity, " to vote its funds in support of another trade union " for any purpose whatever. Thus it would be illegal " for the builders to support the printers on strike. " (V.) That the chairman and secretary for the time " being of a trade union be personally liable for all " infractions of the law committed by such union. " *General considerations.*—Trade unions as at present " constituted, in my opinion act in restraint of trade, " and have not on the whole been productive of pecu- " niary advantage to the workmen; while they have " diminished proper sympathy between employers and " employed, as well as individuality and enterprise in " the workman himself. Under their influence the " men have become more litigious, they have at times " exacted higher pay than circumstances justified, but " have not been permanently benefited thereby, having " obtained more pay but less occupation. Whereas " the governing members of trades unions exercise " apparently unlimited powers of coercion for so-called " trade objects, they do not appear to use their power " to raise the morality, efficiency, and social respec- " tability of their members, as they might and could " do. Thus, a workman may be guilty of drunken- " ness, of leaving his situation in debt to his employer, " or of leaving without proper notice, and in fact " almost any sort of bad conduct towards his employer " and not suffer punishment, rebuke, or loss of status " in the estimation of his union, and in any trade " question would rank on an equality with the most " respectable of workmen. For the promotion of im- " proved relations between capital and labour, period- " ical conferences between employers and employed " (similar to those held by the Social Science Con- " gress), and not limited to particular trades or " localities, should be held from time to time, for the " discussion of topics of mutual interest, such as wages, " technical education, councils of arbitration, &c., in a " broad and enlightened spirit. I am strongly in " favour of it being made compulsory to refer all trade " disputes to arbitration." I would add that unless you make it absolutely necessary to put these technical questions before an arbitration committee, composed of people competent to deal with them, arbitration ceases to be of any value. In fact, we want the award if it establishes a precedent to be binding in law, which it is not now.

19,678. Have you any further observations to make? —I have only this to observe, that these reports of our association ranging over a number of years will show that the desire of the Master Printers' Association has been to assist the practice of their trade in moot and

difficult questions, and that they do not favour the masters as against the men, numbers of decisions having been given in favour of the men against the masters. We have sought to increase the morality of the trade, having regard to the welfare of our boys; and at all times we are prepared to assist the journeymen in any question that they choose to lay before us. And generally there has been a great deal of respect shown to our association. Financially, we are not an important association, our balance at the banker's not being 30*l.*, so that we possess no money power of coercion.

Mr. C. W. H. Wyman.

22 July 1868.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. Anthony John Mundella further examined.

Mr. A. J. Mundella.

19,679. (*Chairman.*) I believe you have some additions to make to the evidence which you gave on the last occasion?—I have only just had a copy of my evidence on the last occasion placed in my hands, and I can hardly know what I have left unsaid. I trust therefore that the Commissioners will excuse me if I repeat my evidence at all now.

19,680. (*Mr. Merivale.*) Your last observation, on the last occasion, had reference to the difficulties which you have experienced in Nottingham in bringing about an understanding of the principles which you have adopted?—Yes, I may say that I find that in the former part of my evidence I omitted to mention that we accomplished a good many things for the men, which ameliorated their condition, and bettered them considerably without being of any cost to the employers. Where we have not given an advance of wages we really have advanced the wages of the men. For instance the workmen are employed under the middlemen, because we have, as I explained the last time I was here, masters who employ from 20 to 100 middlemen under the warehouse-man. These men used to be guilty of great injustice occasionally. Our board remedied all that. One of the first things observed was that the Truck Act was constantly infringed. Although the man did not sell the goods himself he would have a son or nephew who sold goods in the same village, and if the workmen did not buy their articles in this shop, their employment would cease, and other workmen would be put in their place. There was great complaint on that score, and the result of it was that the men were supplied with inferior articles at an enhanced price. We, the employers, when the men brought this before us advertized in all the newspapers of the county, that we would remove the machinery from any middle master who took undue advantage of his men in this way whenever it was brought before us. We took up two or three cases and prosecuted, and that put an end to the truck system. Then there was a system of paying very late on Saturday night or early on Sunday morning; and we put an end to that by a half-holiday on Saturday, and paying before mid-day on Saturday. I should like to lay before the Commission the other side of the question. I think that last time I shewed how well the system had worked. I should like to show what are our real difficulties, and the questions that have always met me when I have spoken to men in other trades about adopting it. The first question is, "How will you enforce this with the master; how will you bind the men?" Now we have three or four employers out of 45, I think, who have never assented to this system, and who are only governed by the force of public opinion, and by the resolution of the men not to work for these outside employers at a less rate than that at which they work for the employers on the board. While I was giving my evidence here last week, very singularly one of these employers resolved upon a reduction from one of the printed statements. I put in a number of printed statements, but I believe that that very statement was agreed to by the employers and workmen last January. This employer wanted to pay something that would be equivalent to a reduction of nearly 2*s.* a week in the wages of 43 workmen. The workmen objected to this, and said that they should appeal to the committee of inquiry. They appealed to our committee of inquiry (there are four members of the board who are appointed annually members of the committee of inquiry) and the committee of inquiry said, "This is quite wrong, we will see your master upon it;" whereupon three manufacturers went with the workmen complaining to the employer in question. Those manufacturers were Mr. Lee, one of our magistrates and a large manufacturer; Mr. Hill, Mr. Morley's partner; and Mr. R. W. Smith; so that three of the oldest manufacturers went. They reasoned with him, and he ultimately promised that he would pay the price. The men went to work. They placed themselves entirely at the discretion of the board. The advice that the board gives to the workmen is, never to use an angry word, or do anything irritating to the employer, but to say "We will abide by the decision of the board"; and if the workmen should take off their belts—that is to say, stop the machinery without the orders of the board—we invariably say, "Go back to your work, put your belts "on, and then come to us at the end of the week and "we will tell you what you have to do." That is the principle that we have found desirable and proper to adopt in order that a factory may not be stopped arbitrarily on light pretences; because, sometimes, the men are in the wrong as well as the masters. Still it is a fact that in all trades there are a number of men who are screwing down their workmen, and these are the men who are often keeping the whole trade in hot water; because if my neighbour is allowed to work at a certain per-centage below me I cannot sell against him, and trade becomes completely upset. I must go down to his price or he come up to mine. A manufacturer hearing that so-and-so is working at a reduction, says, "Well, I must do the same, or otherwise he will be underselling me." We went to this man and reasoned it out with him for half an hour, and finally he gave us a note signed with the signature of the firm, that they would consent to pay the prices. The men went to work the next morning, and that was settled. That is our mode of settling a dispute. We do not leave some of the men to go alone to the employer, but we bring to bear our influence as fellow manufacturers, the influence that our social position gives us, and reason with the other employers in the trade, and ask them why we should have all this trouble, and why they are not willing to pay the same price as ourselves, and it is a sort of public opinion brought to bear upon them that they can very seldom resist. On the other hand, the men are sometimes difficult to deal with. I happen to have an illustration here. This is dated July and August last year. There was a new branch of work introduced into the trade a few years ago, and it was a profitable branch, and all sorts of prices were paid for this work. It was begun in Nottingham, extended to Belper, went to Mansfield, and ultimately to Loughborough. In the first instance each manufacturer got perhaps only one or two machines, and as the profits were good the prices were very irregular. However, as the machinery extended largely and competition become closer, it was found desirable that there should be something like a regulation of prices throughout the trade. So the workmen brought it before the board. They said that at Loughborough they were paying 1*s.*, at Nottingham 7½*d.*, at Mansfield 5½*d.*, and at Belper 8*d.*, and that this would not do. The result was that a committee was appointed to produce what was called a regulated statement, an equal statement for the whole district. That had come before us for the first time in that shape. We do not interfere with new machinery till it comes before us in the shape of a dispute. The result would have been, had we refused to maintain this, that the low price men would have struck at the highest price, or the manufacturer paying

Mr. A. J. Mundella.

22 July 1868.

the highest would have wanted to have the lowest price. Well, we equalized the list throughout the three counties of Nottingham, Derby, and Leicester, and published that. When we did so Loughborough was considerably reduced, some 25 per cent. The Loughborough men on the 31st of July put out this statement: "Fellow-workmen,—We, the committee, "have received a copy of the Nottingham Heeling "statement," (it is the machinery for making Heeling stockings) "which has been adopted by the committee "of Nottingham and Derby, and which we now lay "before you. We request the different factories and "shops to send a delegate to the committee room "with your instructions as to whether you will or will "not agree to adopt the appended statement. Each "delegate to attend punctually at 8 o'clock this "evening. Committee Room, 'Prince of Wales,' "Church Gate. Signed on behalf of the committee, "Joseph Blake, Secretary." Then this paper was issued, dated August 1st, 1867: "To the framework "knitters of Loughborough. Fellow workmen,—We, "the committee of the above society, beg to say that "there will be a public meeting held at the Co-"operative Room, Woodgate, on Monday evening "next, at 7 o'clock, in accordance with a resolution "passed at the delegate meeting, which was held at "the 'Prince of Wales,' on Wednesday, July 31st, to "take into consideration the Heeling statement. The "object of the meeting is to consider the advisability "or inadvisability of acting in accordance with the "Nottingham Board of Arbitration." (Here was a case that looked like secession.) "The committee "request that all workmen that can attend will do so "to take part in this very important question of the "trade." On the 8th of August our secretary to the board received the following letter: "Dear sir,— "Enclosed is a copy of resolutions which were carried "unanimously at a public meeting held at Lough-"borough, on Monday, August 5th, which you will "please to lay before the board. Please forward a "copy of the rules of the board, and information as to "the time when the board meet. And will much "oblige yours truly, Joseph Blake, Wood Gate, "Loughborough, secretary to the trade.—Resolution "1. That in the opinion of this meeting it is desirable "that the framework knitters of Loughborough do "work under the regulations issued by the Board of "Arbitration and Conciliation of Nottingham in re-"ference to price on different sorts of work made at "Nottingham and Loughborough, and that we the "workmen of the above place, do hereby agree to work "by any change or regulation entered into by the board "in respect to price paid for Nottingham and Lough-"borough hosiery goods. 2. That if in the opinion of "the Board of Arbitration and Conciliation it is incon-"venient to make any charge in its present arrange-"ments, we the other workmen of Loughborough hope "that it may be practicable at the next election of "the board to admit a workman from Loughborough "to take part in its future deliberations." They held their public meeting and considered whether they would submit to our decision. They did ultimately, because otherwise the result would have been this, that one town would have set itself against all the other towns in the trade, and the other towns would not have supported them if they had stood out against the decision of the trade, and I may say that up to this moment though we have had little difficulties of this kind, and mutterings, and murmurings of discontent, and though we have two or three manufacturers who still dislike the board because it is a great obstacle to their working under price, yet on the whole, every resolution that the board has come to has always been practically carried into effect, as thoroughly as though we had been backed up by positive enactments; perhaps not immediately, but a week or more after the thing has been discussed. The trade during the last four years has been in a more prosperous state than I ever saw it in before, and the men have been more contented and happy than they ever have been before. They make their applications to us in writing when they want an advance, and it is very singular that at our last board meeting this was one of them. This is a petition signed by 800 men. "Drawer, pantaloon, and "shirt branch. To the Board of Arbitration and "Conciliation for the Hosiery Trade. Gentlemen,— "We the undersigned workmen in the above branch "having applied several times (though unsuccessfully) "through the medium of our representatives for an "advance upon our present prices, again most respect-"fully repeat the request of the particulars of which "the president of the board has received notice. The "present high price of provisions, the laborious nature "of our employment, and the low average rate of our "wages (compared with that of other operatives), we "hope will be deemed sufficient reasons for us urging "this subject again upon your consideration. We feel "assured that you have a desire to promote our moral "and social welfare, and if you can make us this little "concession it will be properly appreciated by your "obedient servants the petitioners." Those 800 men perhaps represented a total of a thousand in that branch. They have the fullest confidence in the board; and I believe that the working men, though at first they regarded it with so much suspicion, and only came into it gradually, would now regard it as the greatest possible calamity that could happen to them if the board was removed.

19,681. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Had there been a previous application to the employers irrespective of the board?—It is always to the board. They never make an application now to the employers; they come direct to the board.

19,682. (*Mr. Merivale.*) What would have been the effect of the employer refusing to listen to the board in the case which you mentioned just now?—The effect would have been this, that if these 43 men had not been taken on by their employer, I was prepared myself to take 10 of them, and the other three employers were prepared to take the rest of them, because rather than have a small reduction in wages, which would not have promoted our trade at all, and which would have spread discontent among the workmen and broken up a system which has been of great benefit to both masters and workmen, we would have made a little extra stock; and when 40 of our own employers are content to give the price, we do not see why three or four working with the same machinery, and with equally expert workmen, should object to pay the price. But in every centre of industry in which I have spoken to manufacturers, my experience is this, that it is some few who are opposed to giving a fair price for labour, and who think that every farthing gained off the working man is worth a penny gained in any other way. The feeling that is cherished by some employers towards working men is so bad that it is the foundation of many of the strikes that happen.

19,683. Such men are in your opinion the fit subjects of moral coercion, if I may call it so?—We have never done anything to coerce them in any way; all we are anxious to do is this, to make an agreeable bargain. We consider that in buying labour we should treat the seller just as courteously as the seller of coal or cotton, or any other commodity we buy. We see no degradation in sitting down and talking the question over, and we find not only that we make a better bargain for ourselves, but that we make the seller more content by that means.

19,684. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) Is your trade influenced by competition in any way with other districts in England?—Not at all.

19,685. If it were so, how would you bring that moral influence to bear upon the manufacturers in the other districts?—Well, I may say it used to be so to this extent: when you came to Belper and Matlock the wages used to be lower than they would be in Nottinghamshire. The southern part of Leicestershire was also cheaper when you got to the agricultural villages, where the unions had not the same power. But it was found that by establishing a board of arbitration, even the manufacturers both at Belper and Lough-

borough would acquiesce in the same scale; and I may say that at Belper we are supported by the two chief houses in the hosiery trade, namely Ward's and Bettle's. They were the pioneers of the trade, even before Samuel Morley achieved his great success; Strutt's inventions were brought out there. They quite acquiesced in our view of things, that it was better that there should be a uniform price, because when there were a few men always trying to work under the price, sometimes small manufacturers and sometimes larger ones, it produced such an amount of confusion in the trade that we did not know what price we were going to get. We have been much better ever since. Since I have been here, I have had a letter from Hawick, in Scotland, where all the Scotch hosiery is made, and it says that they adopted our system two years ago. They copied our rules almost *verbatim*, and they say that it has worked admirably with them, and they have never had but one very tough question, and it was settled in a proper and friendly manner, and all the minor questions are settled off hand.

19,686. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Would your German workpeople sign their names better than these names to this petition which you have just now read?—I am afraid that in the case of that petition one man would sign for 10 in a shop, or perhaps more than that; but a German workman would invariably sign his own name, and in a good hand. I never saw a bad specimen of handwriting among our German workmen; and as to the boys and girls more recently educated, their caligraphy is beautiful, really like copper plate. With us the man who writes for the shop would sign for the shop. The correspondence of our workmen in England, and the correspondence of our workmen in Germany, is a most humiliating contrast.

19,687. (*Mr. Merivale.*) Do you mean as a matter of caligraphy, or as a matter of sense also?—Both the sense and grammar would be very poor indeed in the case of the English workmen, because the men are not trained. We often deal with individual workmen in Germany, in England very rarely, except with the master of 20 or 30; but those masters do not compare with the individual workmen in Germany.

19,688–9. Has it at all occurred to your mind in what manner you would propose to work this system if you had other trades combined with your own?—The builders have been combined in Nottingham. The last week they arranged to have two carpenters, two painters, two plumbers, and so on. I consider that every branch must have its own board.

19,690. That is not exactly what I mean. Supposing that your particular industry were to establish itself in any other locality in England, have you thought how you would then work the system?—I think it should be confined to districts. Take the Lancashire district; there should be a board for Lancashire, another for London, another for each of the great centres. For instance, Mr. Rupert Kettle has introduced one at Wolverhampton; last week he commenced another at Leeds. Leeds will have its own local board, and probably what is done at Leeds will give the tone for Yorkshire. The day after I was last examined here I met Mr. Lancaster, who I may say represents the coal proprietors of South Lancashire, and Mr. Pickard, who represents the miners at South Lancashire, at Lord Elcho's house. They are quite agreed that they shall at once set about establishing a board of arbitration for South Lancashire. The same thing is about to be done in Staffordshire. They are waiting too for me to go to Middlesborough, and I have an invitation from the Cleveland engineers to arrange the same thing for the North of England. The conditions under which mining, for example, is conducted in Middlesborough and Staffordshire are different, and therefore the wages will be different; but where the conditions are alike I do not see why the wages should not be alike, and I see no difficulty in carrying it out; but it must come through an enlightened public opinion being brought to bear both on masters and on workmen. Where there is a bad feeling between them it ends in disastrous strikes and outrages, and everything mischievous. There are some centres I have been to where I have met the masters and heard their private opinions freely, and one could hardly believe that they could be speaking of the same race when speaking of their workmen; and when I was a lad the feeling of the stocking makers and hosiers was that there could not be an honest employer, that he must be an oppressor from his position. Now all that has disappeared in the last few years, and now they discriminate between a good and honest employer and one not so.

19,691. (*Mr. Harrison.*) You have now had opportunities of seeing the disposition of the districts into which you have been called in various parts of the country. Have you found, generally speaking, on the part of the existing unions, that they resist this movement, or the contrary?—I am bound to say that since this Commission has been instituted, the disposition on the part of the unions, with the exception of the masons (I always except the masons because they have been very stupid indeed in the matter) has almost always been this, that there is a readiness, and not only a readiness, but a demand, an asking and praying, for arbitration all over the country. The employers look upon it with suspicion, but still in those districts the intelligent employers are prepared to accept it, and are anxious to establish it. In Bradford I found the employers quite ready for it, and they established it in the worst trade of all, the builders' trade, at once.

19,692. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) But do you not attribute this disposition to adopt arbitration to the depression in all trades at the present moment?—Yes.

19,693. I ask you that question because this system of arbitration was advocated quite as strongly by some men 10 years ago as now, and still it did not bring about the results?—Yes, but we had then had no specific experience. It was then advocated as a theory, but since then we have had experience which has established beyond a doubt that it does work; but it is also due I believe, to the fact that there is much more intelligence among both employers and employed on this subject, and they are pretty well convinced that the old system of screwing down on the part of the masters in depressed times, and on the part of the men screwing up in good times, is injurious to both parties. Under that system it is a strike whether you go up or go down, and it is just the strike at the most inconvenient time.

19,694. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you consider that the establishment of such a board of arbitration is promoted by the existence in the district of an established union, supposing that it has been conducted reasonably?—I do not see how you can establish a board without a union. A union seems to me to be necessary in order that there may be something like cohesion on the part both of masters and men.

19,695. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) In point of fact it comes to this, does it not, that it becomes an association of masters and men combined?—The masters must delegate to a few of their number the power of dealing with the men.

19,696. Then how is the public to protect itself against a combination of masters and men in any particular trade?—There is no danger I think of masters and men combining against the public. That I cannot understand at all

19,697. I mean in a trade not influenced by foreign competition. I will take the builders' trade, for instance. You know that I am a strong advocate for bringing the masters and men to discuss these questions practically between themselves, but what you have told us this morning raises the practical difficulty in my mind which I have mentioned, and which I wish to have explained?—The masters are always in favour of cheapness, and naturally so, because if I am a builder and I can cheapen labour I can get more employment. The more you enhance the cost of building, the more difficult it is to get work to do. And it is the same with everything else, it is always the interest of the employer to cheapen the cost of his productions. I

Mr. A. J. Mundella.

22 July 1868.

do not at all anticipate that it would be possible to establish any sort of union between masters and men that would give an artificial price to the articles that were sold. Let me give you an instance from our own trade. If we fixed any artificial price we should immediately have the French and Germans sending to our own markets, because there are no duties on the French goods, but they come to London on the same terms as our own, and it is nearly as cheap to send them across the channel to London as it is to send them from Nottingham to London.

19,698. Are you not afraid it might give rise to a strong feeling among both masters and men in favour of protection if they combined in this manner?—I never witnessed anything of that kind. I think it is quite exploded now. Let me explain how I think it would operate in the building trade for example, as I have shown the operative masons in my own town. They have had rules in Nottingham to this effect, that worked stone shall not come into Nottingham except Yorkshire flag. The result of that has been that stucco has been used instead of stone. I have shown the workmen this, and pointed out to them the folly of it, and shown them that the cheaper stone can be used the more likely are persons to build houses.

19,699. But that is the case in which the men have refused to enter into combination with the masters?—Not in Nottingham, they have conceded that point.

19,700. With regard to the introduction of worked stone into Nottingham, there the interest of the men is not the same as the interest of the masters; the masters have been in favour of the introduction of worked stone into the town, and the men have not agreed to it?—The men have now agreed to that in Nottingham. When you bring them together and show them the influence of these things you can manage much better than when they are left to themselves.

19,701. You have proved to us that the masters and men can agree together as to these points, but now I am asking you how the public is interested?—As against the public it is impossible it can do injury, because if you make things dear the public will not buy. You may take almost all our trades in England and say that except the building trade there is scarcely one in which we have not foreign competition. Let me take as an illustration axes and picks. A friend of mine, an Australian merchant, told me last week, "I have just imported a hundred cases of axes and "picks from America into the Thames to re-export "to Queensland, and I cannot buy them in Birming-"ham and Sheffield." Then take the iron trade; it is quite the same, they have the French and Belgian competitors. Take machinery, it is quite the same. Our own interest is to produce all our articles as cheap as we possibly can, and to pay the workmen as fair a price as we can, in order to compete with foreign manufacturers.

19,702. At the same time your interest is to get as much for these articles as you can make the public pay for them?—Of course we always do that, and everybody does.

19,703. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Have they shown any disposition to withdraw that rule of the masons at Bradford, which was discussed, I think, in your presence?—It was discussed in my presence, and I know that they got Mr. Applegarth down from London to meet me on that occasion, and he said, "It is a most "absurd rule; you had better go home, and to-mor-"row form a board of arbitration." They formed a board of arbitration, and I have no doubt they altered that rule.

19,704. (*Earl of Lichfield.*) I believe that one of the principal subjects of disagreement between the masters and men in your trade was the renting of the frames originally, was it not?—That was a very old case, in the time of the handlooms. I think we had ten or a dozen Acts of Parliament about it; now they are all a dead letter.

19,705. How is that point managed now?—These frames are used and rent paid for them, but the rent is agreed upon at the board of arbitration, as is everything else connected with the hosiery trade.

19,706. Formerly very high rents were exacted, were they not, for these frames belonging to the masters, and upon which the men worked?—Yes.

19,707. And upon that serious disagreement arose between the masters and men?—Yes.

19,708. And that has been entirely removed?—The practice has not been entirely removed. Rent is still paid, but the rate of the rent is agreed upon between the masters and the men. As far as the disagreement on the subject is concerned it is quite removed, although there are men I believe who still think that they ought not to pay that rent.

19,709. What is the value of one of these frames?—Take a frame that costs say 25*l.* or 30*l*; the rent of that frame would be 1*s.* 9*d.* a week, but that frame continually requires keeping up in repair.

19,710. Is that done by the masters?—Entirely. And at the end of seven years it requires a complete renewal, what is called a recruit, which will cost half as much as the original cost of the frame.

19,711. Some of the frames cost very much less than that, do they not?—Only the narrow frames for which the rent is in proportion, about 10*d.* a week. Those cost about half the money, or little more than half. I may say that I do not think that frame rent now pays on the average more than six per cent. when all the repairs are taken into consideration.

19,712. Do you consider that frame rent does not pay so large a per-centage as it used to do before the introduction of this system of arbitration into your district?—No it does not, because the middle men then also got a profit out of the working men which we put a stop to; if the hosier charged 1*s.* 9*d.* the middle man would charge 2*s.* 6*d.* or 3*s.* perhaps.

19,713. Do you think a manufacturer is receiving as large a return upon his capital embarked in these frames now as he received before the introduction of this system into your district?—No, that has been considerably modified. We have often discussed what rate has been received from the frames in the handlooms, and I am quite satisfied that it does not amount to more than six per cent.

19,714. Do you attribute that to the question having been discussed between the masters and the men, and the masters having been persuaded by the men that the rent they have hitherto exacted for these frames has been too large?—Yes, wherever it has been discussed it was found too large. Some five or six years ago it was entirely re-arranged, and a new rental fixed according to the width of the machine; and that has given satisfaction. Whenever a middle man is found charging more than that the men bring it before the board and the large employer is communicated with, and is told he is doing that which is wrong, and must refund. In all the steam power factories which are now fast taking the place of these old handlooms there are no charges at all, a man is paid so much per piece for his work and no reductions whatever are taken from it; and the result has been that both in hand work and in steam work the condition of the men has completely changed from what it was at the time when Sir Henry Halford and Lord John Manners took up their cause in about 1844; wages are very much larger. There is one piece of evidence that I think it is desirable should be put in, and that is that the workmen formed what they call the "three counties union" some two or three years ago, and in that three counties union, which included the counties of Nottingham, Leicester, and Derby, the whole trade delegates resolved that the legislation for the trades should in all cases be referred to the board of arbitration, and they bound themselves to abide by this decision; it was quite a voluntary act on their part.

19,715. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Do you find that the experience which you have gained as chairman of the board of arbitration has enabled you to learn, and has brought before your notice facts connected with the working of the trade, the minutiæ of the business, and the work of your neighbours, which you were not

previously acquainted with, and that in that way you know more of the practical working of the trade and what it is desirable that you should know?—Yes, much better, and the men too. We each understand our own position much better. I could illustrate that by one case. Some time ago the manufacturers wanted the men to work long hours because we were very busy. We had worked them then some two months 14 hours a day in the factory. Then a request came from the workmen that they should go back to 10 hours. It was thought then that it would inconvenience us, because we had a large demand from America. I was appointed with another manufacturer to meet the men and consider the question with them as to whether it was desirable to work long hours or not; they invited us to meet at the committee room of their trade union, where we met 30 or 50 of the workmen, and the evidence brought before us was so clear and convincing that it was most injurious to the men, and not beneficial to us either, that they should work long hours, that we went back to the board and reported so. Men got up, most respectable men in the trade, and said, and we knew that what they said was true, "I have worked these two months from 6 in the "morning till 8 or 10 at night, and the last two hours "in the factory are killing me, the gas and the heat "are such no man can endure; and when we go "home we require a stimulant. We suffer from "languor and lassitude, and several of us have broken "down in consequence." And we went back and reported that 10 hours a day was enough for them, and that a man could not perform the amount of work we had a right to expect of him if he made this extra effort; and we know ourselves that if we work extra hours in our counting-houses that produces fatigue, and the men are affected in the same way. This is the advantage of coming face to face. We learn what the workman's position is, and he learns what ours is. I ask permission to make two or three explanations that may seem to arise out of my evidence on the last occasion. In the first place it seems to me that I have been misunderstood with reference to deputations of manufacturers to other manufacturers who are not members of or not consenting parties to the board of arbitration. Now the board of arbitration agrees with the working men for a fixed statement of wages similar to the one that lies before you. When a manufacturer who does not agree to that scale of wages has any difficulty with his workmen his workmen always come to the board to ask us to pronounce whether they are in the right or not. If we pronounce that they are in the right the men have no alternative, as they think, if the masters will not pay that rate of wages, but to go and strike. Now our object in going as employers, often as friends, to our fellow manufacturer who may not be an assenting party to the board, is simply to persuade him that it is desirable to avoid a strike if possible. It is purely with conciliatory motives that we go, not at all to threaten or overawe him for a moment. I wish to clear up any idea of that kind. There is no attempt at dictation, for we have no power whatever of enforcing any decision, except the influence which we may exert to prevent any calamity in our own neighbourhood. The next point that I would like to speak to is this, and I do not think I referred to it before, that in addition to the working men sending their representatives to the board of arbitration, we have always willingly received deputations from each branch of the trade if they think that they can place before us in a clearer light by means of a deputation any complaint that they have to make. The first business at every one of our board meetings is always to receive deputations to take down any statements they may make; then we say, "Now you may retire, "and we shall decide by the aid of your own repre-"sentatives what it is best to do."

Mr. A. J. Mundella.

22 July 1868.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. Benjamin Pardon examined.

Mr. B. Pardon.

19,716. (*Mr. Merivale.*) You belong to a firm of printers in Paternoster Row?—Yes.

19,717. I think you have some observations to make on the subject of apprentices?—Yes, and that is all I would wish to detain the Commission with. The compositors do not assert any power of restriction as to the number of apprentices that an employer may take, but the other two branches, namely, the pressmen and the machinists, assert that power.

19,718. When you say machinists, are they the machine minders?—Yes, the men who attend to the steam machines. They say that no employer shall be permitted to take more than one apprentice for three journeymen. And on two occasions during the last 10 years I have had a strike of machine men in my employ on the question of taking an additional apprentice. The whole of the machine minders left about the year 1858, because I took a lad to the machine who was a little better than one whom I superseded, who was a stupid fellow; and simply on the question of this lad being engaged instead of the other the whole of the men, some of whom had been in my employ many years, left. But the second case, which occurred about five years since, was in my view perfectly intolerable. I have several sons, and am bringing three of them up to the business, and am naturally anxious that before they assume the post of directors they should understand what they are directing. I accordingly arranged with the overseer of the room that he should take my son into the room and give him, say, some six months' drilling in the room, that he might understand the general principles of the machines and the various details of the room. I was waited upon by a deputation from the room, at the suggestion of the trade union, pointing out the impropriety of which I was guilty in seeking to bring my own son into the room, there being already the full stipulated and allowed number of apprentices in the room. I pointed out to them that this lad could never by any possibility injure them in the labour market, because he was not intended to be a journeyman, but simply to get a smattering of knowledge. They said that that did not matter, he must be removed. It appeared to me a monstrous thing then, as it does now, that I should not be permitted to do with my son, or indeed with any other lad, as I chose; and the whole of the men left me on that occasion. There is also an unwholesome restriction in those two branches of the business with regard to the necessity for joining the union. It is made an absolute necessity. It was sought to be accomplished many years ago on the part of the compositors, and one or two compositors whom I had in my employ, who had objected to join the trade union, were annoyed and insulted in every conceivable way until they were obliged to join the union. In mentioning that I am now speaking of perhaps some 20 years since. But it is the case at the present moment that every man is virtually obliged to join the union of the respective branch of the business to which he belongs; and a year and a half ago this occurred to a man who had been in my employ 20 years or more as the overseer of the machine-room. I was rebuilding my office, and instead of erecting my machinery temporarily, I put my machine work out to other printers, and the men were consequently all discharged. This man as a machine overseer had not joined the union, and when he sought employment as a simple machine minder, he was hunted out of the house in which he was working because he did not belong to the union, and his own son who does belong to the union was obliged to leave his employment, which was of a temporary character, and take his father's place, in order that he out of his earnings might contribute something

Mr. B. Pardon.

22 July 1868.

towards the support of his father, whose wife at that time was dying. I mention this to show the intolerable tyranny of such actions; that men are not permitted to use the only capital of which they are possessed, their industry and their intelligence, in the way which they think best. That has presented itself to my attention very forcibly for many years, and when men have come to me to complain of my having another lad in the department beyond the number authorized by the trade regulations, I have said to them, "If your argument is valid it is equally "valid to be used by any other branch of industry. "Now what is to be done with the children as they "are born from day to day; would you have their "throats cut and send them out of the world sum-"marily?" Their answer is, "Sir, we cannot argue "that question; all we know is that we cannot suffer "this lad to be in the house; if he is we must leave."

19,719. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What was the result of that strike of which you have spoken?—The men left, and others were taken on in their places.

19,720. Did you find others?—I did with some difficulty. I print a great number of periodicals which must be out at the day and hour, and it placed me to extreme inconvenience.

19,721. Were those others trades unionists?—No, they were not trades unionists.

19,722. (*Mr. Merivale.*) I thought you said that there were none but unionists allowed by the men to work in the shops?—They do not permit any who are not members of the union to be employed while there are any of the members of the union out of work; that is the principle on which they act.

19,723. (*Chairman.*) I am asked to put this question to you. Can you specify any workman working in your house who has been compelled to join the union?—The only persons who were annoyed and insulted in that way, were persons who were compelled to join the compositors' union some 20 years ago, and their names I do not remember, but all the pressmen and machine men in my employ are members of the union, and no such difficulty arises with respect to them.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. J. Shreeve.

Mr. John Shreeve examined.

19,724. (*Chairman.*) What are you?—I am secretary to the Printing Machine Managers' Trade Society.

19,725. What do you wish to state to the Commission?—Mr. Pardon stated that when he put his son into the machine room as an apprentice, the men objected. That is perfectly true, they did object at first. But Mr. Pardon made a statement (or else I misunderstood him) that they struck through it. Now that I confidently deny; they never struck through that. There was a strike, as Mr. Pardon says, shutting up the house some five years previously to this, but not on Mr. Pardon's son going into the machine room. There has never been but one strike in Mr. Pardon's house to my knowledge, and that, as I say, was some years before, the house was then reopened and made fair, as we call it. When Mr. Pardon's son came into the machine room, the men objected to it, and there was a deputation waited upon Mr. Pardon, but the men never struck through it.

19,726. And did the son continue?—Yes. Mr. Pardon said he was only there to learn the routine of the business; we saw the fairness of that and took no further notice. I understood Mr. Pardon to say that we shut up the house through it. I contend that we did not Then Mr. Pardon says that his overseer, who did not belong to the Machine Managers' Association, in fact left it through being overseer or foreman; that when he pulled down his premises, and this man went out in the trade he was hunted out of every house because he was not an union man. I deny this. The man has since applied for re-admission into the society without solicitation, and was admitted immediately.

(*Mr. Pardon.*) The information I have given to the Commission was on the man's own statement.

(*Witness.*) Then I deny it; we never do such a thing as hunt a man out of a house; all we look to is that he has served his seven years to the business. He can either belong to the society or not.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. W. H. Blatchley.

Mr. William Hugh Blatchley examined.

19,727. (*Chairman.*) Do you belong to any union?—Yes, I am the secretary of the pressmen, that is, of the Printers' Pressmen's Society. The compositors are the people who pick up the types, and we are the people who print off the types.

19,728. Have you belonged to the society for some time?—Yes, and my father before me.

19,729. Have you been secretary for some time?—Nearly two years.

19,730. As far as you know has there been any interference on the part of your union with the perfect freedom of the men as to the employers they should be employed by, or as to the work they should do?—In some instances there has been, but it is merely to protect those interests which have been granted to us by our forefathers and for the carrying out of the scale that you have heard mentioned.

19,731. You do not interfere with the free choice of employers for the sake of protecting the interests handed down to you by your forefathers, as you express it?—No, not to that extent, but we insist upon the scale being carried out, that is, the price agreed to by the masters on their part, and the journeymen on the other part.

19,732. There has been a scale, a rate of wages prevailing for a very considerable time, as we have heard?—Yes.

19,733. And if any employer tries to depart from that scale, or any workman tries to get employment departing from that scale, you make an objection to it and interfere?—Yes.

19,734. To what extent do you interfere—in what way?—By the men generally speaking submitting a copy of the work to the committee of our union and their referring again then to the scale.

19,735. Then can the workmen judge whether the terms offered are according to your understanding of the scale?—Yes.

19,736. If it is so it is all right, but if it is not so, what is the course taken?—Generally the course taken is that perhaps the secretary of the trade with one or more of the committee or the chairman of the union waits upon the master and explains to him that such and such is not a sufficient remuneration for the men.

19,737. Not according to the scale, that is?—Just so.

19,738. Then that is settled as the case may be after discussion?—In a great number of cases, because we must give the masters credit just the same as we received from them to-day that the scale is positively our Act of Parliament, by which we are regulated, and of course we receive concessions from them and also concede to them in certain instances.

19,739. What I understood to be matter of complaint against you was that when there is difference of opinion and the matter has been referred to arbitration, if the award is in your favour it is abided by, but if the award is against you, you treat it as nothing

and set up a claim again shortly after. Are you aware of that charge?—There has been nothing in our branch of business in reference to conciliation yet, it is with regard to the other branch.

19,740. (*Mr. Merivale.*) Is there any fixed scale at all between masters and pressmen?—Yes, which was agreed on at the same time as the compositors' scale was agreed on; it is contained in Hansard's Typographia.

(*Mr. Channell.*) I beg to suggest that that scale is not in operation at the present day.

19,741. (*Mr. Merivale to the witness.*) Is there an existing press scale at the present day?—My friend, Mr. Channell, says that it is not in operation, and yet if you can have the term qualified it must be said to be in operation. In a number of houses where they still continue to do large descriptions of work they still work by the scale, but in other houses it is not so—it would make Mr. Channell's answer strictly correct if I illustrate it in this way,—that such has been the improvement in printing from the time that that scale was made that we do not profess to work simply by the scale, but that by a particular course we happen to meet the masters with their price, and it is mutually agreed upon; and sometimes these prices were even double the original prices agreed to. But you must bear in mind at the same time that when the scale was made there was such a difference between fine printing and the printing that is commonly called readable printing, that the workmen would not now produce quite half so much as they used to do at the time of the scale when it was in its full operation; so that the workmen doing as they did in 1810, when the masters and workmen agreed to the scale then worked upon, for 500 copies they would hardly produce 250 copies now, so much better is the work executed, and so much more of what we call "making ready" is adopted. When that scale was made wooden presses were generally in vogue, and the labour was very excessive, and the formes, that is printing matter, were laid on, and they were produced by so many blankets, and no what we call making ready or preparation was then thought of. But now, in lieu of the blanket going over the forme, there is so much paper put inside, which materially increases the labour of our workmen, and which produces a very nice flat surface, and produces the printing in a readable style.

19,742. Then in establishments which adopt the old press scale the business of your society is to enforce that scale.—Yes.

19,743. But in other cases to enforce what they conceive a reasonable understanding?—Yes. There are some men swifter than others in the trade; one man would make a job pay better than the other; we cannot put the same speed in all, nor can we put the same ability in everyone, and the smaller masters have some reason to complain at times at getting the most inferior workmen, while the larger firms paying in excess and getting the best workmen are generally most satisfied. For instance, De La Rue's people pay 7*s.*, while most other firms only pay 6*s.* per day for their work, the consequence is that De La Rue's people generally control the best workmen.

19,744. (*Chairman.*) Is there anything else that you wish to state?—Only this, that we adopt no coercive measures whatsoever in compelling persons to belong to our society, in any way or shape. They may, or they may not, belong to us; it is a matter of very little consequence to us whether they do join or whether they leave us alone, any more than this, that as a matter of course we rather hold out the hand of brotherhood to those who belong to us than to those who do not, because they pay and the others do not.

19,745. It may be that you like to live with a number of persons on friendly terms, and increase the number of people who are friendly towards you?—I think that that should be the feeling of all of us so far as we can promote it.

19,746. Have you superannuation allowances?—No; the funds that arrive in my hands and my colleague's hands are simply voted or paid for the purpose of protecting this scale that has been spoken of. The contribution is simply one penny per week each member.

19,747. To trade purposes, not for benefits, sickness, or death, or superannuation?—Some years ago a few of the younger ones thought that a death fund would be advantageous, and the consequences was that instead of so many trade raffles they introduced a system of paying 6*d.* to each death and 3*d.* to a female's death, and at each male's death we pay 8*l.* 8*s.* out of this fund and 2*l.* 2*s.* out of the union fund.

19,748. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You say that you seek to protect the scale of prices, and yet you say that you do not work by the scale of prices; what do you mean by that?—Because there is such an improved system of working.

19,749. I want you to tell us what you mean by saying that you protect the scale of prices and yet do not work by it?—We do not work less, but we get as much more as we possibly can.

19,750. Then you do not protect the scale of prices; you seek to change it, to raise it?—That is forced upon us through circumstances.

19,751. A scale of prices is a scale of prices; you seek to raise it. Your meaning of the word "protection" is to raise the scale?—I beg you will not take that. You must understand that in a number of houses even now the scale is strictly abided by; while if a master requires his work differently done from that scale, in a superior way, then a compromise is made between the men, and in lieu of 7*d.* per hour for their work (per hour you must bear in mind is working on 250 sheets and making the forme ready) they very often get 8*d.* or 9*d.*, or what not, according to the arrangement between the master and the man.

19,752. Then do not you see that it is not a scale of prices that you talk about, but what you are wanting to do is to get more wages?—I beg your pardon.

19,753. (*Mr. Harrison.*) The scale is adhered to for ordinary work and the special work is done at special contract prices?—Yes.

19,754. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Do the masters ever attempt to lower the scale?—In some instances it is rather difficult to get the point settled which you would like to have settled. There is only one case where we have been obliged to go to law that I know of, and in that case, although Mr. Commissioner Kerr said that 7*d.* per hour was not too much, he also said that 6½*d.* would be about a fair price, and the consequence was that Mr. Commissioner Kerr gave us 6½*d.*

19,755. My question was, did you ever find the masters endeavouring to lower the scale, to get work done under the scale?—Well, I have nothing to complain of in that direction; because our scale of prices was so very low that any person would almost prove that he had lost his senses by offering us less than the scale does.

19,756. Then you see I come back again to my difficulty about protecting the scale of prices. If there be no danger of lowering them, and the only thing that you have in view is raising them, is not what I said true, that protecting the scale means raising the scale?—No, because, as I told you before, a number of houses in London at the present time work simply on the scale, and had Mr. Rivington been here to-day he could have convinced you that such is the fact. I may state that Spottiswoode's house is a house where they do nine-tenths of the work on that scale. I presume that you have seen the difference between the printing put before you now and the printing put before our grandfathers.

19,757. Have you any rule in your branch of business about apprentices?—Yes, that has been already alluded to to-day. We admit one apprentice to three journeymen.

19,758. Have you ever found masters endeavouring to break through that rule?—Yes, in a number of cases; in fact these are the cheap printers of the city of London and other places besides.

Mr. W. H. Blatchley.

22 July 1868.

19,759. What do you do on those occasions?—We simply do the same in such a case as that as in many other cases; we go to the master and tell him that he is acting very wrong; but I never knew of our people striking nor of any intimidation whatever being used in our business. We act on the moral principle.

19,760. Supposing that the master is a pig-headed fellow and says he will do exactly as he likes, and that he will still keep a number of apprentices, what do you do?—We allow him to do it, but he does not have the best of the workmen to work for him, which very materially alters his trade.

19,761. You think that good workmen leave him and bad workmen go to him under those circumstances?—Yes.

19,762. That is your way of telling him what he ought to do?—Of remedying the defect.

19,763. You do not strike in reality in an open way, but the best men go from him?—Yes, generally speaking; but we always carry out our contracts with our masters; that is to say, if a lad is put to a man for a twelvemonth, which is generally the period adopted, he always continues the agreement time, we never draw that man away; so that we do not sanction his endeavouring to do any great injustice to the master, but by that means we endeavour to make him finish his contract.

19,764. As far as the apprentice question goes you say that the good men go away and the bad men remain when a master takes an undue number of apprentices?—Generally speaking that is the case.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. H. Self.

Mr. Henry Self examined.

19,765. (*Chairman.*) Are you a compositor?—Yes, and the secretary of the London Society of Compositors.

19,766. I believe you wish to make some comments on the evidence which has been given here to-day?—Yes. Prior to answering any questions with respect to the organization of our society, perhaps it would be better that I should make some observations on some two or three points which I noted of matters that were brought before the Commission by the gentlemen who have been examined on the part of the masters; and first, Mr. Levey in his examination stated that the masters' society was drawn into action by the men displaying a more active spirit in 1851 than they had hitherto done. All I can say is that if the men did display an active spirit in that year, (and it is a singular one to select, for it was a year of great slackness,) that active spirit was merely displayed in the direction of a scale mutually agreed upon between the employers and the employed; because Mr. Levey himself admits that no rise, that is, no general rise, in the wages of the compositors took place until the year 1866. But it is quite true that very many demands had been made from time to time which have remained dormant in consequence of men not thoroughly understanding the scale; and I presume that that is the active spirit which was aroused by the committees looking more closely into their scale, and the customary charges that have grown up. With respect to the arbitration case Mr. Levey seems to leave out a matter that I think it is important should be noticed.

19,767. It is the standing advertisement case that you are alluding to?—Yes; in that case it is quite true that we had established an arbitration court, but there was nothing in the rules of that arbitration court which made the decision of one case binding in all similar cases. Now the selection of the chairman was a very unfortunate thing, for he was connected indirectly, if not directly with a publishing firm.

19,768. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Do you mean the barrister?—Yes.

19,769. Do you recollect his name?—I can give it you. In that case Mr. Levey himself was the chief party interested as the defendant throughout. When it was first mooted the arbitration court decided, as Mr. Levey stated, against us. But it was so extraordinary a decision, so much at variance with the words of the scale, and with the thoroughly well-known practice of the trade running in accordance with the scale, that we could not assent to it as a matter that should govern all like cases, and we determined to try the question ultimately in a court of law. It was tried in the Court of Exchequer in the first instance before Chief Baron Pollock, who immediately that he took the scale in his hand said that it was a matter of wonder to him how any man taking that scale in hand and reading it could interpret it as the arbitrator had done. The result of that trial was that by the suggestion of the defendants' own counsel it was referred to the full Court of Exchequer, and a verdict was taken for the plaintiff subject to that reference, and Mr. Barstow was ordered to examine witnesses in the case. And the two questions ultimately submitted to the Court were, "Were the compositors bound by the interpretation in one case, "and secondly, If not, was the interpretation of the "compositors the correct one?" The Court decided in favour of the men. The masters, dissatisfied, appealed to the Court of Error, and the eleven judges all decided in favour of the men; and I think that nothing of the kind has since been before the arbitration court. In fact it was understood after that that the arbitration court was at an end as far as the two parties were concerned.

19,770. (*Chairman.*) You are paid for the standing advertisements?—Yes.

19,771. Paid as if you set up the type afresh?—Yes.

19,772. It seems strange that when you do not do any work you should be paid as if you had done the work?—Our scale was formed upon the give and take principle—perhaps not a very wise one.

19,773. That is the interpretation of the words of the scale?—Yes.

19,774. And if the law is so, you take the benefit of the interpretation that the law gives you?—Yes. Then with regard to the men being obliged to defer to the law of a society, I say that the law of our society is simply this, to defend the scale agreed upon between the men and the employers. That is the primary law of our society. If the men come to the committee of the society the committee give them advice in accordance with what they believe to be the meaning of the scale, or upon a doubtful custom that may have arisen in the trade where the scale is silent. The men are not sought out by the committee; the men always seek out the committee. If there is any dispute it is placed before the chapel of the house, that is, the aggregation of the men, for their decision. If the chapel are unable to decide, then they send down to the committee for their decision, and the committee being composed of men drawn from various houses in the trade, and men of experience, they are enabled to give a conclusive opinion on the subject. If it should happen that our opinion runs counter to the employers, and we believe that we are right in the interpretation of the scale, we undoubtedly should proceed to enforce it legally, so far as the law would sanction our demand and no further. That is the action of our committee. So that the men in deferring to the law of their society, are deferring to that law which is a binding one between themselves and their employers; that is to say, the scale.

19,775. All that had the sanction of the master printers, I think; but what they complain of is, that although the committee are extremely reasonable, when they come back to their constituency they receive orders to make extreme demands. The evidence given to us was rather that the committee would be satisfactory, if they were allowed to decide finally, but the committee had to take the views of the whole society, and that the resolution of the society

was for the most part against the committee?—That was in the case of the advance of wages question. I am now speaking of the mere questions of dispute which constantly arise in different offices as to the interpretation of this or that particular clause of the scale.

19,776. Then you say that the real essence of your society is that every member of the body should consult the governing committee of that body and be guided by the decision of that committee?—Yes; but what I wish to show is this, that the committee in no degree take action to force men into contests with their employers. The initiative is taken by the men themselves coming to the committee.

19,777. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You heard the statement made just now that the decision of the Court of Error led really to the injury of the men by forcing the masters to have establishment hands who printed these advertisements, which the men who worked by piecework would otherwise have printed; do you agree in that?—That may to a certain extent be true, but I do not believe it to be true to the extent assumed, for the reason that these advertisements are usually brought in in a great hurry at the end of a month, and the establishment hands are not readily applicable for any such work. It must in many cases be distributed through the house, and come into the hands of the piece men. At any rate at the time that it was contested we considered it a very important matter, because in the aggregate it made a very considerable difference of amount in the wage fund of the London compositors during the 12 months. Whether the full injury suggested by Mr. Wyman has accrued I do not know, but I am rather inclined to think that he is wrong.

19,778. There is another thing which you must have heard, and on which I should like to have your opinion. You have heard the proposal to establish courts of arbitration, and to give its judgments the sanction of law. Do you concur in that proposal, and would you rather have that court of arbitration than the ordinary courts of justice?—I think it would be better that we should have a court of arbitration. The difficulty appears to me to be to get a court that would be satisfactory to both parties.

19,779. Do you also agree in the view that its decisions should be enforced, as those of a court of law, upon persons that do not belong to the arbitration court?—No, I think that would create great dissatisfaction in the minds of a great body of men. I think that the arbitration court, if formed, should be accepted voluntarily, and afterwards their decisions should be binding only upon those who are assenting parties.

(*Mr. Wyman.*) I was only assuming assenting parties.

(*Witness.*) There is another point that I wish to explain with reference to our recent rise of wages in 1866 which was spoken of by Mr. Wyman. It was stated that the men took the matter out of the hands of their committee. Well, I am fain to confess that the men did go ahead of their committee, for the men believed that the masters really offered them too little—that was the plain fact. The committee were very desirous of doing everything that would prevent anything approaching to a strike; that was the policy of the committee, and they thought, and I think so still, that by a little patience there might have been got what we have got. However, the action of the men was more trenchant, and they got it immediately, while, I believe, we should have had to wait a little longer to get it by our policy. Then it is said that the recent rise of wages has driven the work out of the town. I must beg leave to doubt it very much. I have heard letters read to-day stating that such and such firms have had work sent into the provinces. Well, that was the case long before the advance of wages took place. I believe that the three firms of Nisbet, Seeley, and Low, were in the constant habit of sending a certain class of work into the country long before 1866, and so it has been with other firms.

19,780. (*Mr. Harrison to Mr. Wyman.*) You did not say, did you, that the loss of work in London was owing to the rise of wages in 1866?—I stated that it was the cause of a flow of work from London into the country, which work would have remained in London if the wages had not been altered. We have had practical evidence of it in our own experience and from what I have gathered from others.

(*Witness.*) All I have got to say is that contemporaneously with the depression that has been existing in the metropolis, a similar depression has existed in all the great towns in the provinces, and even in Scotland, which it is insisted upon is getting the greatest proportion of the work abstracted from London. Now the change effected by our 1866 arrangement left the London printers in a better position with respect to Edinburgh prices than they had occupied for many years before, for our rise when compared with the rise that the Edinburgh men had got before us, was not of so great an amount as that which they had obtained, and so consequently the London master is now competing with the Edinburgh master upon more favourable terms than he was in 1862.

19,781. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Might not this have been the case, that there being a greater rise in Edinburgh, as you say, than in London, heretofore business flowed to Edinburgh which now flows to the continent?—With respect to that I may say that a short time ago I was reading a letter from Leipzig bearing on the subject, sent to a friend of mine, a gentleman in the employment of a large firm in the city. We had been told that the work was going to the continent, and I asked my friend to write to the secretary at Leipzig and make the inquiry, and the secretary's answer was, "No, we do not find anything "here further than that which usually comes from cer- "tain London houses—that is, classical work—and so "far from trade being brisk with us from an overflow "of work from London it is slack with us."

19,782. You have heard the statement in regard to Mr. Murray, whose work is not classical, that a large proportion of his printing, not classical printing, flows to the continent; have you any idea whether that is correct?—I have no information on that point.

(*Mr. Wyman.*) I think it will be in this way, that the work is composed, and set up in Germany, and the plates are struck off in England, and are worked in England after the first edition. Stereotypes are created abroad and they are struck off in England, because the machine power here is superior to the continental machine power.

(*Witness.*) If it existed to any very great extent it would affect very materially the compositors' means of employment here in London; and it has been insisted that there are a great many men out of employment. Well, that is quite true at present; but that want of employment amongst the London printers is referable to a cause well understood by the Commissioners, a cause which has not ceased to operate, namely, the panic of 1866. All the speculative spirit which employed a large number of men and had gradually drawn them to the centre of all labour, here in the metropolis, seems to have been crushed out, and a large amount of Parliamentary and legal work which employed in those seasons a great number of hands has suddenly ceased; and hence there has happened a great dearth of employment amongst the printers. But if you take the general run of printing work I do not believe in that dearth at all.

19,783. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Do you mean to say that Parliamentary work has diminished in the year 1868 from what it was in 1867?—Yes, and still more from what it was in previous years. The immense amount of work that arises out of Parliamentary bills has employed a great number of compositors hitherto, the private bills notably so. They have been very few in number lately. Then there are articles of association and all sorts of work that flow from those bills as well; and they have all suddenly ceased. Out of 3,300 men on my books, I have 127 who had up to yesterday signed their names as out of employment. I am quite aware that in many of the houses there is but partial

Mr. H. Self.
22 July 1868.

employment, but this is usually the worst season of the year, just in summer. Those are the only observations that I wish to make upon the matters which have been placed before the Commissioners on the part of the employers, for I am very happy to find that they had no great charges to bring against our association; indeed, nothing at all.

19,784. You say that Parliamentary printing has diminished; have other classes of literature been diminished, novels, histories, poems, and so on?—No, I think not. As an illustration of the way in which the publishers are proceeding, I may mention this fact. Here are two great firms, Messrs. Warne and Routledge; Mr. Routledge gets a shilling Shakespeare printed in the country, and he gets a nine days' start of Mr. Warne; Mr. Warne gets another shilling Shakespeare printed by a London house. Though Mr. Routledge had a nine days' start, Mr. Warne was only two days behind him. And that appears to be the chief difficulty of the country printers in competing with London printers—the necessity of completing the work at a given time; and the question of $\frac{1}{2}d.$ a 1,000 more or less for the composing I do not think is at all material to the issue.

19,785. That question of time in such publications as the shilling Shakespeare may be of great importance; but take an historical work, would you suppose that in that a question of time would enter?—No; there is a certain class of work which I have no doubt they would be enabled to do as well in the country as in town, given the time, although many historical works are hurried on very much by their authors. I will now give the Commission as succinctly as I can a notion of the nature of our organization. I should say that up to the year 1810 there had been no real organization of the London compositors. The men had managed by extemporizing committees for any particular occasion, to meet the masters, even so early as 1785. However, in 1810 was the chief settlement, and the scale was formed which is practically now the scale in operation in London for compositors' work. Between then and 1816 there was no society of London compositors that I can find a notice of, but in the year 1816 a very important lowering of one portion of our scale was effected by the decision of the masters who had hitherto acted with the men in committees to settle the question. The masters, about 20 of them I think, by a resolution did away with one of the agreements with reference to reprints. Now this suggested to a great many of the compositors of that day the necessity of forming an association to defend that compact; and accordingly an association was formed, but it did not number a great many. In 1820 another association was formed of the daily newspaper hands to defend their compact. In 1826 a third society was formed, also to defend the scale of 1810; and the 1816 society, and the 1826 society, were amalgamated in 1834, and became what was called "The London Union of Compositors," the daily newspaper hands still remaining a separate society to represent their interests. The society formed in 1834 then consisted, I think, of about 800 members—the two societies united; but in the second year of its amalgamation it amounted to something like 1,700 members, and it went on increasing from time to time. Then it began to decrease from various differences in the views of the compositors themselves; and ultimately another change was effected in 1844, when all the various typographical associations throughout England, Ireland, and Scotland were united in one general society, called "The National Typographical Association," the country being mapped out into districts, London forming the south-eastern district, and so on. However, the differences of feeling, and the different modes of payment and customs of the provinces as compared with London, soon broke that up; it did not last above three years, I think, and then the London society as it is at present constituted was formed, namely in 1848. (The newspaper hands' society, which was established in 1820, not amalgamating with the general society till 1853.) The first year of its existence it consisted of about 1,000 members, and it has gradually gone on increasing in numbers until at the present time there are 3,300 men on my books. When it first started it did so upon the basis of a shifting system of payment, that is to say, men paid according to their earnings; if a man earned little he paid little, if he earned much he paid much, and so on. Of course there was a minimum point, and a maximum point. The maximum point up to 1863 was 4*d.* per week, and the minimum 2*d.*; but in 1863, in consequence of a change effected in the organization of the society, and the members determining that the whole area of membership should be open to the receipt of a certain amount of relief when unemployed, the subscriptions were raised, and the rates ran from 2*d.* to 6*d.* per week, and that is the position that they at present occupy as far as their subscriptions go. In reference to the government of the society, it is governed by a committee, consisting of 12 persons from the book trade and two from the news department. I should explain to the Commission that there is a difference between what we understand by the book trade and the news trade. Newspaper work is paid for at a very much higher rate than book work.

19,786. Is that because the men on newspaper work work to later hours?—Yes, generally because they work at all sorts of hours, and they have what we call short takings, that is, a man has two or three lines, and has to cast it off, and has the difficulty of making even lines; he has not a blank to run out, but he must complete his work and make it come into a certain number of lines. Hence it was thought better that they should be paid at a certain rate, and get rid of all extras, I suppose. The book men (although the book and news compositors now form one association) are distinct in their charges from the newspaper men. But they are both governed by a committee of 13—that is to say, 12 of the book department and one of the news department, with the exception that there is a committee which meets once a month for the consideration of questions solely appertaining to newspapers. The newspaper men have the right to send two to sit upon the general committee, but they seldom send more than one. To that committee all questions of dispute are referred, by chapels sending down deputations to ask the opinion of the committee; and they have general governing powers, and give general advice, and carry on all the action of the society. They are always liable to have their judgments overruled by a quarterly delegate meeting, or by a general meeting. We have a chief secretary and an assistant-secretary, who also acts as librarian and housekeeper, we renting premises for ourselves.

19,787. (*Mr. Harrison.*) The reports will show all this, I presume?—The reports which I forwarded some time ago to the secretary of the Commission will show pretty well the matters which I am now detailing. I have merely detailed them in order to invite any questions which may arise out of our organization.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. R. Lee.

Mr. Richard Lee examined.

19,788. (*Chairman.*) I believe that you have some statements which you wish to make to the Commission?—Yes. Mr. Levey mentioned that in 1851 or 1852 pressing cases arose causing the masters' association to be revived. Now, with regard to 1851 and 1852, I can answer for it, from my own recollection, distinctly, that they were years of very great slackness in the business, as in 1851 I left a very large office to go to work at Mr. Levey's own place on a new French newspaper, and this may possibly bear on the point of foreign competition. That French newspaper was "The Illustrated London

News en Français." Mr. Levey preferred having British compositors to importing Frenchmen to do it. The compositors engaged were Englishmen or Scotchmen, with one or two foreigners, and they were on that paper till just before the *coup d'état* of December 2, 1851, when its admission into France was suppressed. I think that that would show the Commission that Mr. Levey did not think much of the quality of the foreign competition, if he engaged Englishmen to work on that French newspaper. With reference to the standing advertisements, the men gained, I think, very greatly by that decision of the Court of Error, although it cost them a large amount; because there were certain publications which could not be put upon the establishment. I know that in a house I was connected with at the time the decision was given, there was a large amount due to the men pending the decision, and they received it. Mr. Wyman spoke of the classification of advertisements. Now, many advertisers highly object to any classification: they will not have their advertisements placed on the pages where similar advertisements occur. Take sewing machines, for example. I am speaking now of the wrappers and advertisements of the "London Journal" and of the advertising sheets of Madame Tussaud's Catalogue. The advertiser sends the advertisement, and with it he sends this: "I will not have this in, if another of a similar article goes into the same page;" so that the printer cannot classify them.

19,789. Cannot you move an advertisement freely?—Yes; but it was stated that the advertisements were classified, that they might be kept compact in pages. Mr. Wyman admitted that the compositors' wages had, generally speaking, little to do with the price of books. So that we have not very much to say on that point; it is only with regard to the rise of wages at the end of 1866–7. Working as I have done for a number of years now, in a house where a great deal of private parliamentary work is done, and legal work, and general works of societies, memoranda of association, articles of association, prospectuses, and all work pertaining to proposed speculative schemes, I can answer for it that the work has gone off purely on account of the commercial crisis. Only two years ago we did nearly 60 private parliamentary bills, I think, and last year, or rather in the current year, they diminished to about 15. They went down last year, and they went down much more this year. Then, of course, the less number of private parliamentary bills, the less number of private committees, the less quantity of evidence, the less quantity of petitions for and against, and the less quantity of a great deal of work which must necessarily be done in a hurry, and done in London. The general work has gone off very much in consequence of that commercial crisis. With regard to the bookselling trade, I have no doubt that if trade generally was good, the booksellers would do better than they can do when trade generally is bad, the same as in every other trade; and consequently that must have affected us a great deal more than any supposed connexion between the compositors obtaining an advance of wages at the commencement of last year, and the diminution of employment. With regard to the question of foreign competition, I may suggest that the foreign paper is perhaps the cause of work there being very much cheaper. With regard to that Leipzic letter, I may say I know the gentleman who wrote over to the secretary of the Leipzic society, who mentioned it before a general meeting of the compositors there, and it was denied that there was any increase of work. With regard to its going into the country, I can say that in the case of historical works, and so on, it is not a mere compositors' wages question, but it has a great deal to do with the work being properly done; an author who valued the appearance of his works would like, for instance, the division of words looked after, the spacings between the words made equal, and so on. To get all these things you must get superior workmen. You must have, for instance, the colour of an equal character; you do not want to open a book and find two pages of a colour quite light, and a sheet or two further on a colour quite heavy and black. That is very much the kind of work which is done in the country. I recently had passing through my hands various works for extracts to be printed, as specimens sent from publishers of the literary quality of their books. One of these books was printed at Aylesbury: I never saw more wretched spacing, punctuation, or printing generally in my life than there was in that work. And another work that came from a house close to Mr. Wyman's was a model of what good work should be in the colour of the pages, the inking, the carefulness generally with which it was produced, and the pleasure with which you could read it. That employer is a man who attaches some value to what you may term good printing.

19,790. You say that the rise of wages has not driven work away?—No. Then there was a house mentioned, namely, Waterlow's, as to which it was stated that they do not pay the scale in that house; now that is quite a mistake. The great majority of the compositors at Waterlow's are members of our society. Up to the end of last May I was chairman of our committee. There is a rule that no house can be on the committee more than 12 months, so as to enlarge the area of selection, and prevent the formation of cliques; and during 12 months that I was there, I had for one of my colleagues a representative of the members of the society at Waterlow's, so that it is a total mistake to say that Waterlow's house does not contain men belonging to the society.

(*Mr. Self.*) I have 70 members on my books belonging to that house.

(*Witness.*) Then, too, the foreign paper, as I have said, has to do with the question of price. If any gentleman on this Commission gets hold of a good classical work, and wants to make any marginal note on it, he does not care to have that note unintelligible to himself through the ink running together. With regard to the point which was mentioned about a daily newspaper, I believe that if the men obtained their money, it was owing to their ground of claim, and the firm wanted not only to get work from the men, but a fortnight's work out of them in another way on other kinds of work. With regard to arbitration courts, I am of the same opinion as Mr. Self entirely.

(*Mr. Scrouch.*) May I be allowed to remark that in nearly every printing office in which I have worked the employers have largely increased their machinery in the last 10 years, and I could instance many employers of printers who have increased their machinery and enlarged their premises. There was a sentence in a letter read this morning in which it was stated that the machine managers' society allowed most tyrannical despotism to be exercised in maintaining their rules in many offices in London. I do not think that such a statement as that should go forth to the world unless substantiated. I think that such a statement should be withdrawn, or the letter not published. I do not think that there is an employer in London who can instance any act of tyrannical despotism exercised by the machine managers' society in the maintenance of their rules. They are the most peaceful measures that they have adopted, and in extreme cases the men leave of their own accord. As to our allowing tyrannical acts, I never heard of the perpetration of one. I could state that never at any time have we tolerated such.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to Friday next at 11 o'clock.

1, Park Prospect, Westminster, Friday, 24th July 1868.

PRESENT:

The Right Hon. the EARL of LICHFIELD.
Sir DANIEL GOOCH, Bart., M.P.
HERMAN MERIVALE, Esq., C.B.
JOHN ARTHUR ROEBUCK, Esq., Q.C., M.P.
FREDERIC HARRISON, Esq.

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF LICHFIELD IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. HENRY SELF further examined.

Mr. H. Self.
24 July 1868.

19,791. (*Chairman.*) I believe that you wish to make a reply to some statements made here by the master printers the other day?—I have made all the reply that I think is necessary upon the special matters which were introduced by the employers, with the exception of one point which I omitted to mention. It was assumed that in the overriding of the views of the committee by the general body of the men in the question of our advance of wages, it was done simply by a sort of catch vote, or that a kind of mob law was imposed upon us. But the real fact is, that before the ultimate decision was come to as to whether the masters' propositions should be accepted or not, a deliberate ballot of the trade was taken, so that there was nothing like imposing upon the trade by a mere catch vote, and the excited views of a public meeting. That is a very important consideration, and I merely wish to state it now in order that there may be no misapprehension of the character of the decision ultimately come to by the compositors.

19,792. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) How were the delegates chosen who then represented the men, and from whose decision they retired, as it were?—There was a general meeting of the members.

19,793. They elected delegates to represent them?—Yes.

19,794. And the delegates representing them came to an agreement that was afterwards rescinded by another general meeting?—No, they did not come to an agreement, for they told the masters that they were not enabled to assent to the agreement. They did so far assent that they were of opinion that what had been offered should be accepted by the compositors; but they could not absolutely accept that which was offered without reference to the general body.

19,795. Have you any means of ascertaining the powers given to that delegation?—The powers given were simply these, that they should draw up a memorial claiming certain things which were left to the judgment of the committee appointed, and that they were then to go into conference upon it, and before they admitted any settlement upon the matters proposed, they were to refer to a general meeting for their decision.

19,796. Were the masters given to understand that that was the limited power of the delegation?—Yes; I clearly gave them to understand that, because the masters at first claimed from us absolute powers of settlement.

19,797. You will see why I ask these questions. They are very important, because if the masters were not informed, then they might complain, but if they were informed they could not complain?—We informed them by letter that we had no such power. The reports which bore upon the question, and which I believe I sent in 1867 to the secretary of the Commission at that time, clearly point that out.

19,798. (*Chairman.*) What advice did you give to the members of your society after the interview with the masters?—The advice that we gave them was this, that they should accept what was offered. We thought that better than that any hazards should be run which might possibly lead up to a strike. That seemed to be the feeling of the committee, and although we did not for a moment bate one jot of our belief that what we had asked was fair to ourselves, we thought that we might in time get the remainder.

19,799. Was that advice given at a public meeting to the members of your society?—Yes, in a report read to them.

19,800. And at that public meeting they decided to refer the matter to the members of the society in general by ballot, as I understand?—Yes, by ballot. After the masters made their offer the following resolution was moved at the general meeting: "This "meeting, in authorizing the acceptance and confir- "mation of propositions 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, as modified, "does so as an earnest proof of the desire of the "trade to terminate by amicable means long standing "grievances; at the same time this meeting ex- "presses its firm conviction that any agreement "which does not provide for an increase both in "the price per 1,000 and the establishment rate of "wages cannot be regarded as a final and complete "satisfaction of the just claims of the compositors of "London to that fair recompense for their labour, of "which they have been deprived by the great depre- "ciation in the value of money."

19,801. Practically, then, you may say that the question was decided at that meeting in favour of adopting the masters' terms?—No; upon that resolution, the following amendment was moved, and adopted by the meeting, "That this meeting being of "opinion that the memorial is based on equity and "justice, and worthy of the strenuous support and "advocacy of the trade in every possible manner, "decline most respectfully to accept the modifications "proposed by the masters, and hereby affirms its "determination to uphold the memorial in its "entirety." That was supplemented by another amendment, "That the report of the special com- "mittee, together with the masters' propositions, be "printed and circulated in the trade, and that a "ballot of the trade be taken as to whether those "modified propositions be accepted or not."

19,802. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) I want to understand the history of this case. I find that on May the 1st 1866, a letter was written by the Association of Master Printers, in which it is said that they propose to refer the five propositions to a committee. This is the letter written by Mr. Moore to you, "In reference to "the proposed conference between a committee of "employers and a committee of compositors, I have "to state that the employers have on their part con- "fided the discussion, and also the settlement of the "five propositions in question, to a committee of "eight masters, whom they have selected for that "purpose; and I am directed to inquire whether the "compositors who have been deputed on the part of "the general body have had confided to them also "the absolute settlement of those propositions." Then, on May the 4th, there is this answer sent by you, "In answer to your communication of May the "2d" (May the 1st I suppose it should be), "I have to "inform you that the following resolutions were "passed at the general meeting of the compositors of "London, held on the 28th of March: Resolved, "first, 'That this meeting, while regretting the refusal "'of the master printers of London to grant the prayer "'of the memorial of the compositors for an advance "'of wages, &c., is of opinion that the memorial, being "'based on equity and justice, is worthy the strenuous "'support and advocacy of the trade in every possible "'manner, and this meeting in accepting the confer- "'ence do so without prejudice to questions one and "'seven.' Resolved, second, 'That the committee "'entrusted with the duty of conferring shall not "'accept any modification of the five points open for "'discussion without first referring such modifications "'to a special general meeting.'" Now, so far the masters had perfect notice that that was the state of the case?—Yes.

19,803. But let me bring your attention to the next paragraph of the letter—"In view of these resolutions, "the special committee desire me to express their "earnest hope that they will not prove an insuperable "difficulty in the way of the conference desired, as "they feel satisfied that whatever agreement of opinion "might be arrived at between its members would "probably be accepted by the compositors of London "generally, and an amicable settlement come to." Do not you think that by that language the masters might probably have been led to believe that the compositors would adhere to the resolutions of their delegation?—I think it quite probable that they might, indeed I had been led to believe that myself, and I might say for the committee that they were deeply impressed with the belief at the outset of the agitation that their views would be confirmed by the general body. There is no doubt about that, and I wrote that letter in the most perfect good faith, and in the belief that what would be decided by the two committees would be accepted by the general body.

19,804. Then you do not wonder at the surprise and some degree of pain on the part of the masters on finding that their resolution and yours had been rescinded?—Not at all. I do not wonder at it by any means. I was desirous when I was before the Commission on the last occasion of pointing out generally the way in which we proceed in carrying out the objects of our society, the primary object being undoubtedly to defend the mutual compact between ourselves and the masters. I have already stated that the committee which governs the society does not take the initiative in disputes. Indeed, we have a printed document of which I have a copy here now, which will show that rather than take the initiative, we suggest that chapels—that is, the aggregate of the compositors in the several houses—should first take the question up, and that then, if they are unable to settle it, they should appeal to their committee, because, of course, on the committee are assembled men drawn from all sorts of houses, and the chances are, that if it is a customary charge or a scale charge they would be better able to get a fair interpretation of the scale or custom by that means. We say in the document to which I allude that "whenever "any trade question arises which cannot be settled by "the members in the house, a deputation should be "sent by the chapel to ask the advice of the trade "committee." That is the general action which is implied in that paragraph; settle it if you can, if not, then appeal to the trade committee in the interests of the compact made with the employers. That is our view. I have prepared an abstract of the income and expenditure of the London Society of Compositors for the 10 years ending January 1868, and that abstract will show clearly the amounts paid under certain heads (which constitute the bulk of our expenditure), the chief of which is relief to unemployed members. And I should here state that up to the year 1863 we had a separate fund called the Provident Fund, to belong to which was optional on the part of the members of the trade fund, the trade society undertaking to supplement their efforts by a payment of 200*l.* a year. However, they found in the course of years that that did not succeed, for they had considerable demands outside the 200*l.* to assist the unemployed, and in 1863 they determined to extinguish the Provident Fund as a separate fund, to raise the general subscriptions of the society, and to extend the unemployed claim over the whole area of the members. Of course, therefore, it will be found on this paper that our payments to the unemployed have very materially increased since 1863.

19,805. (*Chairman.*) Have you put in any reports for those years containing any financial statements?—I propose to put in this abstract of the income and expenditure for 10 years past, which will deal with all the chief heads. Then there is an outside column for sundry disbursements which it is not necessary to set out in detail.

19,806. When was it that you decided upon combining the two funds?—In 1863.

19,807. Your abstract then, in fact, will go beyond that?—It will embrace four complete years of the operation of the new system. The actual income for the 10 years was 25,105*l.*, excluding fractions.

19,808. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Do you mean per annum?—No, for the 10 years. Out of that sum 9,836*l.* 10*s.* has been paid for the relief of the unemployed members; 2,756*l.* 1*s.* has been paid for law and defence of scale. I should explain that under that head of "law and defence of scale" are included very heavy legal expenses which may have been incurred in the prosecution of suits for the recovery of the usual fortnight's notice and various other matters that we have found it necessary to contest in a court of law, and the remainder has been spent in what is commonly known in trade societies as the strike fund, although in many of these cases they have been lock-outs and not strikes, that is to say, a master has been annoyed by some question perhaps being raised in his house with respect to charges, and he has discharged the man or three or four men, and in such cases, if the committee think the men unjustly discharged, they simply place them on the strike fund, and take no further notice of the matter. It has frequently happened that these sums which have been paid have arisen out of matters in which the masters have practically admitted the right of the man's claim by paying the money, but feeling annoyed they have discharged the man, or men, afterwards.

19,809. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You say that you united the two funds in 1863?—Yes, in 1863 we extinguished the Provident Fund as it existed in a separate form, raised the general subscriptions, and threw the unemployed relief over the whole area of membership.

19,810. Will you tell me your distinct reason for doing that?—The reason was this; we found that the voluntary principle did not act well. There were not above 600 or 700 members who volunteered to belong to the separate society, and although their subscriptions were supplemented by 200*l.* a year from the trade fund, still there was a constant claim for further assistance to the unemployed, therefore we thought that we had better get rid of it as a separate fund.

19,811. In your original state you found that the subscriptions to the trade fund were not sufficient?—No, I allude to the separate fund, the Provident Fund. This Provident Fund was the fund of a separate society, to belong to which was perfectly optional on the part of the members of the trade fund.

19,812. Was the Provident Fund the one which provided for men out of work?—Yes, for men out of work.

19,813. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Not for men on strike?—No, not for men on strike. We have a separate fund altogether for that, called "the strike fund."

19,814. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) How do you know what is contributed to the strike fund?—There is no contribution to this or that fund; they are all governed by the general subscriptions.

19,815. They are now, but how was it before?—Before that it was the same.

19,816. You under one name got a subscription and applied it for strike purposes, or provident purposes, or benefit purposes, as it occurred to you to be wise or proper to do?—Yes, any purposes embraced in the rules which I have already handed in to the Commission.

19,817. Coming back to my previous question you changed the system because under the voluntary system you found that the money did not come in sufficiently for those purposes which you call provident purposes?—Yes.

19,818. Does it now?—Yes; I think the present system will answer very well. We raised our general subscriptions to such a point as we thought would meet all exigencies.

19,819. What is the difference, what rise was there?—It is impossible to test that when you come to throw open the whole area of 3,300 men and compare it with 600.

19,820. I mean each particular man; how much did he subscribe formerly, and how much when you raised

Mr. H. Self.

24 July 1868.

the subscriptions?—We had but three rates formerly, 2*d.*, 3*d.*, and 4*d.*; now we have five rates, 2*d.*, 3*d.*, 4*d.*, 5*d.*, and 6*d.*, and the greatest bulk I should say of the members under the first arrangement might possibly have paid the maximum, 4*d.*

19,821. What do you mean by "rate" there?—Our rate of payment is governed by a man's earnings, we do not all pay alike; if a man earns nothing and from that up to 15*s.*, he pays 2*d.* a week; from 15*s.* up to 20*s.*, 3*d.*; from 20*s.* to 25*s.*, 4*d.*; from 25*s.* to 35*s.*, 5*d.*; and from that point upwards, 6*d.*

19,822. From which rate do you get the most money?—I apprehend that the average would stand at about 5*d.*

19,823. You think that 5*d.* pays the most money?—I think 5*d.* is the average.

19,824. (*Mr. Merivale.*) How do you ascertain the amounts that they do earn, is it by their own statement?—We have a peculiar system; we have a great many houses here in London to which we issue collecting sheets, and the aggregate of the men, called "chapels," appoint a "father," who is the president, and a clerk whose duty it is to collect all dues for the society and other matters; and the clerk collects these dues and pays them over to me in bulk. That is how the general amount is collected. Of course there are individual members who pay their own subscriptions and upon whose honour I am bound to rely for a fair return.

19,825. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) There is a question which I want to put to you, and which you are quite capable of thoroughly answering. It has been suggested (I do not say more than suggested) by some persons that it would be wise to have an account of all your different funds—funds subscribed for benefit purposes, funds subscribed for what you call provident purposes, and funds subscribed for strikes; that the accounts of such societies should be so kept that you could see distinctly what was subscribed for strike purposes, what for benefit purposes, and what for provident purposes. Do you see any objection to establishing a plan like that?—No, I see no particular objection to that. Our fund is not based upon that principle, but an analysis could readily be made which would supply that information at any time, because you can see by the proportion paid in and the proportion paid out what relative bearing the one has upon the other.

19,826. I will tell you the real object of my question. Supposing that you have a large sum of money subscribed for what are called benefit purposes (I am not talking of your trade specially, but of any trade), there comes perhaps a pressure upon the strike fund and they have not money enough in that fund, then they transfer a large sum of money that has been subscribed for benefit purposes to strike purposes, and a provident-minded man who, looking forward for instance to the possibility that he might be sick and that he might be injured by accident, has subscribed for that purpose, finds that his funds have been taken away from the purpose to which he subscribed them and diverted to the strike fund. It is proposed by certain persons that that should be prevented, and that money subscribed for one purpose should not be applied to another. Do you see any objection to that?—Not so long as members choose to accept such rules. But in a purely trade fund we undertake to do nothing of the kind, we collect a fund which proposes to carry out certain objects, and we do not propose to guarantee a man any one of these benefits further than the funds will go. In a benefit society, however, I can readily understand that if a man subscribes for a special object that fund should be perfectly secured to him, and that it should not be invaded for any purpose foreign to that for which he subscribed.

19,827. You think that that is a rule to be laid down as a rule of morality in your view?—I think that that should be so in any benefit society, but I think that you could not apply the rule to a purely trade society.

19,828. Does not your society comprise both, is it not also a benefit society?—Not what you would fairly call a benefit society, the only benefit being the amount paid to unemployed men.

19,829. Have you not a sick fund?—No.

19,830. Nor a funeral fund?—No.*

19,831. Are you under Mr. Tidd Pratt's Bill?—No, not even registered, so that ours is purely a trade society.

19,832. (*Mr. Harrison.*) What would you say to a proposal put in this form, that in order to obtain legalization the obligation should be imposed, say, by Act of Parliament, that your society or union and others should divide themselves into two classes of subscribers, one to the benefit fund and the other to the fund for trade purposes, with or without the benefit purposes, so that those who went upon the benefit fund alone should have no right of coming upon the trade fund, or of receiving assistance from it; while, on the other hand, the trade fund, if it fell through, should never be supplemented out of the benefit fund, however high it was. Supposing it was made a condition of legalization that the union should be divided into those two great classes of subscribers, what would you say to such a proposal?—It would seem to me that the proposition there amounts to this, that no trade society shall embrace in its operations a benefit society.

19,833. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) The same society might be both. It might be a trade fund, or it might be a benefit fund, so you do not compel them to be one or the other, but you do compel them to keep their funds separate according to the proposition stated by Mr. Harrison?—You would then absolutely prohibit a trade society (for that would be what it would come to) if it desired to obtain legalization (that is, I suppose, legalization to protect its funds) from taking into account anything that savoured of a benefit society.

19,834. No; I think the proposition is that any moneys that were subscribed to the benefit fund should not be passed over to and taken by the other fund for its purposes; that if I subscribed 3*d.* a week for a benefit fund, that 3*d.* a week should really be confined to that fund, and though the strike fund might run low, it should not borrow from the other fund?—I quite admit that where any society proposes to adopt such a principle that would be correct enough; but in the general run of trade societies that would be impracticable.

19,835. Why is it impracticable?—My view of the case is this, that in a purely trade society you raise a certain fund which is to be available at all times in its full force for the primary object of that society. Unless it were so, a trade society would have no strength at all. But if, as you suggest, there should be a fund for this, and a fund for that, and a fund for the other thing, neither fund being invaded for the purposes of the other, that is simply dividing a trade society from a benefit society, and it would force the trade society into this, that they should collect moneys simply for the specific object of a trade society, and that they should never unite the two purposes of a benefit and trade society.

19,836. They may be worked by the same people; but the proposal is that the money subscribed for one purpose shall not be applied to the other. Do you see anything wrong in that, anything imperious or harsh?—I see nothing wrong in this that if a man gives his money for one purpose it should not be taken and applied to a totally different one. But a man who joins a society, such as ours, does it with a full understanding of the obligations implied, and that his subscriptions may be all absorbed by each or all of the heads that I have set forth in the abstract.

---

* The witness subsequently added the following statement: "In my evidence on Friday, July 24, I stated that we had "no system of death payments. I should, however, have "added, that a scheme had been proposed and adopted, which "would provide a benefit of the nature mentioned for the "future; the representatives of deceased members of five years' "standing being entitled to receive 5*l.*, and an additional 1*l.* for "each year's membership beyond being paid, till a maximum of "12*l.* is reached."

19,837. But the question which I want to put to you is, what would be your opinion if by law, for example, it was required that the funds should be kept separate?—I think it is quite possible that in such a case some of the purely trade societies would simply delete from their rules anything that bore upon merely benefit matters.

19,838. Would you see any harm in that?—I could see no harm if they chose to unite the other things—it would be merely keeping a double set of books.

19,839. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Is it not your experience that what is called a purely strike union without any benefit at all, one existing solely for trade purposes, is a weaker, a worse managed, and a less desirable institution than one which combines benefit with it?—I do not admit that as my own experience by any means.

19,840. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Nor is your society at all a benefit society?—Not in the common acceptation of the term. We have no sick or burial fund whatever.

19,841. (*Mr. Harrison.*) But you have a widow and orphan fund, and a permanent sick fund, have you not?—Yes, but they are merely supported by those members of the trade society who choose to enter them, and not out of the trade fund.

19,842. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) In the case of those funds which you now speak of, are not the subscriptions paid to your society?—No. There is a fund called the Permanent Sick Fund, the members of which are permitted to hold their meetings at our house, because it is constituted of members of our own body; and so with the Widow and Orphan Fund; but they are distinct bodies, and their funds are distinct.

19,843. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Supposing that the members of your trade thought it desirable to have a sick fund and a trade fund, and that the subscription to one was 3*d.* and to the other 4*d.*, we will suppose, you see no objection to having those subscriptions kept separate in the form of account, and applied to the particular purpose for which they were subscribed?—None whatever.

19,844. And that each man might have the option of being a member of both, or of one or of the other?—I see no objection to that further than this: I think that if you propose to unite it with a trade society it would not be capable of being carried out in that way, because a trade society generally insists that a man is answerable for all that may arise in the action of that trade society, and that he shall not receive one of the benefits, and deny his right to be called upon to pay for the others.

19,845. But would you not think it rather hard upon a man who may for many years have subscribed to a benefit society, with a view of having an annuity at a certain period of his life, that because the strike fund may be unable to meet the demand made upon it his capital should be all absorbed by something which he may not approve of in the shape of a strike for trade purposes?—Yes, and I do not believe that the London Society of Compositors would adopt any such principle. They are careful in adopting any benefit principle, because they believe that any such funds should be secured absolutely for the purposes intended.

19,846. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) As a practical point you say that you have two societies in fact, one a trade society, the other a benefit society; and that they are under different government?—These two benefit societies, of which I have spoken, are merely societies that have been established quite apart from the trade society by a few of the members. As to this permanent sick fund, for instance, I do not suppose that there are above 300 members in it.

19,847. Are there any members of that permanent sick fund who are not members of the trade fund?—No, I believe every one of them is in fact a member of the trade fund.

19,848. Is there not in fact a sort of moral pressure put upon them to join both?—No, none whatever.

19,849. If I, for example, being rather a curious-minded man, chose simply to be a member of the sick fund, and not to subscribe to the other, do you think there would be no notice taken of that by the men with whom I worked in the shop?—A man would be incompetent to join the sick fund unless he was a member of the trade fund. This is only established for the members of our society, and no persons are eligible for entrance into this permanent sick fund but those who are members of the other society.

19,850. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Would you be good enough to state what every ordinary member of your union who pays his subscriptions is entitled to?—Every ordinary member is entitled first to have his scale protected, that is to say, if he gets into any disturbance and we can protect him we do so with the whole force of the fund if necessary. Then he is entitled, if unemployed, to 13 weeks' relief during the year at the rate of 10*s.* a week.

19,851. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) I suppose you take into consideration why he is not employed; whether it is for a moral offence, for instance?—Yes, the rules provide for that. If he neglects work, or is unemployed through drunkenness or anything of that kind, I have power to deny him relief. Those are the chief benefits. There are various others, such as the library and reading rooms, and medical charities. Then we contribute a small amount to enable our members to obtain work in other places when work fails here, and also relieve members of other societies when they come to seek work here.

19,852. You do combine other purposes besides those of a strike fund in your society?—Yes. The strike fund is a totally distinct affair. If a man is on strike it arises on a dispute upon the scale.

19,853. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Does your union extend at all to the provinces?—No, we have no connexion with them further than by correspondence.

19,854. There are unions of your trade at Manchester and other large towns, are there not?—Yes, it is known as the Provincial Typographical Association; that is the aggregation of towns all over the country.

19,855. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Supposing that one of your members travels to find work and finds it at Leicester, he still continues a member of your society, does he?—Yes, he takes out his "travelling card." If he goes to Leicester his first duty is to go to the secretary of the branch of the Provincial Typographical Association there and deposit his card, and he gets in exchange a provincial card, and so long as he works in that town he holds that provincial card. If he leaves that town within a twelvemonth of depositing my card, he relifts my card, but if he goes beyond the twelvemonth he ceases to be a member of our society, and becomes a country member.

19,856. (*Mr. Harrison.*) Supposing that by alterations in the law it was brought about that your society were prevented from defending the scale, and from giving the other benefits of which you have just spoken out of a common fund, but were compelled to keep separate funds without any power of mutual accommodation between those funds, would you regard that as tantamount to a practical suppression of the society?—Yes, I should as far as the mere protection of the scale went.

19,857. (*Chairman.*) Supposing a proposal were made in your society to combine under one subscription benefits such as you have told us you provide under the head of trade funds, and also payments in case of sickness, and sums at death; would you approve of that proposal, which would involve this, that money subscribed for the purpose of obtaining a benefit in the shape of payment at death or in case of sickness, might be used for the purpose of supporting members of your society who are on strike in defence of your scale?—Generally, I do not approve of that. I think that a trade society should be distinct from a benefit society, for the reason that I believe that when a man pays for sick benefit, or that his representatives shall receive a certain amount at his death, or anything of that kind, the less such funds are placed in a state of

Mr. H. Self.
24 July 1868.

incertitude the better; they ought to be as certain as possible, and therefore if they were subjected to the exigencies of a trade society, that in my belief would be a fault, and the less a trade society has to do with a benefit society the better. I am aware that in our own body it is argued in this way, "If "you adopt certain other benefits it gives cohesion to "your society, which the purely trade society may "want." I believe that that has been asserted by some, but I do not entirely admit its correctness myself.

19,858. Then you find that the advantages in the trade purposes of your society are in themselves sufficient inducement to the members to join your society?—We have found that to be the case.

19,859. And you think that that ought to be the case in other trades?—Yes.

19,860. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) How many compositors are there employed in London?—I cannot say certainly how many are employed in London, but I have 3,300 on my books.

19,861. Does that form any large proportion of the whole?—I should say that it forms three-fourths of the whole.

19,862. How many of those are unemployed at present?—On Wednesday I stated that I had 127 signing my book. That is the only test that I can place before the Commission as to the number unemployed now. Every man unemployed is entitled upon signing—and only upon signing—my book within certain hours, to receive 10*s.* from me at the end of the week, and I had only 127 out of the whole 3,300 signing on that particular day. I did not look yesterday, but I believe that it was not so many.

19,863. (*Chairman.*) I think you said just now that the members of your society had the advantage of access to a library provided by the funds of your society?—We have spent during the 10 years on that library 891*l.* 8*s.* I may state that we had hitherto, like many other trade societies, held our meetings at public-houses, but many years ago we thought it high time to get rid of that, and therefore leased premises in the city, which we have held now for 14 years, and then established the library and reading room. The library at its establishment was handsomely contributed to by the late Prince Consort and a great many noblemen and gentlemen, and now we support it ourselves.

19,864. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) How many books does that library contain?—We have 6,000 volumes on our shelves at the present time. There is a great wear and tear of books, and we are compelled annually to place on our shelves new copies of the works most in use. Then the reading room itself costs us over 40*l.* a year.

19,865. You get your books cheap, I presume?—Yes, we get them at the trade price generally. Then there is a sum of 569*l.* 2*s.*, which we have given to the various hospitals in the 10 years. The committee is authorized from time to time by the general meeting to expend a certain amount in the direction of the public hospitals, to become, in short, an annual subscriber. We have a list of about 22 hospitals of the metropolis to which we annually subscribe.

19,866. To which you send your members?—Yes, in case they require letters of admission. There were one or two points named on the schedule sent to me on the last occasion from the Commission to which I wish to refer. For instance, the question of the mode of working piece or establishment. I wish to state to this Commission that we have the double system, and that in working we have no regulations at all to restrict a man in his working. If he goes on the establishment he is quite at liberty, although he has a fixed rate, to do as much work as he may be capable of performing or his master can expect.

19,867. Do you mean that he may vary the scale if he likes?—No. We have a fixed scale; we have agreed upon a minimum rate to be paid, but the man is not bound to produce only a certain amount of work as the result of that payment. With respect to the piece men, of course they are paid simply as the scale which has been handed in to the Commission directs.

19,868. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) A man on the establishment does not work on the scale?—Only so far as the scale settles the rate to be paid.

19,869. Supposing that I have two men on the establishment, and I agree to give them 1*l.* a week; then I give them whatever work comes in to me, and whatever I require they should do for me, they do; they do not work according to a scale, but do what they can and receive 20*s.* a week?—Yes, that is what I am showing. It has been objected that there are rules that bind a man not to produce more than a certain amount of work.

19,870. You have no rule of that sort, as I understand you?—No. With respect to the establishment hands, it was noted by Mr. Wyman, I think, that they were made use of to deprive the piece compositor of that work designated in the trade as "fat" work, more advantageous work than other work; and when the scale was too high, the result was that afterwards the work was put on the establishment, and that then the master would get the benefit of the difference. I quite agree in that. A man may have work which would pay him 9*d.* or 10*d.* an hour if he is on the piece; then the master puts him on the establishment, which only pays him slightly over 7*d.* an hour.

19,871. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Then you make no objection to piece work?—No; contrary to the experience of most societies, we would rather have piece work than establishment work. The establishment work is practically reducing the value of our piece scale.

19,872. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Did you ever in your experience find that men taken in that way upon the establishment were at all given the cold shoulder by their comrades?—Never.

19,873. (*Chairman.*) You do not consider that piece work has a tendency to reduce wages generally?—The very reverse of that in our experience. Having the piece scale we would rather work upon that piece scale.

19,874. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Is there much difference in the artistic power of different compositors?—Yes.

19,875. One man can do more in an hour than another?—Yes.

19,876. But do you find that generally depend upon the general culture, or upon some peculiar dexterity of hand?—Dexterity of hand in very many cases. I have known some of the most ignorant compositors, "whips" as they are called in the trade, that is to say, they could pick up more stamps in a given time than some of the more cultivated men.

19,877. But I suppose you find that general education aids a compositor very much in acquiring his art?—No doubt about it. Of course the better educated a man is the less likely he is to pore over his copy to decipher a particular word, when possibly his own knowledge would naturally lead up to the word required.

19,878. What number of types would a man pick up in the hour?—They vary very much—where one man would only set 1,000 types in the hour, another can pick up 2,000.

19,879. Does the requisite art require a long time to learn, or can an intelligent man learn it in a short time?—I believe myself that it may be acquired in a much shorter time than is usually set out as the time of an apprenticeship, namely, seven years.

19,880. Then you have apprentices in your business?—Yes.

19,881. How long is the term of apprenticeship?—Seven years.

19,882. And you think that seven years is not required to learn that business?—I think not. My own private opinion is that five years would be amply sufficient.

19,883. Then a man taken as an apprentice for seven years becomes in the latter years of his apprenticeship, if he is a conscientious person, an exceedingly useful person to his master?—No doubt about that.

19,884. Have you any objection taken to the length

of the apprenticeship?—No. So far from any objection being taken, we insist upon it as the principle of admission to our society that a man must have served that term.

19,885. Have you ever thought on the other side of the question, that while you exclude those people from being compositors, you really give to the masters the benefit of an instructed person as an apprentice during the latter years of his apprenticeship?—Yes, and the question has been reasoned in that way by some members.

19,886. Does the apprentice work on scale?—Yes. Generally in the first year of his apprenticeship he is put on a stipulated amount, and then afterwards he is put on what are called his earnings. He may possibly be for two years on a certain fixed sum, and then after that he would be put on his earnings, that is to say, he would either receive one-half of his earnings, tested by our London scale, or two-thirds; it seldom goes beyond two-thirds, but in many instances they receive two-thirds in the last two years of their time.

19,887. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) You mean two-thirds of the journeyman's wages?—The apprentice would cast up his work just as a journeyman would, and then take one-half or two-thirds, as may be agreed, of his earnings on the scale.

19,888. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) So that the master would have an advantage by having a large number of apprentices?—Yes.

19,889. You do not make any objection to the number of apprentices?—No, we do not make any objection to the number of apprentices, although I have my doubts as to the value of a great number of apprentices; because I think that the wear and tear consequent on the proceedings of those young gentlemen, and the very little control exercised over them, outweighs any benefit to the master in many cases. But there is a class of small houses that we have chiefly to complain of in the question of apprentices. Their principle is this, they take any boy that can pick up stamps; he may be a runaway, and they accept him as what we call a "turnover," but there is no turning-over in the matter; they see nothing of his indenture; they simply ask him to pick up a certain number of stamps, and when they have done with him they turn him loose again. This class of apprentice is chiefly used by the printers of small papers and publications, the chief copy being reprint, which boys can very readily do.

19,890. Has there been any increase in the number of compositors consequent on the change in regard to the newspaper stamp and the increase of newspapers?—I should apprehend that that must be so, but I cannot say.

19,891. You have no statistics to show it?—No, we have no statistics. I have here a report of a committee that was appointed not very long ago to consider amongst other matters that question of apprentices, and we found that a great many evils exist with respect to the number. The fact is, these boys are taken in and are not taught their business at all; they are cast loose; there is no effort made in a great number of instances to teach them anything. Then they come out of their so-called time not printers at all. They are thrust upon the trade as journeymen, but have to pick up their instruction afterwards or become a burthen upon the journeymen.

19,892. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Do you admit them into the union as apprentices?—No, we take no cognizance of them till they have served their time.

19,893. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) And nobody can be a member of your association without having served an apprenticeship?—I should be wrong in saying that they cannot, because our committees have power to relax the rules in certain cases. For instance, if we found that it was the custom in a country town (as it is in some towns in the West of England) to indenture a youth only for five years, if he was of age we should not let the fact of his having served only five years stand in the way of admission into our society.

19,894. Supposing that there was a heaven-born printer—there are cases, no doubt, of men who can acquire the art of printing without going through an apprenticeship—supposing for example that A. B. became a very famous compositor without going through an apprenticeship, would you allow him to enter your association?—I believe it would depend upon circumstances. I believe that he would not find any insuperable difficulty in the way of obtaining admission to our society. Of course, if a man of 24 or 25 who was a competent workman came to us and wished to join our society it would be absurd of us to say, "Because you cannot show that you have been a certain number of years an apprentice we will not admit you."

19,895. Do you prevent men who are not members of the union working in the shops where members of the union work?—No.

19,896. You have those who are not members of the union working harmoniously with those who are?—Yes.

19,897. You have no rule against that?—We have no trade rule of that sort at all.

19,898. Have you a trade practice against it?—Every house regulates that matter for itself.

19,899. Taking your own experience, do you know of any house where they make it uncomfortable for non-members to work with the unionists?—I do not know of one. I never heard the complaint.

19,900. Would you be likely to be the person to whom the complaint would come?—No, but I think that I should hear of it. The fact is that we have never had any difficulties there. If a man goes into a house, if it is what we call a society house, he is asked for his card. If he says that he has not one, he is told that it is a society house, and he will then generally come to me and get his card. I daresay he might imagine that unless he did that he would be put to some difficulty in the matter, but I never heard of any active interference taking place.

19,901. You know that you can make things uncomfortable to a man without active interference?—Yes; but I am aware that in some of the large houses there are society men and non-society men working together in harmony; so that the mere fact of a man's not holding a card is no absolute bar to his working with union men.

19,902. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) I think we heard that one of the houses in the city does not employ society men?—Mr. Wyman is under a misapprehension there. The house, which is Waterlow's, was closed in consequence of a dispute; but it has been re-opened, and at present I have 70 members there, and in that house, though the members of the society are in the majority, there are a great number of non-society men also, and they are working harmoniously together. All we seek for is that they are paid the London scale.

19,903. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) If men were to come in there and work for a less sum than the London scale, what do you think would happen?—In that case it would be a question between ourselves and the employers, not between ourselves and those men.

19,904. Supposing that an employer were to get a man to do for 15*s.* what you require 20*s.* for, and that he came into a shop where your men worked, what would be the upshot?—Most probably we should make a representation to the employer that he was paying below the London scale, and we should seek to bring him to an acceptance of the London scale, and if he failed to pay it in all its parts we should simply tell our own members to withdraw, that is, we should strike the house, because we should do that in the interests of the scale. We are bound to support not only ourselves but the fair masters also; indeed, a master has complained to me that we allowed for a time a house which generally paid less than the scale to receive assistance from us when pushed, and a man paying the London scale was placed at a disadvantage in making estimates for his work. That house to which I allude was ultimately closed, because the employer would not accept the London scale though he paid our members by it.

Mr. H. Self.
24 July 1868.

19,905. When you say that the "house was closed," did the man fail or did you take away your men?—We merely withdrew our men, that is what we call closing a house.

19,906. Did he go on?—I cannot say what he is doing now. I believe that he is in business, but a very short time ago he was in the Bankruptcy Court. Before I go I will hand in our five last balance sheets (*handing in the same*), which are complete in themselves, together with some reports and rules, amongst them a report on the apprenticeship question. Then too a good deal of talk arose at this table with reference to the arbitration case, and having at home the judgment of the court of error, I copied it out and I beg to hand it in (*handing in the same*).

19,907. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Is that from some law report?—No, that is as it appeared in the public prints.

The following paper (referred to in the answer to question 19,805) was handed in by the witness.

ABSTRACT of INCOME and EXPENDITURE of the LONDON SOCIETY of COMPOSITORS for the Ten Years ending January 1868.

Years.	Income.	Relief to unemployed members.	Law and defence of Scale.	Travelling relief.	Executive Committee, &c.	Medical Charities.	Library and Reading Room.	Assistance to other trades.	Salaries, &c.	Sundry Disbursements during 10 years.
1858 - - -	1,647 0 0	346 12 11	540 16 5	63 11 2	123 2 0	14 14 0	89 6 6	—	239 10 0	
1859 - - -	1,791 0 0	200 0 0	70 16 9	66 13 0	143 1 10	22 1 0	104 11 0	685 0 0	239 1 0	
1860 - - -	1,956 0 0*	200 0 0	289 1 2	44 2 0	106 18 0	37 16 0	83 8 0	130 0 0	236 2 0	
1861 - - -	1,779 0 0	1,034 12 0	5 8 2	75 19 0	124 8 0	52 10 0	102 12 9	20 0 0	236 2 0	
1862 - - -	1,751 0 0	677 18 1	321 16 2	101 9 6	129 2 6	63 0 0	92 2 9	30 0 0	249 18 0	
1863 - - -	1,969 0 0	393 0 0	308 8 2	68 1 0	136 1 6	65 2 0	81 1 1	30 0 0	263 9 0	
1864 - - -	2,957 0 0	1,064 14 0	243 14 4	61 1 2	117 6 6	70 7 0	77 19 0	20 0 0	248 18 0	
1865 - - -	3,276 0 0	1,633 14 0	98 16 0	57 6 6	138 12 0	70 7 0	82 17 8	130 0 0	255 12 0	
1866 - - -	4,120 0 0	1,800 9 10	135 13 10	64 19 0	205 10 0	81 18 0	98 18 9	80 0 0	257 12 0	
1867 - - -	3,859 0 0	2,485 9 2	741 10 0	92 1 6	211 1 3	91 7 0	78 10 6	60 0 0	245 3 0	
	25,105 0 0	9,836 10 0	2,756 1 0	695 3 10	1,432 3 7	569 2 0	891 8 0	1,185 0 0	2,471 7 0	3,706 16 11

GENERAL SUMMARY.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
In hand, January 1858 - - - -	3,125	0	0	Expenditure for 10 years - - - -	23,543	12	4
Income for 10 years - - - - -	25,105	0	0	In hand, January 1868 - - - -	4,686	7	8
Total - - - - -	£28,230	0	0	Total - - - - -	£28,230	0	0

* This sum includes 150*l.* returned loan from the Printers' Almshouse Society

The witness withdrew.

Mr. J. Shreeve.

Mr. JOHN SHREEVE further examined.

19,908. (*Chairman.*) You are secretary, I think, to the Printing Machine Managers' Trade Society?—I am.

19,909. Do you wish to add anything to the evidence which you gave on the last occasion?—The principal reason why I wished to be examined to-day was to make some observations on the evidence of Mr. Pardon on Wednesday, in order to clear up two assertions that Mr. Pardon made. Before I do that, I will observe that there was a letter read by Mr. Wyman in reference to the work going into the country through the rise of the wages in London, and in that letter there was an extract which he read which stated that the machine managers of London were a most intolerant and despotic body. Of course I am aware that that is only the private opinion, or the expressed opinion, of the writers, but I wish to contradict that, or rather to explain that we cannot be such a despotic and intolerable body as the letter states.

19,910. (*Mr. Merivale.*) What they say in their letter is, that particular rules of yours have a tyrannical tendency; that is surely a different way of putting it?—All I wish to say is, although next December we shall have been established 29 years, we have never had a strike in our branch of the trade, that we have never had more than half a dozen houses closed in the trade in that 29 years, and have not more than two closed now.

19,911. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) What is the distinction you draw between "closed" and "struck"?—What we call closing a house is our men refusing to go there to work. When we close a house we never interfere with it.

19,912. When you strike what do you do?—A strike is generally a strike of the whole trade.

19,913. Is not that closing of the house striking it on your part?—Yes, on our part, but it does not affect the trade generally.

19,914. Surely there are strikes against individual houses?—We call that closing the houses.

19,915. You have had strikes in that sense?—Yes, perhaps a house with three or four machines in it. I merely mention this to remove the impression which that letter might cause. I do not think that the words in that letter will carry out a proper definition of our rules. Then Mr. Pardon in his evidence on Wednesday made a statement with reference to his son being brought into the machine room.

(*Mr. Pardon.*) I wish to state now that I find on more careful inquiry that we had in the course of 10 years two strikes, and not one as was alleged, both of which were on the question of our exceeding the number of one apprentice to three journeymen, which is all that the rules of the society permit the master to have. And on the occasion of the entrance of my own son into the machine room, for the purpose of acquiring a general knowledge of the practice of the room, a very grave remonstrance was made to me on the impropriety of the step I was taking; but after the men's conferring among themselves in that case, no strike was resorted to. So far, therefore, I was wrong on Wednesday, and I now wish to withdraw that statement; but we had two strikes on the question of apprentices in the 10 years.

(*Witness.*) But the Commissioners must bear in mind that when Mr. Pardon says that we allow one apprentice to three journeymen, directly there is a fourth journeyman we allow another apprentice.

19,916. (*Chairman to the witness.*) I find that the 25th rule in the rules and regulations of the Printing Machine Managers' Trade Society is this, "That in "offices where one journeyman is employed there be "allowed one apprentice, and two apprentices to four "journeymen, provided they (the journeymen) have "been employed in the machine room six months. "There must be three additional journeymen subject "to the foregoing regulations, for each extra ap- "prentice. That the time allowed for a lad to be on "liking be six weeks, but should he not be bound at "the expiration of that time members will be justified "in refusing to work with him." What is the meaning of that phrase, "that the time allowed for a lad to be on liking be six weeks"?—That means the time before he is apprenticed.

19,917. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) As I understand you, nine men will give three apprentices?—Yes, but one extra over the number gives you another apprentice.

19,918. Seven men will give you three apprentices?—Yes, directly you get over three you can have two, directly you get over six you can have three, directly you get over nine you can have four, directly you get over twelve you can have five.

19,919. (*Chairman.*) Does your society combine the purposes of a trade society and a friendly society?—Yes, to a certain degree. We allow 20*l.* at the death of a member, and 10*l.* at the death of a member's wife, but nothing in sickness. We allow 10*s.* a week when a man is unemployed, for 13 weeks in every six months; that is to say, in each half year he can have 13 weeks' allowance; but if a man gets discharged from any fault of his own, such as drunkenness or stopping away, he is deprived of that benefit for a month.

19,920. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Do you see any objection to the separation of the funds for sick purposes and trade purposes?—No, I do not see any objection to it. Our system is rather a loose one, I think. Each member pays 2*s.* a month, but at the death of a member, when we give this 20*l.*, each member pays 6*d.*; and at the death of a member's wife each member pays 3*d.*

19,921. Does that give the amount?—No. We are 530 strong now; we used to pay 1*s.* at the death of a member, and when we got up to 400 strong and a little over we found that 1*s.* of course realized the 20*l.*, and we were getting up towards 500, so that each death proved positively a profit to the society's funds. Then it was altered to 6*d.* But we have no distinction of fund, it is all taken out of one common fund.

19,922. You have been acquainted with the working of these unions and benefit societies. Supposing that there is a benefit society in which the benefit goes beyond sickness, and has reference to an annuity, would you like to subscribe your money for the best part of your life upon the chance that the whole of that fund might be absorbed for some trade purpose, such as a strike?—No, I do not think that it would be advisable. I should like to see the funds separate.

19,923. And kept sacred for their particular purposes?—Yes, left sacred for the purposes they were devoted to.

19,924. You do not see any difficulty in separating them?—No, but I object to combining the principles together. I would rather have a pure trade society and a benefit society. We established this 20*l.* at death 12 years ago, but I was a strong opponent to it at the time, though I should not like to see it done away with now. I wanted it then as a separate fund, so that those who liked to belong to it could. But we have a benefit society established in our trade called the Machine Managers' Benefit Society, and it is a prosperous one. It is not in connexion with us, but a man must be a member of the trade society before he can join it. If, however, he leaves the trade society it does not affect him, he still remains a member. There they pay a separate subscription, and are allowed 1*l.* a week in sickness.

19,925. Then you do practically carry out a separation?—Yes, I should like to see a pure trade society and a benefit society kept distinct.

19,926. (*Mr. Roebuck to Mr. Self.*) Is it the case in your society also that when a man joins the benefit society he must be a member of your trade society; but if he ceases to be a member of your society does he according to your rules cease to be a member of the benefit society?—I believe there is a rule by which he would cease to be a member of the permanent sick fund. I am not at all prepared to express any opinion on that further than this, that those who started that society made it a condition. With respect to the widow and orphan fund that is in a totally different position. That embraces 600 or 700 members of the London Compositors' Society; but that is duly registered and certified, therefore any such rule as that could not operate at all in that case.

19,927. (*Chairman to the witness.*) Is there any any other point you wish to refer to?—Yes, there is another point in Mr. Pardon's evidence. He stated that when having his premises pulled down (which I know was recently done), and while they were being rebuilt, he could not carry on his business; and that he therefore put his work out to various other offices and was obliged to discharge his machine managers; that amongst them was a workman who had been in his employ some years, but had left the trade society, and that directly that man went to another house we hounded him out. I denied this on Wednesday, and now I can positively state that it was never done, but that Mr. Pardon must have heard of something that he has misinterpreted. I can assure Mr. Pardon that it was never done, and if he applies to the person himself he will contradict it.

19,928. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Is he at work now?—He is working for Mr. Pardon again. I felt very much hurt by that statement, because any such conduct as that casts a stigma on our society and I should utterly disapprove of it. I have seen the person in question, and asked him whether anything he said to Mr. Pardon could have led him to come to such a conclusion. He said, "One day Mr. Pardon asked "me whether I was doing anything and had got any "employment, and I said, 'No, I have not got the "'chance.' I said, 'I had to leave the trade society "'when I was in your employment, and the trade is "'slack and I am not likely to have as good a chance as "'their own men.'" Shortly after that this man went into work and worked with society men, and worked with them for months. He was much respected in the trade; we were perfectly aware that he only left the society because he was Mr. Pardon's overseer, and we had no objection to his doing so.

19,929. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Why should he leave the society because he was Mr. Pardon's overseer?—The employers think that the overseers, if they belonged to the trade society, would not act so impartially in any dispute as if they did not belong to the society. Mr. Pardon, I am sure, must have made that statement under a misapprehension of what must have been said to him, and I should certainly like it withdrawn because I know that it is utterly at variance with the facts.

(*Mr. Pardon.*) Of course in speaking of this matter as I did on Wednesday I cannot speak of my own knowledge as to the tyranny to which this man was subjected. All I know is that he told me so himself; and moreover he told me (which I omitted to mention on Wednesday) that but for his remaining in my service the strike of the men would have been successful on the former occasion, and their object would have been gained in the matter of that apprentice. Whether the man is under the influence of different feelings in withdrawing that which he told me I do not know. All I know is that he told me he was obliged to leave the house in which he was because he was not a society man, and that there were at that time some society men out of work, and he was obliged to give place to a society man.

(*Mr. Wyman.*) This is the rule that the association passed, "That, in the opinion of this committee, "it is not consistent with the duty of machine "overseers, or of any other persons holding the "office of overseer, to belong to any trade "association of workmen;" and the committee add, "It is obviously of much importance that, in case of "differences arising between employers and the large "and increasing body of machine minders, the over-"seers of machine rooms shall be regarded by their "employers not as opponents but as trustworthy "agents and confidential assistants." The overseers, if they belonged to the trade union and had subscribed to its rules, might naturally want to sustain those rules; and it was those very rules that might be in controversy.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. B. Pardon.

24 July 1868.

Mr. Benjamin Pardon further examined.

19,930. (*Chairman.*) I believe you have some further observations which you wish to make?—In the report of the Master Printers' Association for the year 1858 is this extract: "Your committee regret to have to report, "that the business of several firms has lately been "obstructed by an attempt on the part of the machine "minders to prescribe the number of apprentices "which employers shall be allowed to take. A request "having been made on their behalf that your committee "would receive a deputation from their body, your "committee consented. A deputation of six workmen "was accordingly received at the monthly meeting of "your committee on the 5th instant. Upon being "called on to explain their object in soliciting an "interview, their spokesman repudiated any intention "to go to law with the masters, asserting that the "money which they had from time to time collected "was intended for benevolent purposes, and had been "so used. He said that their object was to come to "some arrangement on the subject of the number of "apprentices which employers might take. They "were then requested to withdraw; upon which your "committee passed the following resolutions: 1. That "this committee having heard that attempts have been "made in various quarters to restrict the number of "apprentices at machine, entirely repudiate such "restriction. 2. That the following be the answer "given to the deputation: 'That in the opinion of "'this committee the question of the number of "'apprentices in each office is a question for each "'individual master to determine for himself; and "'this committee must decline any interference in "'the matter.'" And in that same year a member of the association "stated to the meeting that having "recently had occasion to discharge one of his "apprentices at machine for misconduct, and having, "in consequence, taken another from press, his machine "men had opposed this proceeding, and had all given "him notice to leave their work." That was in 1858. In the report for 1862 again there is a reference to the same subject: "A determined attempt was made to stop "apprentices being sent to machine, accompanied by "other obstructions to business. The firm consequently "reorganized the machine room, discharging the over-"seer of machines, and offering to the men either to "stay under the new rules (which especially provided "that no difficulty was to be made as to apprentices) "or to take a fortnight's notice. The men all left." I just mention those two instances in order to show the operations in restraint of trade in the department of machinery, and it might also be mentioned in reference to press, to which master printers have objected. I wish to correct a statement which I made on Wednesday, relative to the second strike in my machine room. There were two strikes, but the latter was on account of a lad's being introduced who was in excess of the number permitted. On the question of my son's being in the room, there was no strike—only a remonstrance.

19,931. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Are not master printers now working under the rule of one apprentice to three men?—They do not regard themselves as bound by that rule, as is shown in the extract I have read.

19,932. What is the practice?—The practice is to consult the employer's own convenience; if he finds that he wants a fourth apprentice he takes him.

19,933. Do you know any cases in which there are more apprentices employed than one allowed by that rule?—I am not aware. I should hope that masters would do as I do myself, consult their own convenience.

19,934. You do not find that that rule has brought you much into collision?—Yes, I have had two strikes myself on the question. In two cases I have tried to bring in a fourth apprentice and have done so.

19,935. Is yours an exceptional case?—The secretary of the trade union said just now he thought that there had not been more than six in the course of 20 years.

19,936. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Was that strike successful in regard to your introducing the fourth apprentice, is he there now?—The last of the two occasions was five years since, he is out of his time.

19,937. You kept him, did you?—Yes, such restrictions are to me so intolerable that I would rather close my house than yield to them. I should also like to mention the effect of the restriction as to the rate of wage. It is found that in our business there are many aged persons to whom the weekly receipt of a less sum than the minimum sum of 36*s.* would be a great boon; but if a man be aged and so incapable of doing more than perhaps half or two-thirds of what he was able to do in his prime, the master in his own interest is quite unable to keep that man, because he must give him 36*s.* a week. That I have always held to be a very unwise and very tyrannical procedure. I think that it would be better that the man whose industry is his only capital should be permitted to make his own terms with his employers, which he is unable to do in accordance with the rules of the trade union.

19,938. (*Chairman.*) You mean that the practical result is that the man is dismissed?—He loses his situation.

19,939. Because you are unable to employ him at a lower rate of wages than the 36*s.*?—Yes.

(*Mr. Self.*) I wish to point out to the Commission that our double system of work relieves the employer from the necessity of discharging the old workman, inasmuch as he can put him on the piece-work.

19,940. (*Chairman to Mr. Self.*)—That applies to the other societies?—Yes, the machinists and the pressmen.

19,941. (*Mr. Roebuck to the witness.*) I think the scale of the pressmen is not accepted by you as the scale of the compositors is?—Owing to the generally acknowledged improved state of printing, the old scale of 1810 has virtually become a dead letter, and a much higher rate is paid now as compared with that year in consequence of the superior style of printing; so that in point of fact the value of each man's work is determined between the overseer of the presses and the pressmen.

19,942. So that in fact the scale is null and void?—It is, except in regard to cards and posting bills that are pasted on the walls. The price of those items remains the same; but all book work is paid for on a greatly increased scale over that of 1810.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. J. Shreeve.

Mr. J. Shreeve further examined.

19,943. (*Chairman.*) You wish to make a further addition to your evidence, I believe?—I should wish to make an explanation with regard to the apprentice question. We had been some years endeavouring to grapple with this question, we felt that it was necessary to limit the number of apprentices, but we were afraid of making a disturbance in the trade. We solicited an interview with the employers, which they granted; but when our deputation stated their object, they said, "No, we will have as many as we like," and when our deputation left passed the resolution just read. This forced the matter forward, we were bound either to submit or take the matter into our own hands. We took the pressmen's scale that had been established many years, in regard to the number of apprentices they allowed, and fixed ours at the same.

19,944. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Do you close houses where they have more apprentices than are permitted according to your rule?—Yes.

19,945. That in my phraseology, if not in yours, is a strike. Has that happened often ?—Only about six cases have occurred in 29 years; in fact the limit was not fixed till ten or twelve years ago.

19,946. (*Mr. Merivale.*) Up to that time the number had never been limited ?—Never; but we found that there were so many coming into the trade that we should be inundated with journeymen; and even now, with the limit there is, we have had 50 men recently out of work.

19,947. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) How many have you out now ?—Thirty. We find that they are increasing very much.

19,948. Is yours a fluctuating trade in regard to the amount of employment ?—It has been so recently. Our branch of the trade is a peculiar one. Very often when the compositors are slack we are busy, ours being a great deal of it stereo. work.

19,949. Do you not think that free trade between master and man is better for both than a limitation of the number of apprentices ?—The way in which we look at this apprentice question is simply this, that we have served our time to a business, and we wish to get a respectable living by it. We know that if there are four men to do two men's work the wages must come down.

19,950. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) You do not regard the outsider's interest ?—We admit him if he applies.

19,951. But if he still continues as an outsider his interest is eliminated from your consideration ?—We never interfere with him, even when he goes into a house that we have closed.

19,952. You put the employer to inconvenience; and do you not thereby interfere with the outsider ?—I do not see that we do. We may put the employer to an inconvenience, but then we have as much right to say to the employer, "We object to work for you "because you are doing something inimical to our "interests," as he has to say, "I will do as I like in my own place." *Mr. J. Shreeve.* 24 July 1868.

19,953. But whether the outsider gets work is not a consideration of yours; all your consideration is that your members get work ?—What is the use of bringing young people up to a business that it is impossible for them to get a living at when they are out of their time ?

19,954. What business is it of yours what I want to do with my children ?—But if you bring a competitor into the market that will interfere with me, I have a right to protect myself.

19,955. That is what I want to bring you to; you consider your interest and not that of the outsider ?—I consider that I have a right to protect my own interest. We never interfere with an employer when we leave his firm. I will challenge anyone to say that we have ever done so. There is no coercion or intimidation of any sort. That is the reason that I wanted Mr. Pardon to explain what he stated on Wednesday.

19,956. (*Chairman.*) Would you think it right to persuade other men not to go and work at a house which you had closed ?—No, our rules would forbid our own men to work there, and we never interfere but with our own men.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. William Hugh Blatchley further examined. *Mr. W. H. Blatchley.*

19,957. (*Chairman*). What further evidence have you to offer ?—The reason that I wish to be further examined is this—that the society I represent, that of the pressmen, is somewhat different from the one that Mr. Self has spoken of, as well as somewhat different from the one that Mr. Shreeve has spoken of. In the society that I represent the funds have been kept distinct. The members generally subscribe one penny per week to the union fund, and this union fund is used for the purpose of supporting the trade scale, as is the plan of Mr. Self's society; but as I mentioned on Wednesday incidentally that there is also a death fund attached, I may as well inform you that that fund is kept entirely distinct from the trade fund.

19,958. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) It is not allowed to be touched for trade purposes ?—No, it is kept in a separate bank. One is kept in a Birkbeck bank, and the other in a savings bank. In regard to the subscriptions I may say that there has lately been a revision of the rules. Originally in starting the death fund sixpence was contributed by each member at the death of a male and threepence at the death of a female. We now adopt a different plan; having saved up a hundred pounds since its starting, it was thought by myself and a few others that if we made it a positive payment of a shilling per quarter it would be better, with an entrance fee of 1*s.* under thirty years of age, under forty 2*s.* 6*d.*, under fifty 5*s.*; and that plan has only been adopted recently, so that I could not say positively to what extent it would rise or what effect it would have ultimately.

19,959. Do you collect this money through the same machinery as the trade fund ?—Not precisely.

19,960. Are you not the secretary ?—Yes, but it is collected by the secretaries of eight sections of the society, while the ninth section may belong to a "gift," as it is called in our trade, or they may not. There are eight of these gifts altogether, and they are situated in various parts of the metropolis to assist each other into employment (they hold their meetings at public-houses at present, which are called "houses of call"). From the east end as a matter of course it would take a long while for a man to walk to the west; while the plan I have described is very convenient for other purposes, because at the east end of the town what they call jobbing and commercial work is mostly done, while at the west end of the town a great deal of theatrical work takes place, and if men were transferred from one kind of work to another it would be very difficult for a man to compete with an east end partner or a west end partner, as the case may be, and we found that of these main sections the members in the various gifts are more likely to know each other's qualifications.

19,961. Your word "gift" applies, I suppose, to the gifts of the workman that has the power of doing a certain class of work well ?—It applies in this way. Originally these gifts were formed by means of a few; when one of the members became unwell and not able to follow his employment the others contributed a sum each per week, which was called a "gift," so as to prevent infringing upon any club they might belong to. In early times of course we had not quite so many pressmen as we have now. For instance, we have now over 400 men in our society, and at one time there was but one gift, and that gift seemed to rule the rest with regard to the affairs of the trade and maintaining the scale, their right to which our forefathers held very dear. The Queen's Head gift, as it was then called, began to get so large that it was found necessary to supply another and another until at last eight were formed. Some of them have 70 members in them, while others have only 27.

19,962. I thought you were explaining that the men in these respective gifts were more adapted for particular classes of work; that the man in a gift in the east end was not well qualified for the west end work ?—Not in all cases. This system was not a matter of necessity from the first onset, but it enables a man to pick out his fellow workman (for we mostly work in pairs), who will do him more justice than another might. For instance, I will admit as Mr. Self did that it might fall to the lot of a man belonging to our society to get a man as his fellow workman that would do him a great injury by not being able to perform the same sort of work so quickly.

19,963. Then it is really a classification of your men ?—Yes, because there are excellent men in our trade, while there are others not even worth the

Mr. W. H. Blatchley.

24 July 1868.

money that the employers pay them. At the same time there are others that receive a great deal less money than what they earn for the employers, if placed on the established wages of 36*s.* per week. The employers put us, for instance, on the establishment at times; but it is the best workmen generally speaking that are picked out for that purpose, for speed in some offices and for superiority in others. With regard to the observation which Mr. Pardon made with respect to old men, it would, in my opinion, have a very sad influence with reference to some of ours if the employer, for instance, were to choose himself what he should pay to our old pressmen, because in the first instance, when our men are young, they are made to perform their work quickly, 500 sheets in an hour in some instances, and it would be very wrong if a man who wore himself out in an employer's service were to be discarded for the rest of his life because he could not work as fast as he once could.

19,964. (*Mr. Roebuck.*) Is he not now in a position to be discarded if the employer thinks fit?—Yes, we are all free agents in our trade.

19,965. If the employer finds that it is not profitable to employ that man he gets rid of him?—Yes; an employer can discharge a pressman by giving him a fortnight's notice, or if engaged on the job on his completing such.

19,966. And he gets rid of him because he cannot apportion to him the sum that he can afford to pay him, and therefore he finds another man?—Just as you would get rid of a coat if it did not keep you warm enough.

19,967. If you did not interfere, the inefficient man who is inefficient from age would get a lower wage, but now he is turned out?—That remark does not apply. The elderly men are very efficient, but they may not be so speedy as they once were.

19,968. The elderly man is not so profitable to be employed by the master; but then you interfere and say, "That may be very true, but we insist upon "it that you shall give him as much as if he were a "perfect man." Thereupon the master says, "No, I "cannot do that, my only resource is to get rid of him "altogether and employ another;" whereas if you allowed the master to deal with him as his interest prompted him, he would continue to employ him?—That applies more to the machine managers' society than to the society which I am speaking for. I contend that it does not apply to the printers at any time. For instance, I can speak of one man who has been in Gilbert and Rivington's employment for over 50 years, working on our scale of prices; he has entirely worn himself out in the establishment. Mr. Rivington if he thought proper could get rid of him at any time by giving him notice. Therefore, that does not apply to our society, while it does apply to a certain extent to the other society that has been mentioned. But if there were a sort of free trade principle adopted, and our old men were to be paid what the masters chose, some of our unscrupulous masters would give as little as 12*s.* a week to a man who was perhaps a very efficient workman and who would earn for him at the same time 2*l.* a week, because of his applicability to the particular work that he was employed at. He would do it ever so much more carefully, and would save a great deal more of the master's material than a younger man.

19,969. Do you not think that the master looking to his own interest would not employ the young man in that case; is not the master himself a very good judge of his own interest?—Yes, undoubtedly; but you would in that case allow an unscrupulous master to employ one man at a guinea a week and another at 25*s.*

19,970. But you cannot now force him to employ the man according to your rules; he gets rid of him when he does not want him because you insist on it that the man shall get the full price?—That does not apply so much in our branch of the business, because our men only obtain what they can earn by their abilities.

19,971. (*Sir D. Gooch.*) Must not the master, having invested capital in the machine, look at the amount produced by the machine as well as by the man, so that a man working the machine slowly would involve a great loss; the profit on the interest of the machine being a great deal more than the profit on the man's labour?—Yes, that is why I am endeavouring to show that the argument hardly applies to our state of things, because all our energies are directed towards getting the best pay that we can for our labour, that is to say performing it quickly; for the quicker we do 500 sheets say, the more pay we get in the hour. There are some men in our trade that would only do 250 sheets, and not that, they are so slow; while there are other men who can do comfortably 500 an hour.

19,972. Only the machine enters into your case more than into the compositors' case, does it not?—No, ours is the hand press, at which we generally work in pairs, one rolling, the other pulling.

(*Mr. Shreeve.*) The same rule that Mr. Self said applied to their men with regard to putting them on the piece would apply to ours.

(*Witness.*) There is one observation that I wish to make as to Mr. Pardon's statement that it was compulsory upon men, and that the men in his house had been compelled to join the printers' society. I beg leave most emphatically to deny that any such compulsion was used in any one case, and I should like that portion of his evidence to be withdrawn, because that is a serious slur upon the men whom I represent; and I do not think that Mr. Pardon wishes to put before this Commission anything in the shape of offensive matter to us any more than we wish to put forward anything offensive to his society.

(*Mr. Pardon.*) I did not say that they were compelled to join the printers' union.

19,973. (*Sir D. Gooch to the witness.*) You said that the ninth section of your society differed from the others?—The ninth section happens to be composed of what they call union members only, and those need not belong to a gift.

19,974. Then in your society you have one set of men who subscribe both to the benefit and trade funds, and another set who subscribe to the trade fund only?—Yes; and the gifts pay about 2*s.* or 2*s.* 6*d.* per month as their subscription, while the subscriptions come in bulk from these sections of society to the union at the rate of 1*d.* a week each member, and also 1*d.* a week each member to the death fund; that is equal to 2*d.* They contribute 6½*d.* or perhaps 7*d.* per member to each of these gifts, and that supplies the funds. When people belonging to these gifts are out of work they get assistance, in some cases to the extent of 10*s.* a week, in others not so much, for so many months in every year. The ninth section that I drew your attention to have no such support when out of work, because they have not contributed.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. Charles William Henry Wyman further examined.

Mr. C. W. H. Wyman.

19,975. (*Chairman.*) You wish, I believe, to give some further evidence; will you confine yourself to explaining anything that may have been said by other witnesses?—On the last occasion Waterlow's case was mentioned, and I was not able to complete my observations on that case then. I will only say now that if Mr. Self says that Waterlow's men belong to the union, I do not wish to join issue with him on that, but I have the documents here which show the state of the case at the time I was alluding to. Then there has been a point made in reference to establishment wages and piece wages, and Mr. Self has very justly stated that the scale of the London Compositors' Society, admitting of both those modes of

payment, to a great extent supersedes the difficulty which might otherwise exist in the trade, and does exist in other trades, with reference to old servants. But the point which Mr. Pardon alluded to in expressing regret that he could not employ old men at a less rate than 36*s.* a week, was this, I apprehend, that the work done by piece hands is haphazard and irregular, and the work which Mr. Pardon thought might be given to old hands would be regular work not confined to the picking up of types, but work in which their age and experience might qualify them to be valuable to their masters, though not to such a degree as to be worth the 36*s.* There is no need to explain how disadvantageous it must be to have to pay a man 36*s.* because that is the minimum amount fixed, and irrespective of his working capacity and strength. But as a master, I am quite prepared to admit that there are advantages in defining a minimum, because otherwise unscrupulous masters, of whom there are some, might be glad to avail themselves of a minimum rate for special objects, and apply it generally, which would be unfair, and in the end would not tend to the advantage either of the masters or of the men; but that I think would be quite met (and it is a most important point) by a definition of the age of the person who might come into this "old man's" class, so to speak, because there are some very old men in the printing trade.

19,976. It would be difficult to define what an "old man" meant, would it not?—Such a clause as I point to would make it optional for a man being over a certain age to be put upon the establishment, both parties being agreeable, at a reduced scale.

19,977. Would there be any difficulty in a case of that sort in a master agreeing with the representatives of the union as to the employment of a man under such circumstances at a reduced rate?—I do not think that as unions are now constituted they would entertain that, for the reason I have indicated, that there would be a general jealousy lest it might be extended to improper cases. Reference has been made to the gauge of payment to our compositors, which is so much a thousand letters of type. The theory is that we pay a man for what he picks up in the hour, but he does much more than that; he distributes the type that has been composed and done with afterwards, and sets it out, and then corrects the proof that the reader has revised with the copy; so that the setting up of 2,000 stamps in an hour would not represent according to my knowledge and experience the ability of the man. There are many men of intelligence who do very much more than that. I may explain that we take it that the average of thickness of all letters composing the English language would be represented by the letter "n," and by experience we find it is sufficiently near; we say, "So many n's make a thousand," "n" being the standard. There was a reference made as to the reason why men were put on the establishment, and I alluded to the disadvantage, as I conceived, to the piece hands of having a certain class of work denied them on the piece in consequence of their views about standing advertisements. Mr. Self has referred to it again to-day. I still maintain that it is a disadvantage for any body of men to bar themselves from work by views which it is impossible for the masters to entertain. I cannot call upon my customer in reason or common sense to pay for setting up the same advertisement 52 times when he has in the first instance given me an order for an insertion every week of the year. The fact is you cannot go to the public and talk in that way, they do not understand the ins and outs of the matter; and it comes to this, that that work is done on the establishment, and that leads the master printer to force a number of men on his establishment, and his piece hands are frequently unemployed, while there is more work than the establishment hands can well do; and I say that it is against the policy and interests of the journeymen themselves to be barred from that work, because it is a physical impossibility that the master printers can do it on their terms. I do not myself know what the practice may be everywhere, but I believe that this "fat," as Mr. Self and I will agree to call it, does not reach the men on the piece. I think that they are very large losers by standing out as they do, added to which they have insisted on what I think is a monstrous thing, and they have done themselves harm in the estimation of the masters. I believe if this thing had been appreciated by the judges, and if it had not been a technical case, the decision would not have been what it was. I believe the ruling was under a misapprehension, and I shall always maintain that belief. With respect to apprentices, there is a limit imposed by the men in the machine room, as you know, and as has been stated by Mr. Shreeve. It operates in this way:—Our machinery is limited; a master has only room to put up so much machinery, perhaps only so much capital. Now-a-days more excellence is required in the quality of the work produced than formerly; so that in point of fact whereas formerly I might have got to work and produced a sufficiently satisfactory result for my customer in three hours, now he is more fastidious, and more labour is put into the production of a particular machine which hitherto has been manned by one skilful hand. I believe it would be in the interests of modern English printing, and it is found to be an absolute necessity of modern English printing, to put more skilled labour into the work of each printing machine, so that in fact we are getting to a time when more than one skilled man is wanted for each machine, and we often keep men entirely engaged in assisting the others to start. The master obviously ought to have the maximum of labour to the minimum of machinery; any man of sense must see that he cannot have too few machines and too many men for the machines, if he has room for them to work. I think, moreover, that it is dictation of the clearest and most distinct kind for a master to be told, "You shall not have more than so many apprentices;" what is its effect? that it does not secure a supply of the best workmen. The result is that men are half educated in the country, and they come to London and join the society and rank as machine printers, and we get them into our offices, and they do their work well or ill, as the case may be, and they are the men to enforce these very rules; but they are not all skilled workmen. More facility for the increase of apprentices is wanted to meet the increased demand for skilled machine minders required by a higher class of work, and the necessary wear and tear and loss of numbers, as well as the increase of machinery itself; the men do not promote their own interests in the matter, I believe, while they positively interfere with the excellence of printing. Reference has been made to union and non-union men working together. I do not wish to say anything uncivil or unkind, but I think it will be seen as a matter of common sense that a man who stood alone in a union house would not find his position a pleasant one. It speaks for itself, and I have generally understood that a man who did not care to join the union would find it for his comfort to go to some house where they were not unionists. I do believe that there is no system of picketing amongst us, but still that there is a strong moral pressure put upon men I think it is useless to deny. There is one point which I think our trade is entitled to have dwelt upon. Ours is in the first place a London business, our scale is a London scale, and the working of a business in London such as the printing business is does not bear analogy to such works as Mr. Hollins referred to, namely, pottery works, and the rules which might apply to an arbitration court there would naturally be very different from what they would be with us. And I think that the master printers enjoy one great advantage (coupled with some disadvantages) in the scale, namely, that it is an admirable basis for arbitration; it affords some common ground of agreement to start from. And in speaking of the scale I ought to say that while the scale of the compositors' work is a perfectly agreed scale, and is commonly accepted by masters

Mr. C. W. H. Wyman.

24 July 1868.

and men, we have no other agreed scale except the pressmen's, which you have heard has practically fallen into desuetude. There is no scale with the machine minders, who are never piece-workers.

19,978. Do you think that many of the points of difference which you have referred to as existing between yourselves and the men in your employment might be removed by a meeting between the employers and employed and their talking these matters over together (for there seems to be every reason to suppose that the men are amenable to reason, and would listen to anything that the masters had to say on these subjects), under some such system as Mr. Hollins proposed for the potteries, that is to say, six or a dozen on each side meeting together and talking matters over with a view of settling their differences? —The desire of the Master Printers' Association is as far as possible to look at things in a judicial way and to prevent collision, and in a great many cases they have done so; and I am happy to say that in many cases we have, as a society, acted as moderators. It was in that spirit that we said, "Let us have an arbi- "tration committee. These questions that arise with "us are always about a very small amount in their "initiation, though they may involve an important "principle to us working with each other. These "are not cases to be dragged into a court of law, let "us have a court of arbitration." But it must be obvious to every man of any self-respect that you could not be a party to having your decision to-day overruled to-morrow when the facts were all the same. For instance, take this question of standing advertisements. I do not think that any of the gentlemen who sat in that first case could have agreed to sit and discuss that same question again. Therefore we say, the arbitration court being constituted of half men and half masters, and presided over by a barrister, if its decision on a case is not to be accepted in another case precisely identical, it is mere stultification to talk of arbitration at all. That is why we say, let it be compulsory. Our feeling is, do not let us take any of our questions into a court of law. I am certain that we get worse served in a court of law, because it is impossible that these technical matters can be understood there. Masters and men can understand them, and know the weight to be attached to them.

19,979. The system of arbitration that was adopted in your trade was a system of arbitration in the case of disputes that had already arisen. Surely many of these differences which become disputes in the end might be settled by such meetings as Mr. Hollins referred to. Take this very question with regard to the advertisements; does it not appear to you that half a dozen employers and half a dozen men sitting together at a table and discussing that question would in all probability settle it?—I quite agree with that view. And I am able to state that whenever the masters have met the men they have never sought to establish any undue distinction, and the men have always conducted their case with considerable skill and acumen, as you could well believe from some of the evidence you have heard to-day; but at the same time the masters fancy that they are equally competent to advance their own views in a matter in dispute. The difficulty we find is this, that when we have convinced the men, the men commonly speaking having come unarmed with power to complete the treaty; the result is, that we get handed over to the tender mercies of a general meeting. These men composing the general meeting have not had the advantage of our persuasion and arguments, and eloquence if you will; and the result is that when their representatives go back to them with a declaration that they are convinced, or that their views are modified, it all amounts to naught; they are told, "You went "to accomplish so much, and if you do not get every- "thing we will not agree to it." Hitherto, in our experience the result has been, that while the masters have said to their representatives, "We give you full "powers to treat and close the treaty and finish the "question," the men from one cause or another (and it has happened more than once) impose a limitation on their representatives or delegates; they generally discover that their representatives have not done justice to the force of their case, and will not acquiesce in the arrangement. There is no question that it is desirable that the masters and men should agree together. You have heard Mr. Levey say (and I for myself admit it freely) that we regard the men as no more than properly paid. I would even say that I should like to see them better paid than they are at the present price per thousand of setting up stamps; but what was the argument of a large printer, "Do you "like your present supply of work at the present "wages, or will you have the wages that you ask "without the work?" I am astonished that so sensible a man as Mr. Self should have any doubt whatever that the work is leaving London, and that the London compositor is prejudiced by the fact. He has alluded to the number of men on his books as claiming relief; but there are a great many men who might claim on his books and do not, because they would only claim on his books as a last resource. There are plenty of compositors not half employed in London who do not go to Mr. Self and claim their 10*s.* a week; therefore, the statement that he has only 130 on his books out of 3,300 does not as I submit illustrate the state of the trade. I have only this to add, that in speaking as chairman of the Master Printers' Association I am able to state, and I wish to state it, that our object has been long since to promote more and more harmony between the workmen and their employers; and that we have sought in various ways the assistance of anybody who could contribute to bringing about a happier condition of the relations of labour and capital; and I should certainly like to read a paragraph from one of our reports, going as far back as 1865, in illustration of what we sought. "Your committee desire to draw the parti- "cular attention of the trade to a Bill introduced by "Lord St. Leonards into the House of Lords, entitled "'Masters and Operatives' Bill.' Its object is to "provide for the establishment of councils of concili- "ation, consisting of masters and workmen, in any "particular trade, to consider and settle disputes in "that trade, with legal power to enforce their awards, "but without authority to establish the rate of future "payments. Your committee do not undertake to "give any opinion upon the details of the Bill, but "they think its principle well worthy of consideration, "and likely to be beneficial if fairly carried out." Then we communicated with Lord St. Leonards and he wrote us this letter, which I think aptly illustrates the apathy of the public mind; for nine-tenths of those people who are now intensely alive to the question of the relations between capital and labour showed the most perfect apathy with regard to the question before. "Boyle Farm, 5th June 1865. Sir,—In reply to "your inquiry, I beg to inform you that I have no "intention of moving the second reading of my Bill "this session; nor shall I introduce it next session "unless I find a desire expressed by both masters and "operatives in favour of a court of conciliation, and "Parliament shows itself favourable to the measure. "I so stated in the House of Lords when I moved "the first reading of the Bill. A Bill for establishing "such a court, which was imperfectly drawn, passed "the House of Commons in 1861, and it was approved "of by both masters and operatives in the building "trade. I took charge of it in the Lords, and took "pains to make it correct. The Bill, however, found "no favour there, although out of consideration for "me it was read a second time and sent up to the "select committee, who looked at it with no favour. "This is the history of the Bill. I should not again "have brought it forward if it had not been that "during the late strikes both masters and operatives "expressed a desire to have a court of conciliation. "The Bill has been largely distributed, and they can "now see what sort of a court, if any, is likely to be "appointed. It depends on themselves whether such

" a Bill shall be pressed on the Legislature. Pray " bear in mind that such a court could not fix the rate " of wages, nor would it cause a strike to cease. A " strike is war, and it is sure to be fought out at a " pure loss to both parties and to the country. But " such a court would, it is hoped, prevent strikes, " by bringing masters and men together upon disputes, " and leading them to settle amicably many questions " which otherwise might lead to strikes. I have " written this in haste, but it contains my views, " and as other trades may desire to have the " information which it conveys, you are at " liberty to make use of it for that purpose." I wished to read that letter simply because it shows that we have been alive for years past to the desirability of treating these things in an amicable and friendly spirit, and because we have hitherto believed, and still believe, that there is no need for the violence of strikes and the extremities of trade unionism in order to come to a proper adjustment. And I could, if time permitted, give various instances to show that while as masters we have combined, we have sought to do justice to both masters and men, and have endeavoured, where we might, to do anything that could be done for the advantage of persons in our employment. In the year 1862, I find that we devoted our anxious attention to the subject of " The case of machine boys " who having passed the usual age of machine boys, " are obliged to be dismissed." This was a class of boys who earning disproportionately large wages up to a certain age were not skilled workmen. The question was, when they became beyond that age, what was to become of them. We felt that we were in duty bound to try and see what arrangements could be made, and it was a point that gave us very much anxiety. "A sub-committee was accordingly ap- " pointed for this purpose. They devoted their " anxious attention to the subject, and agreed upon, " and reported to your committee, a course of " proceeding which they considered calculated to " promote the object in view, namely, that of pro- " curing situations for such youths out of the busi- " ness. Their proposals were adopted and carried into " effect; advertisements having been inserted in " several publications containing lists, first of 12 and " afterwards of 18 youths whom, having received " satisfactory characters of them from their late or " present employers they deemed worthy of being " recommended. They greatly regret, however, to " have to report that their efforts have not been " attended with success ; and they now request you " to instruct them as to any further proceedings to be " taken ; for they cannot but consider the case of the " boys in question, without work, or the prospect of " procuring it, to be one of peculiar interest and com- " miseration, and that a considerate and thoughtful " attention to their condition on the part of the em- " ployers at large may lead to some measures by which " this painful state of things may be at least alleviated. " Your committee therefore ask for your advice and " co-operation, being themselves ready and anxious to " carry out any appropriate scheme which you may " propose." In our last year's report there is a question raised as to the turnover apprentices. We considered the matter at several meetings, and in the end printed Mr. Self's letter. " After discussing the sub- " ject on more than one occasion, and being desirous " of promoting the object which Mr. Self's communi- " cation had in view, namely, the proper teaching " of apprentices, your committee consider that they " would best promote that object by introducing Mr. " Self's communication into the present report, as they " have accordingly done." Therefore, that shows that while we have sought to direct and guide those who might want it in reference to our scale, we have looked at the moral welfare of those about us, and have in every sense sought to be as conciliatory as possible, and on all sorts of occasions we have preferred conciliation and arbitration to the arbitrament of the law, which we have invariably found very expensive and most unsatisfactory, and which, as the verdict was always given in favour of one side against the other, always left an embittered feeling on the part of one side against the other. I think that in justice I ought to make one more remark. Mr. Self stated the operation of their union with reference to disputes. Now two cases occurred during the last few weeks where the compositors claimed for matter which had not been composed by them as though it had been newly composed. The masters submitted the cases to our council, and we certainly felt that we could not subscribe to the doctrines of the men. Eventually the claims were withdrawn in each case, and there was no litigation, the old ruling and practice being adopted. I have a letter in my hand from one of the two masters, which I think I am bound to read ; it is as follows :—" Disputes as to prices.—As regards " the disputes respecting prices which have arisen " between me and the men in my employ, I have " every reason to believe from their own statement " that they were attributable to the advice given to " them by the council of their union " (that is Mr. Self's body). " In confirmation of this remark, " the case recently submitted by me to the Master " Printers' Committee may be adduced. Upon the " men being asked to state the ground upon which " the increase upon the charge made in former years " was based, they stated that they had been instructed " to cast up the work according to the scale as laid down " in certain authorized memoranda" (which is not ruled by the masters and the men, but by the men alone). " The men themselves had charged for what they had " done as in former years. Subsequently, they were " ordered by the council of their union to make the " demand for an increase in price, which led to the " dispute to which I have referred." It certainly was a very unfounded charge that was made, and I am happy to say it was withdrawn. And I believe that if the men and masters met together when they had these disputes, or met together periodically, or met as a social science association meet for discussions, in a broad spirit, and not in a purely local or particular spirit, the difficulties might be obviated. I very much dislike, for instance, the discussion of the question of apprentices, if I am at the moment particularly concerned in that question ; but I can discuss it with freedom if I am discussing it with masters and workmen who belong to other trades. I think that if we could establish such meetings as those I have indicated between capital and labour we should get the principles enunciated which ought to govern our relations, and when once we get a firm hold of principles I have not the slightest doubt of their making their legitimate influence felt in our daily practice.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned.

INDEX TO WITNESSES.

	Page
Allan, William	46
Bennett, Robert	11
Beyer, Charles Frederick	41
Blatchley, William Hugh	96, 111
Druitt, George	12
Hollins, Michael Daintry	82
Lee, Richard	100
Leicester, Joseph	38
Levey, George	79
Lewis, Robert	1
Lloyd, George	20
Mundella, Anthony John	89, 91, 95
Nasmyth, James	57
Pardon, Benjamin	95, 110
Robinson, John	48
Robinson, William	29
Self, Henry	98, 102
Shreeve, John	96, 108, 110
Wilkinson, Thomas Joshua	31
Wyman, Charles William Henry	85, 112

LONDON:
Printed by George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode,
Printers to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty.
For Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

TRADES UNIONS COMMISSION: MANCHESTER OUTRAGES INQUIRY.

(TRADES UNION COMMISSION ACT, 30 VICT. C. 8;
TRADES UNION COMMISSION ACT EXTENSION ACT, 30 & 31 VICT. C. 74.)

REPORT

PRESENTED TO

THE TRADES UNIONS COMMISSIONERS

BY

THE EXAMINERS

APPOINTED TO INQUIRE INTO

ACTS OF INTIMIDATION, OUTRAGE, OR WRONG ALLEGED TO HAVE BEEN PROMOTED, ENCOURAGED, OR CONNIVED AT BY TRADES UNIONS

IN

MANCHESTER AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

VOL. I.—REPORT.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
28*th February* 1868.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY GEORGE EDWARD EYRE AND WILLIAM SPOTTISWOODE,
PRINTERS TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.
FOR HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE.

1868.

[*Price 3d.*]

CONTENTS.

	Page
COMMISSION - - - - - - - - - -	iii
WARRANT - - - - - - - - - -	v
REPORT - - - - - - - - - -	vii

COMMISSION.

VICTORIA R.

Victoria, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith.

To Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Sir William Erle, Knight; Our right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin Thomas George Earl of Lichfield; Our trusty and well-beloved Francis Charteris, Esquire (commonly called Lord Elcho); Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Sir Edmund Walker Head, Baronet, Knight Commander of Our most Honourable Order of the Bath; Our trusty and well-beloved Sir Daniel Gooch, Baronet; Our trusty and well-beloved Herman Merivale, Esquire, Companion of Our most Honourable Order of the Bath; Our trusty and well-beloved James Booth, Esquire, Companion of Our most Honourable Order of the Bath; Our trusty and well-beloved John Arthur Roebuck, Esquire, one of Our Counsel learned in the Law; Our trusty and well-beloved Thomas Hughes, Esquire, and Frederic Harrison, Esquire, Barristers at Law; and Our trusty and well-beloved William Mathews, Esquire, greeting.

Whereas it has been represented unto Us that it is expedient that inquiry should be made into the several matters herein-after mentioned.

Now Know Ye, that We, reposing great trust and confidence in your ability and discretion, have nominated, constituted, and appointed, and do by these Presents nominate, constitute, and appoint, you, the said Sir William Erle, Thomas George Earl of Lichfield, Francis Charteris, Esquire (commonly called Lord Elcho), Sir Edmund Walker Head, Sir Daniel Gooch, Herman Merivale, James Booth, John Arthur Roebuck, Thomas Hughes, Frederic Harrison, and William Mathews, to be Our Commissioners for the purposes of the said inquiry.

And We do hereby enjoin you, or any Four of you, to inquire into and report on the Organization and Rules of Trades Unions and other Associations, whether of Workmen or Employers, and to inquire into and report on the effect produced by such Trades Unions and Associations on the Workmen and Employers respectively, and on the Relations between Workmen and Employers, and on the Trade and Industry of the Country; with power to investigate any recent acts of intimidation, outrage, or wrong alleged to have been promoted, encouraged, or connived at by such Trades Unions or other Associations, and also to suggest any improvements to be made in the law with respect to the matters aforesaid, or with respect to the relations between Workmen and their Employers, for the mutual benefit of both parties.

And for the better discovery of the truth in the premises, We do by these Presents give and grant unto you, or any Four of you, full power and authority to call before you, or any Four of you, such persons as you shall judge necessary, by whom you may be better informed of the truth in the premises, and to inquire of the premises and every part thereof by all other lawful ways and means whatsoever.

And Our further Will and Pleasure is that you, Our said Commissioners, do, with as little delay as may be consistent with a due discharge of the duties hereby imposed upon you, certify unto Us from time to time, under your hands and seals, your several proceedings in the premises.

And We do further will and command, and by these Presents ordain, that this Our Commission shall continue in full force and virtue, and that you, our said Commissioners, or any Four of you, shall and may from time to time proceed in the execution thereof, and of every matter or thing therein contained, although the same be not continued from time to time by adjournment.

And for your assistance in the execution of these Presents We do hereby authorize and empower you to appoint a Secretary to this Our Commission, to attend you, whose services and assistance We require you to use from time to time as occasion may require.

Given at Our Court at St. James, the Twelfth day of February 1867, in the Thirtieth Year of Our Reign.

By Her Majesty's Command.

S. H. WALPOLE.

WARRANT.

Whereas an application has been made to me, the Right Honourable Gathorne Hardy, one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, by the Right Honourable Sir William Erle, Chairman of the Commissioners acting under the Commission relating to the Trades Unions mentioned in the Trades Unions Act, 1867, to appoint any number of persons, not exceeding three, to inquire into any acts of Intimidation, Outrage, or Wrong, alleged to have been promoted, encouraged, or connived at by Trades Unions or Associations, whether of Workmen or Employers, in the Town of Manchester or its immediate Neighbourhood, that is, in the district round Manchester lying within Twelve Miles of the Town Hall thereof, and as to the causes of such acts, and of the complicity therein of such Trades Unions or Associations, in pursuance of the Power given by the Trades Unions Commission Act, 1867, and by the Act to extend the Trades Unions Commission Act, 1867.

Now know Ye, that I, Gathorne Hardy, one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, do hereby upon such application, in pursuance of the powers vested in me by the said Acts, appoint you Percival Andree Pickering, Esquire, one of Her Majesty's Counsel learned in the Law, Thomas Irwin Barstow, Esquire, and George Chance, Esquire, all being Barristers-at-Law of not less than Ten Years' standing, with all the Powers, Rights, and Privileges conferred by the said Acts, to conduct the Inquiry into any Acts of Intimidation, Outrage, or Wrong, alleged to have been promoted, encouraged, or connived at by Trades Unions or Associations, whether of Workmen or Employers, in the Town of Manchester or its immediate Neighbourhood, that is, in the district round Manchester lying within Twelve Miles of the Town Hall thereof, and as to the causes of such acts, and of the complicity therein of such Trades Unions and Associations.

I do also appoint James Sheil, Esquire, Barrister-at-Law, to be a Secretary to the Trades Unions Commissioners to act specially in the Inquiry hereby entrusted to you, whose services and assistance you are to use from time to time as occasion may require.

Given under my Hand and Seal at Whitehall, this Twenty-third day of August 1867.

GATHORNE HARDY. (L.S.)

REPORT.

Sir William Erle, My Lords and Gentlemen,

We received our appointment as Examiners under "The Trades Union Commission Act, 1867," and "The Trades Union Commission Act Extension Act, 1867," on the 23rd of August 1867. We immediately caused advertisements to be inserted in the local papers, and notice to be given throughout the district over which the inquiry was to extend of the time when we intended to commence our Inquiry. In pursuance of such notice, we went down to Manchester, and began our Inquiry on the 4th day of September 1867.

We found that an association of masters had employed Messrs. Cobbett and Wheeler, attorneys at Manchester, to watch the inquiry on their behalf; and the interests of the members of several of the Trades Unions which might come under our notice, especially those of the brickmakers and bricklayers at Manchester, were placed in the hands of Mr. Roberts, an attorney of that city. We examined the witnesses ourselves, but at the close of the examination we put to each of them any question which was suggested on behalf of the masters or men.

To our Secretary, Mr. James Sheil, Barrister-at-law, we were very much indebted for the ability and energy manifested by him throughout the whole Inquiry. Mr. Ashworth, and the Committee of Management of the Assize Courts at Manchester, kindly placed those courts at our disposal for the purpose of the Inquiry. We were also much indebted to the Mayor and Corporation of Manchester, as also to the Mayor and Corporation of Salford, and indeed to all the authorities in the district over which the Inquiry extended, and to the several chief constables and police, for the facilities and valuable assistance they respectively rendered to us in carrying out the objects of the Commission.

We found that the members of several of the unions of the brickmakers and bricklayers throughout the district had, in expectation of the inquiry, destroyed their books containing the accounts of their expenditure and the minutes of their proceedings.

In the case of the Manchester Union of Brickmakers, Samuel Wood, the landlord of the Crown and Cushion Inn at Manchester, where that union held its meetings, having been served with a *subpœna duces tecum*, delivered to us five chests, one of iron and four of wood. Wood had the custody of these chests at his inn, and at first refused to deliver them up, stating that if he did so without the permission of the members of the union, they would kill him. But after a consultation with six or seven members of the union, he gave the chests up to the police officers who had been sent to fetch them. They were, however, all locked, and it was proved that those who had had the custody of the keys had thrown them away; and, though notice for that purpose was publicly given, no one came forward to produce them. We accordingly had all the five chests broken open, when it appeared that all books containing the accounts of the expenditure of that union and the minutes of proceedings, and other books and papers relating to the union, which might have been relevant to our inquiry, had been removed. It was proved that those chests were the usual place of custody for such books, minutes, and papers of the union.

We will now proceed to give an account of the cases which were brought under our notice.

The Stockport Operative Brickmakers' Union.

In the summer of 1864 Messrs. Thomas and William Meadows were carrying on business as brickmakers at Reddish, two miles from Stockport. In June of that year they made an improvement in the manufacture of bricks, by which they effected a saving in the cost of making of 10*d.* per thousand. The union men in their employment claimed for themselves the whole of the sum they saved. Messrs. Meadows offered 6*d.* This the men refused, and left their employment. A week after they had 1864.

left, three of them, *Thomas Wilde*, Humphrey Child, and William Fallowes, returned to work on the terms offered by the Messrs. Meadows. On the night of the 2nd of August Wilde, who is a brick-burner, was at his work when he was assaulted by six men, and beaten with "cart legs." His head, and face under the eye, were cut open, his leg much injured, and his right arm broken in several places. He was left on the ground, and as the party went away some of them said "he should burn bricks no more." He was in the Stockport Infirmary five or six weeks; and at the time he appeared before us he was evidently still suffering from the injuries he had then received.

Two men, named Holland Cheetham and William Slater, then respectively president and treasurer of the Stockport Brickmakers' Union, were tried at Manchester at the following winter assizes for this offence, and were convicted and sentenced to 20 years' penal servitude. The union paid the costs of their defence. After their conviction the members of the union made great efforts to procure their pardon or a remission of their sentence. They repeatedly urged Wilde to sign papers to the effect that the convicts were not the men who had assaulted him; but though they made him offers of money for that purpose, and were also willing to admit him as a member of the union, he constantly refused to sign any paper which could be construed into an admission that he had mistaken the men. On the 28th of March 1865, upon receiving from three men, calling themselves representatives of the Stockport Brickmakers' Society, a written guarantee that, on condition that he would sign a certain paper, they would "re-instate him to all the benefits" of the union, and give him five pounds, Wilde, having consulted an attorney, signed in his presence the above-named paper, of which the following is a copy:—

I, Thomas Wilde, of Small's Buildings, Regent Road, Salford, brickmaker, the prosecutor in the late prosecution against Holland Cheetham and William Slater, tried and convicted at the winter assizes for Manchester, 1864, and sentenced by Mr. Justice Blackburn to 20 years' penal servitude, do hereby testify that I believe the said Holland Cheetham and William Slater never have had any malice or desire to injure me personally or otherwise. And I further say that from Holland Cheetham I experienced at times great kindness, and when out of employment he exerted himself for me to obtain a situation. That William Slater I know but little, except as a workman in the same trade; that I never had any falling out or quarrel with him which would lead to a motive for his committing the offence for which he is now suffering; and I cannot ascribe to either Cheetham or Slater a motive for doing me an injury. Under these circumstances, and taking into consideration the uncertainty of the testimony I have given, for I may have been mistaken as to their identity (although I cannot say that I have), I trust that Her Majesty will be pleased to give the prisoners the benefit of any doubt upon the case, and if not liberating them, at least commute the punishment to a short period of imprisonment.

Dated this 28th day of March 1865.

(The mark of Thomas Wilde.)

(Witness to signature.)

The two convicts received a free pardon, and were released after having been in prison two years, four months, and seven days. Immediately upon their release Slater was elected to the office of president of the Stockport Brickmakers' Union, and was so at the time of our inquiry.

Wilde has ever since been the subject of persecution. He was afraid to reside at Reddish, Manchester, or Oldham. The union men refused to work with him, and he has now left that part of the country; and, having changed his name, and being undiscovered, he has succeeded in obtaining work.

The account given by Slater and Cheetham is that it had been settled at a full committee meeting, over which Cheetham presided as president of the union, that Wilde should be beaten. No details were then arranged; but afterwards, at a meeting of about eight members of the committee summoned suddenly in a brickcroft, on the 1st of August 1864, it was resolved that Wilde and Child were to be beaten that night. 14*l.* was voted for the purpose, and the execution of the business was entrusted to Slater. In pursuance of the above resolution, Slater went the same afternoon to Manchester to one James Kay, the "walking delegate" of the Manchester Brickmakers' Union, and Kay agreed for 14*l.* to bring down a gang of men to beat Wilde and Child; which he accordingly did. But Slater and Cheetham both denied that they were either of them present at the time Wilde was beaten. The money, as agreed, was paid to Kay by Joseph Brown, the Secretary of the Stockport Union. The minute book of the Stockport Brickmakers' Society, which, no doubt, contained entries relating to this and the following outrages, was burnt the day before our inquiry commenced.

1863, May 8th. *Mr. John Simpson* is a brickmaker, and for four years has carried on business at Stockport Moor, and before that time at Heaton Moor. As long ago as 1860 he had

difficulties and disputes with the Stockport Union, which resulted in his having to leave Heaton. In 1863 he was employing a non-union man, named Dunkley, as a brick-burner. On the 8th of May 25,000 bricks were destroyed by men trampling on them; his barrows, tressels, tables, and other tools were cut to pieces. Eight men were concerned in this outrage; their footsteps were traced to a place called Hillgate, where many members of the Stockport Union then lived. Immediate information was given to the police, but no one was apprehended.

After the destruction of the property in 1863, Mr. Simpson had the brickyard watched at night by one and sometimes by two or three men. Peter Platt was watching on the night of the 17th of June, when he was alarmed by the barking of his dog. As he opened the door of his cabin a man struck at him; he backed into his cabin, and immediately a gun was thrust through the window and discharged; he returned the fire with a revolver, and then went out; he saw two men knocking down the "green walls;" he fired at them, and they ran away. As he turned round he saw three other men setting fire to the shed; he called out to his lad to bring his gun, and the three men ran off. Seven men altogether were engaged in this outrage, but little damage was done, as they were so soon disturbed. This outrage on Mr. Simpson's property was resolved on at a special council meeting of the Stockport Brickmakers' Society, at which 12 or 13 members were present; 15*l.* was voted for the job, and the execution of it was entrusted to William Slater. 1863, June 17th.

In July 1864 *Mr. Thornley* was a master brickmaker at Heaton Norris; he would not employ union men. The same committee as in the last case resolved to destroy his property. Holland Cheetham, president of the Stockport Brickmakers' Union, William Slater, the treasurer, and the above-named James Kay, and two others, members of the committee, trampled on 40,000 or 50,000 bricks, and burnt Thornley's sheds, boards, and other implements. The party went provided with chips and matches, and Kay set the shed on fire. The party were paid 10*l.* or 12*l.* by either the treasurer or the secretary of the society. 1864, July.

The Manchester Brickmakers' Society claim an extent of four miles round Manchester in every direction, an area of 120 square miles, as their peculiar district, within the limits of which they permit no bricks to be made except by Manchester union men, nor any bricks to be used except those made within the district. They accomplish the latter object by means of an alliance with the Manchester Bricklayers' Union, the members of which will not set any bricks not made within the above-named district. Levenshulme is claimed by both the Manchester and the Stockport Unions, and is a kind of debateable ground between them.

In the summer of 1867, *Mr. Thomas Aitken* was building print-works at Levenshulme, and making the bricks for the building upon his own ground. In 1866 and the early part of the following year both the brickmaking and bricklaying were being done by Manchester union men. In consequence of the foreman putting on two Stockport bricklayers, all the Manchester men, both brickmakers and bricklayers, left their work. Mr. Aitken then contracted with one Joseph Rigby, a non-union man, to make bricks. On the night of the 15th June 4,500 bricks were trampled on and destroyed by five or six men. 1867, June 15th.

On or about the 28th of August 1867, at the same place, 19,920 bricks were trampled on by five or six men, who were traced from the brickyard in the direction of Manchester. 1867, Aug. 28th.

Messrs. Edward Barrett and *Peter Bailey* are brickmakers within the so-called Stockport district, at Didsbury and Heaton Norris respectively; they employ Stockport Union men, and are on good terms with the union. On the night of the 15th of June 1867, 40,000 bricks belonging to Mr. Barrett, and 47,000 belonging to Mr. Bailey, were destroyed. About 20 men were employed in each of these outrages. About a fortnight after this, Mr. Barrett had some boards burnt. They attribute this destruction of their property to the Manchester Brickmakers' Society. They each offered a reward of 200*l.* to any one who would give such information as would lead to the conviction of the offenders, but in both cases ineffectually. They were compensated for the loss they had sustained by the Stockport Brickmakers' Society, as they had suffered in consequence of the dispute between the two unions. 1867, June 15th.

We had no doubt from the evidence that the above outrages were done by members of the Manchester Brickmakers' Society.

The Ashton-under-Lyne Operative Brickmakers' Union.

The outrages committed in the district of this union arose almost entirely from the employment by the master brickmakers of non-union men.

About the year 1859 the union brickmakers struck for an advance of wages. The masters refused to give the advance demanded, and the men thereupon refused to work. The masters were compelled to seek hands elsewhere, and supplied the places of the union men with non-unionists. The employment of non-union men was against the rules of the society, and deputations from the Ashton Union waited upon the masters to remonstrate with them, and to require that they should employ union men only. The masters in general refused compliance with the demands of the union; whereupon they were subjected to a series of outrages, of which the following were proved before us.

1859, Nov. 4th. *James Taylor*, master brickmaker, had formerly a brickyard at Cockbrook, Ashton-under-Lyne. In the year 1859 he had in his employ several men who had entered or were on the point of entering the Ashton Union, which had been broken up, and was then being re-formed. In the summer of that year, Mr. Taylor, being dissatisfied with the manner in which his men did their work, paid them off as soon as they had finished the job for which they had been engaged, and took on a fresh set of men who were not members of the union. In October, Thomas Harrison, secretary to the Ashton Union, and another man whose name is not known, called upon Taylor, and asked him to take his former men back again. This he refused to do; upon which one of the two men said, "He (Taylor) must take what followed." Taylor resided within a short distance of his brickyard; and on the morning of the 4th November, between one and two o'clock, he was called up by an old man who was employed by him to burn bricks at night. He went down immediately to his yard, and found his sheds on fire. One of those sheds was in process of erection, and all the boards and spars had been laid ready to put on the following morning. These had all been removed into the old shed, and having been piled up in a heap, together with some barrows and screens, naphtha had been poured over them, and the whole set on fire. This shed with its contents was destroyed, and a considerable portion also of the new shed burnt down; but the fire having been discovered, further damage was stayed. A number of bricks were also destroyed at the same time. Five or six men, all members of the Ashton Union, were engaged in committing this outrage; and Charles Barlow confessed before us to having been one of the number.

Taylor continued to employ non-union men until the end of 1861; and then, from fear of further damage being done to him, he discharged them, and employed members of the union instead; from which time, until he gave over brickmaking in 1864, to use his own expression, he "went on comfortably."

1860. *Messrs. Clifford* were master brickmakers at Stalybridge, in the Ashton District. In the year 1860 they were employing non-union men. From time to time applications were made to their men to join the union, but they refused. Not long after, 15,000 to 16,000 bricks were destroyed by being trampled upon. This damage was proved to have been done by members of the Ashton Union. Five men were engaged in the act, one of whom was John Ensor, at that time president of the union. Thomas Barlow admitted that he also took part in it.

1860, Oct. In October of the same year, after a resolution passed at a meeting of the union that "something must be done to Cliffords," some members of the union paid a second visit to the brickyard. Messrs. Clifford were erecting a new shed, and there was a considerable quantity of materials and implements upon the premises. The men collected all the planks, tables, tressels, mouldings, boards, barrows, tubs, riddles, shovels, and everything they could find, added some dried grass or stuff which was on the ground, poured naphtha over the heap, and set it on fire. A man named Joseph Frith, who had been President of the Ashton Union, confessed to his having been concerned in this outrage.

1861. In the following summer 16,000 bricks belonging to Messrs. Clifford were trampled upon.

Notwithstanding these outrages Messrs. Clifford continued to employ non-union men.

1862, June 28th. On the night of the 28th June 1862, John Ward, John Ensor, Robert Ryan, John Toole, Thomas Barlow, Frederick Hipwell, —— Gregory, and Michael Burke, met at a shop behind Ward's house, to arrange another attack upon Cliffords' premises. They then separated, and met again about 12 o'clock at a fence near the brickfield; Ensor,

Ward, and Burke had each a pistol, the others carried bludgeons. Thence they proceeded to the brickfield. At the kiln, which was burning, there were a policeman and two or three other men, who were laughing and talking; the fire of the kiln prevented the union party from being seen, and they succeded in trampling upon some 20,000 bricks without being discovered. They then left, returning the same way they had come. On arriving at Small Shaw, a place about three miles from Clifford's brickfield, they were met by George Harrop, inspector of police, and police constable *William Jump*, who happened to be on duty there that night. When first seen by Harrop, the men were walking in a body on the footpath, but when they came within about 50 yards of the police constables they all left the footpath and walked in single file on the grass in the field. After they had all passed, with the exception of two, Harrop stopped before the last but one, and said, "My man, what is the meaning of all this?" He attempted to pass without speaking, whereupon Harrop said, "Nay, you have done nothing wrong, you need not fear," and put up his hand to the man's breast. The latter then seized Harrop by the arm and shoulder, and said, "Now men, now men, now," two or three times quickly. Harrop then seized tight hold of him with his left hand by the coat collar. He attempted to break Harrop's hold by going under his arm with his head stooping down. By this time the other men had collected together, and stood about six or eight yards from the spot where Harrop and the one man were struggling. Burke discharged a pistol at Harrop, the ball from which knocked the stick out of his hand, and struck him over the right eye; two other shots were fired in quick succession, the balls in each case passing close to Harrop's head. Then Ward and another man attacked him with bludgeons, and a desperate struggle ensued. Harrop having possessed himself of the bludgeon of the man whom he had first laid hold of, struck Ward on the head, who dropped and went on his hands and knees towards the left, where at this time constable Jump was engaged in a scuffle with three others of the party. He then struck the other man with whom he was struggling, and forced him to retire. At the distance of 15 or 20 yards stood a man, who threw large stones at Harrop, one of which struck him on the arm. Harrop went after that man, and while pursuing him he heard two reports of fire-arms in the direction in which he had seen Jump engaged. He returned, and found Jump crouched down against the stump of a tree. He had been shot in the breast, and died almost immediately.

Ward, Burke, Hipwell, Thomas Barlow, Ryan, and Toole were apprehended on suspicion of being concerned in this outrage. John Ward and Michael Burke were tried at the summer assizes at Liverpool, 1862, for the murder of Jump, and were convicted. Ward was hanged, and Burke sentenced to penal servitude for life. Gregory, Hipwell, Ryan, and Toole were discharged in consequence of the evidence not being sufficiently strong against them; additional evidence was subsequently obtained, but Gregory and Ensor had then left the neigbourhood, and Ryan and Toole could not be found. Thomas Barlow and Hipwell confessed to having been of the party, and Hipwell admitted that he was the man who threw the stones at Harrop.

The Ashton Union undertook the defence of the men charged with Jump's murder, and applied to the Amalgamated Brickmakers' Union for subscriptions towards defraying the expenses. This Amalgamated Union, comprising the Unions of Ashton, Manchester, Oldham, Stockport, Wigan, Liverpool, Sheffield, St. Helens, and Birkenhead, had been formed some time before, for mutual help and protection. Each union subscribed to the funds of the Amalgamated Society, and these subscriptions were usually paid at the quarterly meetings held at Manchester. Thomas Harrison, at that time president of the Ashton Union, attended the quarterly meeting of the Amalgamated Union, as delegate, for the purpose of obtaining contributions towards the expense of defending Ward and the other men. He explained to the meeting the object for which he sought their assistance, and the application was taken into consideration. Ultimately all the unions subscribed to the defence fund; but the amount raised proving insufficient, a second appeal was made by delegates from the Ashton Union, and further sums were obtained. The money subscribed amounted to 400*l.*, of which 200*l.* was paid to Mr. Roberts, the attorney for the prisoners, and the remainder spent in making Ensor and Gregory "secure," by getting them out of the way. The money was entrusted to John Barlow, the then secretary, and Thomas Harrison, the then president of the Ashton Union, for these purposes, but no entry was made in any of the books of the unions relating thereto.

We have no doubt that the Amalgamated Union subscribed towards the defence of the men charged with the murder of Jump with a full knowledge that the murder was committed by the men returning from Cliffords' brickyard, and that the outrage

committed by them on Cliffords' property was done in the interest and with the concurrence of the Ashton Union.

1861, May. *William Tetlow* was a brickmaker, and worked for his father, a master brickmaker, at Hurst Brook, Ashton-under-Lyne. The latter had offended the Ashton Union by employing non-union men. He had originally employed members of the union, but in consequence of their refusing to work for him unless he gave them the advance of wages demanded, he was obliged to put up with such men as he could find, and took on non-union men. In May 1861 needles were put into his clay. Upon this, Tetlow, who was not in a large way of business, ceased to employ strangers, and the work was done by members of his own family. An additional reason for not employing union men was, that he had no work for them in the winter, and if employed in the summer, they would look for their work in the winter, when Tetlow and his family could do all the work themselves.

1861. Nov. In November 1861 an attempt was made to blow up and burn Tetlow's house, by throwing bottles containing gunpowder and naphtha into it. Three bottles containing naphtha, with lighted fuzes attached, were thrown into a room downstairs, and exploded, setting the furniture on fire, and doing considerable damage. Two bottles filled with powder and nails were thrown at the window of the bedroom where Tetlow and his wife were sleeping, but, striking against the window frame, they exploded outside, shattering the framework. This outrage was proved to have been committed by seven members of the Ashton Union. Thomas Barlow and Hipwell confessed to having been of the party; Charles Barlow could not remember whether he was there or not, but he stated that "he had been concerned in so many of these affairs, that it had slipped his mind if he was there."

On other occasions, subsequent to this, Tetlow's bricks have been destroyed, and he has often been threatened by the union men, and shamefully ill-used.

1861, Nov. 15th. *John Rogers* was a master brickmaker in the Oldham Road, in the Ashton district. In 1861 he was employing union men; they demanded an advance of wages. Mr. Rogers was willing to give them half the sum demanded, but this they refused, and struck work. Their places were supplied with non-union men. Rogers's conduct was brought before a meeting of the union. Ensor and another member were sent to him as a deputation to endeavour to arrange matters with him, but without success. The matter was again brought before a meeting of the union, when it was suggested that something should be done to make him have union men. Rogers put a watchman, named Samuel Newton, on his premises, to protect them. On the morning of the 15th November 1861 Newton met a man as he was coming to his work, who said to him, "You are going to your work, I see; you had better stop at home, something might happen to you." On the following night, about 12 o'clock, a party of six or seven men, members of the Ashton Union, went to Rogers's brickyard, for the purpose of destroying his bricks. Two of the men were armed with pistols, and the party went determined to resist, in the event of being apprehended or disturbed. Newton was inside the shed when they arrived at the brickfield. Hearing a noise outside, as if an attempt was being made to loosen the board from the bottom of the shed, he went out. On going up to the end of the shed he came in contact with a man, and, putting his lamp in his face, he asked him what he was doing there, adding, "There was no road, and he might get into the brickpits." The man made no reply, but fired at him; the shot went close by the left side of his head. Newton said, "This is nice work, shooting at a man, and not speaking to him;" and then, stepping back, he drew a pistol out of his pocket, with the intention of firing it. Another man, at that instant, sprang up from the back of the shed, and shot Newton in the head as he was in the act of discharging his pistol. They all then ran away. A few days after a ball and slug were extracted from Newton's head, and it was eleven weeks before he was fit for work. Thomas Barlow and Charles Barlow confessed to having been concerned in this outrage also.

Joseph Barlow was a master brickmaker at Droylsden, in the Ashton district. He is brother to the above-named Charles Barlow, and uncle to Thomas and John. Joseph Barlow was in disfavour with the union, from not employing union men. A deputation was sent from the union to warn him; and one night, between 12 and 1 o'clock, two stone bottles, filled with gunpowder, were thrown at his bedroom window, but, striking against the woodwork, they exploded outside. He, with his wife and child, was in bed at the time. The following morning the fragments of the two bottles were found underneath the window, together with a third bottle, which

had not exploded. On another occasion, a quantity of clay sufficient to make 400,000 bricks, was "needled."

Mr. Barlow was compelled to place a watchman on his premises. One *John King Butterfield* was employed in this capacity, and it was also his duty to put coals on the fires at night. Some time in 1861 Butterfield was told by union men that something would be done to him if he watched or did the firing for Mr. Barlow. He continued his duties as before; and some time after the threat, about 12 o'clock at night, his horse was hamstrung in the stable, and otherwise so injured that it had to be shot. 1861.

In consequence of these repeated outrages Mr. Barlow was compelled to turn away non-union men, and to employ union men instead.

John Barlow and Thomas Harrison, at that time respectively secretary and president of the Ashton Union, admitted that these outrages were committed at the instance of the union, and had been paid for out of the union funds.

Thomas Shepley superintended the business of his father, who was a master brick- 1861, Feb.
maker at Hyde, in the Ashton district. A branch of the Ashton Union had been established at Hyde, for the convenience of the members living there, but this branch was subject to the rules of the parent society. In 1860 Shepley employed union men, but, on their striking for an advance of wages, non-union men were taken on in their place. Upon this, the usual request was made to Mr. Shepley by the union, to discharge the non-union workmen, but he refused to comply. In February 1861 a hut or cabin in his brickyard was broken into, and his men's tools and wheelbarrows destroyed. A paper was found pinned on the door of the hut, containing a notice threatening the men's lives if they continued to work for Mr. Shepley.

The May following a considerable quantity of clay was damaged by needles and 1861, May.
short nails being put into it.

Mr. Shepley had in his stable two valuable horses. One night in the following 1861, Aug.
August, between 11 and 12 o'clock, four men, who were members of the union, proceeded to the stable; two of them watched outside, while the other two entered the stable. One of these, with a razor which he had taken for the purpose, severed the hind-leg sinews of both horses, which afterwards had to be destroyed.

Amongst the non-union men who worked for Mr. Shepley was one named *Joseph Wyatt.* In the year 1860 Wyatt had been a member of the Ashton Union, but having been fined 30*s.* for expressing his determination to work at Shepley's yard independently of union men, he left the society. In 1861 he was made manager of the yard. Wyatt lived about two miles from the yard, and was constantly watched and threatened by union men as he was going to and returning from his work. On several occasions he found lying in his path apples and oranges which had the appearance of having been poisoned. Wyatt gave information of the circumstance at the time of its occurence, to the police authorities, but no examination of the fruit was made. He could, however, in no way account for these oranges and apples being so frequently and in such numbers placed in his way, except on the supposition that they were poisoned, and intended to injure him. 1861.

William Hibbert carried on the brickmaking business near Hyde. He employed 1861.
non-union men, and a bad feeling arose, in consequence, between him and the union. In 1861 a large quantity of needles were thrown into his tempered clay. In consequence of this, and from apprehension of further damage to his property, he discontinued the trade.

John Hartley was a master brickmaker at Dukinfield, in the Ashton district, who 1858 to
had always employed non-union men. During the years 1858 to 1863 damage was 1863.
done to his bricks upon five or six different occasions, but the actual loss sustained was not great. On one of these occasions, namely, in the year 1862, the outrage was committed by two members of the Ashton Union, Richard Brown and John Middleton Walker. These men were discovered in the act, were apprehended, committed, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment for the offence.

Thomas Hague had been a master brickmaker at Hyde for 16 years. He had 1861.
generally employed union men, but in the year 1861, in consequence of repeated turn-outs, he resolved not to employ them again, and supplied their places with non-unionists. Soon after this, about 7,000 of his bricks were spoiled, and both he and his men were frequently threatened. The non-union men employed by him were

continually going away, and when asked why they left, they said "they dare not work."

1861 On one occasion, in 1861, a man came to Mr. Hague as a delegate from the union. He said that "he (Hague) was much respected, but they had come to the determination to shoot him." Under the influence of this threat, and in fear of his life, Hague turned away the non-union men in his employ, and took on union men. With these he finished the "bit of clay" he had in hand, told them they must make bricks for themselves in future, and gave up the business.

1860, July. *John Warden* was a master brickmaker at Newton Wood, in the Ashton district, and was carrying on his business there in 1860. He employed non-union men. In the spring of this year he was solicited to join the Brickmakers' Union, but refused. In July, eight members of the union, three of whom upon their own confession were Frederick Hipwell and Thomas and Charles Barlow, went to his brickyard. They collected together the various tools, implements, and other things they found there, consisting of barrows, trestles, boards, and other materials, piled them together in a heap, poured naphtha over them, and then set them on fire. The then secretary and president of the Ashton Union admitted having paid 15*l.* out of the union funds to the perpetrators of the outrage.

1861, Feb. 19th. *William Henry Wylde* was a master brickmaker in Turner Lane, in the Ashton Union. The union men in his employ struck for an advance of wages, and he then took on non-union hands. On the night of the 19th February 1861, six or seven Ashton Union men went to Wylde's brickyard, and put a quantity of needles and broken glass into his clay.

1861. At that time Wylde had a man in his employ, named *Moorhouse*. The men, having destroyed the clay, proceeded to the shed to see if there was a watchman there. One of them knocked at the door; and Moorhouse, who happened to be inside, went to the door, and said, "Who's that; is it you, Ned?" meaning the watchman. Some one answered "Yes." He opened the door, and immediately one of the men attempted to fire a pistol at him, but it missed fire, and then the man struck him on the head with it. Moorhouse struggled and freed himself, and as he was running away he was fired at, but not hit. Charles Barlow confessed to having been one of the party.

Five or six months after this Wylde took the union men again into his employ, the non-union men either having left of their own accord, or having been enticed away by the union men. After the union men had returned Wylde had no further trouble with the union. He gave up business, however, about four years ago, in consequence of trade outrages. "They had reached," he said, "such a pitch that nothing could be done with it."

1861, Jan. *John Kirk* was a master brickmaker at Ashton. In 1861 he was employing non-union men, and in January of that year an attempt was made to set his house on fire. About one o'clock in the morning three bottles were thrown into the window of his bedroom, in which his father-in-law, an old man of 82 years of age, and a sister-in-law, were sleeping. He and his wife occupied an adjoining room at the back. Two of these bottles, which were of glass, contained naphtha; and the bottles being broken by the concussion, the naphtha was spilled on the floor, and fragments of the bottles flew about the room. The third bottle, which was of stone, and contained gunpowder, did not explode, as the fuse attached to it either had not been lighted, or, if lighted, had gone out. There was also a fourth bottle containing powder, which struck against the window frame and exploded outside, filling the room with smoke. Six members of the Ashton Union were engaged in this attack upon Kirk's house. One of them was armed with a pistol, and kept guard with another man, while the others threw the bottles into the house. Two of them, Charles Barlow and Frith, confessed their participation in the outrage; the latter, as has been before mentioned, having filled the office of President of the union.

1861, April. In the following April Mr. Kirk had a quantity of clay damaged by needles being put into it.

Messrs. Martin and Smethurst were master brickmakers at Guide Bridge, in the
1862, April. Ashton district. In 1861 they were employing non-union men. In the month of April 1862 from 5,000 to 10,000 of their bricks were destroyed by being trampled upon. This damage was done by members of the Ashton Union. Hipwell and Thomas Barlow confessed to having been of the party.

To prevent further damage being done to their property, Messrs. Martin and Smethurst engaged Richard Dunning to act as watchman during the night time. On the night of June 27th, in the same year, the night before police constable Jump was shot, two of their men were burning at the kiln in the brickyard. Dunning, armed with a gun, was watching; he saw two men come together into the brickyard; they separated; one went near to the kiln where the two men were burning, the other came on to the railway bridge, nearer to the spot where Dunning was standing. Dunning saw the former shoot at the kiln-burners, and immediately fired his gun at the man on the bridge. The two men then ran away. One of the kiln-burners was hit in the back with shot. 1862, June 27th.

At the time of these outrages Messrs. Martin and Smethurst were not making bricks for sale, but for their own use in building a cotton mill. They had supposed it would matter little to the trade whether they employed union or non-union men. We believe this outrage to have been committed by union men.

Thomas Blocksage was a master brickmaker at Dukinfield in the Ashton district. In 1860 he was employing union men. Some of the work not having been done to his satisfaction, he stopped a small sum out of their wages. In consequence of this they turned out, called a district meeting, and the union fined him 5*l.* for the loss of a day's labour to the men, who refused to return to work until the fine was paid. Mr. Blocksage at first refused to pay the fine, but subsequently gave way. Being annoyed, however, at the treatment he had received from the union, he threw up the contracts he had then on hand, ceased work for two years, and did not resume brickmaking until 1862.

On recommencing business he employed non-union men only; and in the summer of 1862, 50,000 to 60,000 of his bricks were trampled upon, and some of his walls of bricks pushed down. Seven men, members of the Ashton Union, were engaged in this work of destruction. Hipwell and Thomas Barlow admitted being of the party. The arrangement of this outrage had been entrusted by Thomas Harrison, the then president of the union, to James Kay, the delegate of the Manchester Brickmakers' Union, who received from Harrison out of the Ashton Union funds 25*l.* in payment for this and another outrage. In consequence of this outrage Blocksage's premises were placed under the protection of the police. On a subsequent occasion in the same year, late at night, a number of men were seen by a policeman concealed under a hedge in the immediate neighbourhood of the brickyard, but before any of them could be apprehended they made off. 1862.

In 1863 and 1864 deputations came to Mr. Blocksage from the union, to request that he would ask his men to join the society. His reply was, that if his men wanted to go into the union they might do so, and that he should not object to it. His men declined. Soon after a visit from one of these deputations in 1864, an attempt was made to set his shed on fire, and in the latter end of the same year one of his horses was stabbed in the stable. His men were often threatened by members of the union. 1864.

Notwithstanding the attacks made upon his property, Mr. Blocksage expressed his opinion that the union men "had dealt very leniently with him, as he had other property at stake by which they might have punished him severely."

John Clifford, at present a labourer, was in 1864 a brickmaster, carrying on business at Ridgy Lane, Stalybridge, in the Ashton district. In May 1864 several members of the Ashton Union called upon him, and complained of his employing non-union men, and of the wages he was then paying, which were a little less than the club price. They wished him to turn away the non-union men, and to take a gang of their men instead, adding that it would be better for him if he did take their men. Clifford refused to comply with their request. A few days after, on Whitsun Friday night, 11,000 of his bricks were trampled on. 1864. Whitsun Friday

In the beginning of the following November a shed was set on fire, and two-thirds of it destroyed. Some hurdles had been collected together, placed in the shed, and then fired. On the same night a valuable dog which was in the shed belonging to Clifford was killed, and upwards of 2,000 bricks destroyed. Clifford's house was situated about 200 yards from the brickyard. At the latter end of November, about 12 o'clock at night, a bottle filled with combustibles was thrown into the window of his bedroom, where he, his wife, and four children, were then sleeping. It caught the back of a chair, and then rebounded into the street, where it exploded. The bottle had been wrapped in a bit of rag steeped in gas tar. The next morning 1864, Nov.

there was found, buried in a heap of ashes about a quarter of a mile from the house, another bottle containing powder with a fuse attached, which probably there had not been time to throw, as Clifford immediately upon the explosion whistled for the police, six of whom came directly to the spot.

After this last outrage Clifford employed a watchman to guard his premises. He provided him with a revolver and two large dogs, the watchman refusing to undertake the duty unless he had them for his protection.

Clifford was abused and threatened by the union men, and dared not go to Ashton after dark. Believing his life to be in danger he gave up the brickmaking business in August of the following year, as, to use his own words, he "thought it better to "give it up than to lose his life."

1866. *James Harrison* and his brother were in business as brickmakers at Ashton in the year 1866. There was upon their property a considerable quantity of clay, which, when ground, was available for making bricks, but which, if not ground, was useless. There was clay sufficient to produce 100,000 bricks a year. In order to make this clay practicable Messrs. Harrison proceeded by way of experiment to grind it by machinery; but their men objected to its being ground, because they considered it was infringing upon their labour, although they had their own tables and stools to work it when ground. No sooner had Messrs. Harrison commenced grinding than they were waited on by a delegate from the Ashton Union, with two of their own men, who declared they would not work for them if they, Messrs. Harrison, "did like that." Messrs. Harrison said they should try it, and the men went away. As they were going, one of the men said, "Come, we have plenty of money in the box, "and thou wilt not always be master." This conversation took place in the middle of the week. Messrs. Harrison told their men to keep a sharp look out, as they thought they would be on them pretty quick; and on the Sunday following, about 12 o'clock at night, while the watchman was getting his supper, the shed was fired. The shed was fitted up with shelves, on which coals, chips, and other stuff had been crammed and set on fire. There was a considerable quantity of timber in the shed, and if the fire had not been discovered immediately it must have been burnt down.

1867. In the summer of the present year, 1867, *James Turner*, a neighbour of Messrs. Harrison, was going along the footpath by their brickyard, about 10 o'clock at night, when a man dressed in white clothes came up to him, struck him two very violent blows on the face and forehead with a stone, cutting his lip and breaking his nose, and then ran away, leaving him insensible. Turner and the watchman of Messrs. Harrison were about the same size, and the outrage could only be accounted for on the supposition that he was mistaken for the latter.

The greater number of the foregoing outrages committed in the Ashton district, already mentioned, were confessed to by parties—members of the Ashton Union—who were personally concerned in them; and it was also admitted by John Barlow and Thomas Harrison, who were respectively secretary and president of the society during the greater portion of the years 1860, 1861, and 1862, the period when these outrages were most frequent, that they had all been promoted by the officers of the Union, with the concurrence of a large majority of its members, and had been paid for out of the union funds. Neither Barlow nor Harrison was able to speak with accuracy as to payments made on each particular occasion. "There were so many jobs," they said, "that they could not remember whether they paid for them or not;" but they stated that "they had no doubt the outrages were all paid for either by themselves "or by the then acting officers of the union."

The Manchester Operative Brickmakers' and Bricklayers' Unions.

1862. In 1862 *Joseph Frith*, who at that time was a master brickmaker, and a member of the Ashton Union, sent some bricks from his premises, which were in the district of the Ashton Union, to Belle Vue Gaol, which is in the Manchester Union district. The two carters who went with the bricks were both beaten, and by the direction of members of the Manchester Union.

If a person in the Manchester district were to obtain bricks from another district no brickmaker in the Manchester district would supply him with any unless he sent

back what he had thus obtained in violation of the rules of the Manchester Union. This was represented to us as a common occurrence.

In the year 1864 there was a company called the *Ardwick Brickmaking Company*, which was in the Manchester district, and which made bricks by machinery. For some time they had been in the habit of having timber from Messrs. Bennett and Co., timber merchants, whose premises were in Hyde Road, Manchester. The members of the Manchester Union are all hand brickmakers, and it is against the rules of the union that bricks should be made by machinery. It seems that in consequence of their carters, who went with the timber to the Ardwick Brickmaking Company, being threatened, and also of one of their horses having had his throat cut, the Messrs. Bennett had refused to supply the company with any more timber. At the beginning of January 1864 the timber which was in the yard of the Ardwick Brickmaking Company, and which had come from Bolton, was covered with pitch and tar, and then set on fire, and, though not destroyed, was rendered useless for the purpose for which it had been intended. This was done at night by four men, and there was no reason for the outrage, but that the company made bricks by machinery. 1864, Jan.

The same company had also a gray mare, which was burnt to death in May of the same year 1864. The brickmakers who perpetrated this outrage broke open the stable door between 2 A.M. and 3 A.M., tied the mare fast by the head to the iron hay-rack, put shavings under her and all over the stable where she was, and then set fire to them. The fire was discovered by a neighbour in time to save the stable from being burnt; otherwise five other horses, which were in it, would have shared the same fate. The reason, why the gray mare was selected for destruction, apparently was, that this mare was usually employed in carrying timber to the machine brickmakers. 1864, May.

This same company had a boy of about 12 years old in their service, whose name was *Thomas Cole*. In August 1864 this boy was sent about 7 P.M. with some letters to the post office, which was about a quarter of a mile from the company's premises, and the way to which lay through a comparatively unfrequented district. As he went, he was seized by some brickmakers, who, one of them taking him by the shoulders, and the other by the legs, threw him into a pit of water. The pit was 40 or 50 yards in length, by 30 yards in breadth, and at that time was about 10 or 12 feet deep in water; the sides of it were steep, the banks being about 12 or 14 feet above the surface of the water. The men, after committing this outrage, ran away; and had it not been that a mechanic, who accidentally came up, and seeing what had happened, went into the pit, and got the boy out, the boy, being unable to swim, would have been drowned. 1864, Aug.

In November 1864 the same company had their joiners' shop set on fire at night by some brickmakers; and in the following month, December, a bottle of some combustibles was thrown into the cellar of the house of the manager of the company. The bottle contained gunpowder and a sort of flannel, which had been saturated with spirits, and before the bottle had been thrown into the cellar, two lots of hay and straw had been pushed through the cellar window. There was attached to the bottle a fuze which had been lighted, but had apparently gone out. There was in the cellar a quantity of firewood, very near to which the bottle had been thrown, and if that had caught fire, the house must have been burnt down. 1864, Nov.

The machinery, which this company used for brickmaking, was constantly breaking down, the cause of which was unknown; but the nature and frequency of the injuries were such, that the injuries could only have been done by some persons employed on the premises, and no reason could be given for them, or for any of the above-mentioned outrages committed against persons in the service of this company, except that they made bricks by machinery. It was in consequence of the persecution to which they were subject, and which was attended with such serious loss to them, that the company gave up their business.

William Alfred Atkins was a machine brickmaker in Cheetwood Lane, in Manchester; and after he had been repeatedly threatened because he made bricks by machinery, the roof of the engine house on his premises was blown off by gunpowder in February 1862. There was frequently something put into his machine, or the wheels of it, so that it often broke down; and sometimes the water had been let out 1862, Feb.

of the boiler, so that it might blow up. His bricks had frequently been damaged. The men he employed were non-union men, some of whom had been severely beaten with sticks; and no cart could come to his yard, but it was watched, and the carters threatened. Atkins himself had received a letter containing a sketch of a coffin, and telling him to prepare for death.

1863. A burner, named *Wood*, in the employ of Messrs. Atkins, and who was a married man with a family, had a bottle full of gunpowder and slugs, with a fuze attached to it, thrown into his bedroom window, about 11 P.M., some time in 1863. He was then living in Cheetwood Lane, in Manchester. Fortunately, though in the room, he was not in bed at the time; but he heard the crash, and, seizing the bottle, he threw it out of the window, when it exploded outside the house. The slugs were found all round the place where the bottle had exploded.

1863. In 1863 a carter, named *Wogden*, in the employ of Messrs. Atkins, had his hay-stack set on fire. This same carter had on two separate occasions been fined 5*l.* by the Manchester Brickmakers' Union, and had been obliged to pay the money, for having wheeled machine-made bricks. If these fines had not been paid, he would not have been allowed to work anywhere in the district.

This system of terrorism and outrage went on for two or three years, till at last Messrs. Atkins and Co. were obliged to give up their business.

1863. In 1863 *Messrs. Elliotson and Dickson* had six houses, which they were building near Regent Road, in Salford, pushed down, because they were using machine-made bricks. The houses had been built up to the first story, when 50 brickmakers went one night, and levelled them to the ground. We have no doubt that this was done by members of the Manchester Brickmakers' Union. The machine-made bricks which Messrs. Elliotson and Dickson had been using had been made by Messrs. Atkins and Co.

1863. The union district of Manchester and that of Ashton-under-Lyne are, as alleged by the members of the Manchester Union, divided by the canal at Droylsden. The members of the Manchester Union will not allow any bricks to be brought out of Ashton into their district. *Messrs. Bates and Co.*, who were builders and brickmakers, had one yard on the Ashton side of the canal, in the Ashton district, and two yards on the Manchester side, in the Manchester district, about a mile from the canal; but the Ashton Union disputed the boundary between the two districts, and asserted that the two yards of Messrs. Bates and Co. were within their district. However, because Messrs. Bates and Co. had carted some bricks made by themselves in their yard on the Ashton side of the canal into their own yards in the alleged district of the Manchester Union on the other side of the canal, a large quantity of their bricks were in 1863 trampled upon and spoilt.

1863, April. In April 1863 *John Lomas* was building some houses in the Manchester district, with bricks made by machinery. James Kay, the delegate of the Manchester Brickmakers' Union, came to him, and told him the union would "forgive him" if he carted the machine-made bricks back, and used only hand-made bricks in future. On Lomas refusing to comply with this demand, Kay replied, "If you do not send them back again, you may mark the consequences; I will shift your head:" by which expression Lomas understood him to mean he would blow his (Lomas's) head off. Shortly afterwards, the buildings on Lomas's premises were blown up, and set on fire by means of canisters full of gunpowder, which had been placed there for that purpose.

1863. In 1863, *Robert Ellerton*, a bricklayer, was building some houses in Crowther Street, Salford, with machine-made bricks, and had got them nearly a floor high, when at night the greater part of them were pushed down.

1864. In the spring of 1864 he was building some houses in Radnor Street, Manchester, and for that purpose was using bricks made by machinery as well as those made by hand. He was informed by James Kay, the delegate of the Manchester Brickmakers' Union, that measures would be taken to prevent him from carrying on his work, because he used bricks made by machinery; and the consequence was that Ellerton had to give up a contract he had entered into for building twelve

houses in that street. It was proved that it was better for a bricklayer to use machine-made bricks, as they were cheaper, and there was not so much waste in them.

Mr. Bramall was the contractor for the Assize Courts at Manchester, and employed men belonging to the Manchester Union. In April 1864 a strike took place among the bricklayers' labourers; and then the bricklayers themselves, and afterwards the joiners, also struck. The places of the men who had thus struck were filled up by non-union men. Members from the unions of the joiners, the bricklayers, and the labourers (all of which unions were at Manchester) picketed the men at work with Mr. Bramall; and, on the 22nd May 1864, three of the bricklayers, *Wilfred*, *Ratcliffe*, and *Upton* (who were union men, but who had stayed on when the others had left, and were at work at the Assize Courts), were waylaid as they went home, and very much injured. Two of the men, John Nolan and Thomas Daly, who had committed the assault, were taken up for it, and sent to be tried at the sessions. However, before the trial came on, the main witness—viz. Wilfred, who had been very badly used—was got out of the way, and taken up to London by some members of the Bricklayers' Union. The father of another witness, George Henry Carr, was paid ten guineas by some members of the same union to induce his son to refuse, at the trial, to swear to the identity of Nolan; and Nolan was consequently acquitted. Ratcliffe and Upton, the other two men who were assaulted, were also taken up to London by members of the same union, and got out of the way by the time the trial came on. 1864, May 22nd.

Daniel Callaghan, a bricklayers' labourer, had belonged to the union; but, because he could not pay the levy, which was 2*s.* 3*d.* every Saturday night, he was turned out of it. He was, by order of the committee of the Bricklayers' Union, stopped at his work; and on one occasion John Nolan, the delegate of the Bricklayers' Union, threatened to throw him into some boiling lime, and endeavoured to put his threat into execution, but was prevented doing so. Callaghan was afterwards violently assaulted, his eye much injured, and his teeth knocked out. From the injuries he received, from which he never quite recovered, he was for some time unable to do any kind of work, and he could not even walk in the streets without fear of being assaulted by the union men. Before some of the men, who had committed the assault, could be apprehended, the union paid the passage of one of them to America, and another left Manchester.

Benjamin Armitage was in 1864 building a new mill in Pendleton with machine-made bricks. He employed a watchman, named *George Goodie*, on his premises. About 12.30 P.M. in May 1864, Goodie was attacked by twenty or thirty brickmakers. They pulled the newly built walls of the mill down, and severely beat and injured Goodie, saying at the same time that they meant to kill him. Goodie was so injured that he was unable to work at all for 16 weeks, and has never recovered from the injuries he then received. 1864, May.

George Taunton, a master brickmaker, whose works were in the Manchester district, in June 1864 had some bricks spoilt, for which he could not in any way account, except that he had strongly advocated bricks being made by machinery. 1864, June.

John Ashworth, a master bricklayer, who carried on his business at Salford in the Manchester Union district, had in June 1864 a large quantity of bricks destroyed. There was no doubt that this outrage was committed by the members of the Manchester Brickmakers' Union; and the only reason why it was committed was because one of his sons, who was working for him, was not a member of the union, though all the other men who were working for him, including another son, were so. In addition to this destruction of his property, all the union men (excepting his son) left his service. A man, named Patrick Cullens, was taken up on suspicion of having been concerned in the destruction of Ashworth's property; and for that reason two members of the union, named George Mannering and James Kershaw, came to Ashworth and told him that he must pay 50*l.* to the union before he should be allowed to make any more bricks. Ashworth refused this demand, and from not being able to get any union men to work for him he employed non-unionists, and began to make bricks by machinery. The brickmakers and bricklayers then combined against him, and he could find no market for his bricks. This combination extended over the whole of the Manchester 1864, June.

district, but not beyond it. This state of things continued till August 1865, when Mr. Ashworth received the following letter:—

To Mr. Ashworth,

Dear Sir, Friday Morning, August 15, 1865.

I think it my duty to inform you that at a meeting of the Operative Brickmakers, held in their own hall yesterday, there was a committee appointed to consider the best means of shooting you, or otherwise putting an end to your existence. In writing this I put myself in quite as much danger as yourself, if it should come to the knowledge of this society of ruffians, and so beg that you will not let my trouble be thrown away, but put yourself upon your guard at once. Now, considering that I have done my duty, I beg to subscribe myself

A Well-Wisher.

P.S.—If you should value this communication any, please advertise the receipt of it in to-morrow's "Guardian" in the following words:—"Received, Well-Wisher's Letter.—J.A."

1865, Aug. 13th. There was a man of the name of *John Parkes*, who, in height, size, and dress, very much resembled one of Mr. Ashworth's sons. About 10 days after Mr. Ashworth had received the above letter—viz., on the 13th August 1865—about 11 P.M., Parkes was walking on the road, about 70 yards from Mr. Ashworth's house, when he was attacked by three men, and violently beaten on the head and elsewhere, so as to be rendered insensible for nine days. All the front of his head, and the whole of his left side, from the head to the foot, were injured. His eye, from the injury to which he has not recovered, was cut open. These injuries seem to have been done with a bottle, which was found near the spot, broken into many pieces. Another bottle was also found full of blasting gunpowder, with a fuze attached to it.

In consequence of what had happened, and his continued inability to sell his bricks, Mr. Ashworth gave up his business.

1866. The township of Whitefield is out of the Manchester district, but is the next township to it, and there is a bricklayers' union in that township. *Edward Hindley*, a builder, had in 1866 a contract for the bricklayers' work in constructing the Prestwich Reservoir. The work to be done was in the Manchester district, and he was using Manchester bricks. His workmen belonged to the Whitefield Union, and he had a boy, of the age of 17, who worked for him. The members of the Whitefield Union at first complained that the boy had not been bound as an apprentice; and said that, unless he became one, all the men should leave their work. Upon this Hindley had the boy bound to him. The Whitefield union men then said that the boy was too old, and that no one should be bound as a bricklayer's apprentice who had passed the age of 15. The men accordingly stopped work, and the Whitefield union men persuaded the Manchester Union men, both brickmakers and bricklayers, to prevent Hindley having any more bricks in the Manchester district.

1867, Feb. A man, named *James Dalton*, who was a married man, with a family of children, and had ceased to be a member of the union, had been severely beaten by members of the Manchester Union, and threatened to be thrown into a lime-pit for having carried bricks made by machinery. From the threats which were constantly made against his life, he had been compelled to leave Manchester for a twelvemonth. He returned, however, to Manchester in February 1867, when he was again beaten severely by members of the Manchester Union. On one occasion, when some members of the Manchester Union had come to his house for the purpose of beating him, and had not been able to find him, one of them struck his daughter, a little girl between 11 and 12 years of age, on the face with his fist, and knocked her down. In consequence of the persecutions to which he had been subjected by the members of the Manchester Union, he had been unable to get work in Manchester.

Dalton obtained a warrant against Fyland, the man who had threatened to throw him into a lime-pit, but Fyland absconded. Thomas Riley, who had severely beaten Dalton, was apprehended and sentenced to one month's imprisonment; and John Riley, Murray, Deffley, and McLaughlin, who also on another occasion had assaulted Dalton, were bound over to keep the peace. Fyland and all the men who had committed these assaults were members of the Manchester Bricklayers' Labourers' Union.

1867, July 6th. *Messrs. Nasmyth and Co.*, engineers at Patriscroft, whose works are in the Manchester district, were unable to procure bricks suitable for their purpose in that district, and accordingly sent to procure some from another. They were informed by members of the Manchester Union that no bricklayer would be allowed to set

bricks which had been brought into the Manchester district from any other. Messrs. Nasmyth and Co. then determined to make bricks for themselves with clay on their own property, and for that purpose employed a man named Twigg, who was not a member of the union. They were told that they should only employ members of the union, and that, if they did not do so, they must take the consequences. Twigg was offered 5*l.* to leave their service, which he refused to do. On the 6th July 1867, Messrs. Nasmyth and Co. had some bricks destroyed by being trampled upon.

We have no doubt that these outrages were all promoted and encouraged by the Manchester Brickmakers' and Bricklayers' Unions.

Colliers' Unions.

Mr. John Knowles was the managing partner of a firm who were colliery proprietors at Pendlebury, which is about four miles from Manchester. There is a trade union among the colliers at Little Lever, near Bolton, and the firm of *Messrs. Knowles* had not for the last 20 years employed union men. They had collieries also at Pendleton, Edge Croft, Clifton Hall, Clifton Moss, Stone Clough, Little Lever, Ratcliffe, and the Cleggs, near Rochdale. The hands in their employ were about 3,000 altogether. In November 1866 about 1,400 men left their service, and joined the union. At that time the colliery trade was in a depressed state, and the firm sent to other parts of the country for hands. They obtained about 300 men from Staffordshire, and 200 from Cornwall. The union men who had left the service of the firm had been tenants of cottages belonging to the firm; and as their tenancies could not be immediately determined, Messrs. Knowles prepared beds, and the necessary accommodation for the new hands, in their works and store rooms at Pendlebury. In March 1867 one of the store rooms there was set on fire; and, had not the fire been immediately discovered, the loss of hundreds of lives must have been the consequence. The store room, in which the fire took place, was full of oil, tallow, and hemp; and in the room adjoining, some of the new-comers were residing. Close to the spot where the fire had taken place, was a gasometer, with a large pressure of gas on it; and not very far from that, was a powder magazine, containing about a ton of gunpowder, and also a room in which gun cotton was kept. We have no doubt, from the evidence, that this was the work of an incendiary, and that it took place in consequence of the dispute with the union. As it was, the damage done was about 800*l.* 1867, Mar.

William Holford was one of the new hands employed by Messrs. Knowles. Between 11 and 12 o'clock at night a bottle, full of combustible materials, was thrown into the bedroom where he and his wife were sleeping. The bottle exploded, but fortunately did no injury. Holford had previously been frequently called "knobstick," and had been told by the union men that he should rue having come to Pendlebury.

Other non-union men in the employ of Messrs. Knowles were much insulted by the union men, and some of them were seriously injured. One man, *Henry Jones*, was knocked down and rendered senseless, and cut under the eye; and another, *Matthew Bodling*, was knocked down, and left for dead on the ground. His ear was split open, his skull knocked in, and his cheek bone broken; he was also severely kicked on his side. From the effect of these injuries he is never likely to recover.

The strike of the men in the employ of Messrs. Knowles cost the union about 16,000*l.* Many of the union men were allowed by Messrs. Knowles to return to their employment, but only on condition that they would give up all connection with the union; and at the time of our enquiry about 80 of those who had gone out on strike were still out of work, and receiving pay from the union.

Manchester Warpers' Union.

Charles Mason was a warper, living at Newcastle Street, Hulme, in Manchester; and there is a trade union of warpers at Manchester. Mason taught his wife and two of his sisters to warp. The members of the Warpers' Union remonstrated with him for this, and said they would not permit it, as it was against their rules to allow women to warp, for, if women were introduced into their market, the wages of the men would be reduced. In November 1857, about 11 P.M., Mason was persuaded to go into a public house in Manchester, where he found several members of the Warpers' Union. They offered him some ale, but on observing that the colour of it was unusual, and also that there was some sediment in it, his suspicions were aroused, and 1857, Nov.

he refused to drink it. He then left the public house, when the men followed him, one of them, named Doherty, forcing himself into conversation with him as he walked along the street. When he got near his own house, and was still in the street, a rush was made at him, and a man named Hall threw vitriol into his eyes. He suffered great pain, and for 12 months was unable to do any work at all. Hall and Doherty, both members of the union, were tried at the Liverpool Assizes for the offence; and, on being found guilty, Hall was sentenced to six years' penal servitude, and Doherty to four years'. In April 1861 Doherty was released, having completed his term of servitude; and a few days afterwards, without any application from Doherty, it was resolved by the union that a sum of 20*l.* should be given to him. In accordance with this resolution, the president of the union, at a meeting, when not less than 100 members were present, gave to Doherty the 20*l.*

The Oldham Operative Brickmakers' Union.

1858. *James Wrigley*, a brickmaker at Oldham, was employing a burner who was not a member of the union. In consequence of this, all his other men, who were members of the union, left his service; and shortly afterwards, in 1858, his shed was set on fire, and some of his barrows and planks were burnt. He had also needles put into his clay, and his bricks spoilt. The consequence was, that he turned away the non-union men in his service, who had done him no damage, and took into his employ union men, to whom he attributed the injuries he had received. He has never been disturbed in any way since.

1859. *John Holt*, who carried on business as a master brickmaker, at Royton, near Oldham, in 1859 had bricks destroyed, and needles put into his clay, for having employed non-union men. Those who did this outrage also collected all the tools, barrows, &c. they could find on Holt's premises, put them together into a shed, and then set fire to the shed. Some of Holt's workmen were seriously injured by trying to work the clay after the needles had been put into it.

We have no doubt, from the evidence, that these outrages were done by members of the Oldham Union.

1859 and 1860. *John Smethurst*, who was a master brickmaker in the Oldham district, had bricks destroyed in 1859 and 1860, for having employed non-union men. From the annoyances and injuries which were done to him from time to time, and from being kept continually in dread of something happening to himself or his property, he gave up his business in 1862, and has ceased to continue in the trade.

Isaiah Greaves, a master brickmaker in the Oldham district, took into his employ a man named Davenport, who had left the Oldham Union in consequence of having been fined. The members of that union came to him several times, and demanded of him that Davenport should be discharged from his service, but he refused to yield
1858. to their demand. In consequence of this refusal by him, Greaves in 1858 had his
1859. bricks destroyed, and needles put into his clay; and in October 1859 a grenade was thrown at him just as he was going into his house. It took a part of his trowsers, stocking, and a portion of his skin away, but, fortunately, did not do him more damage. The grenade was found to have contained knife-blades and horse-nails, and various
1863. sharp instruments. In 1863, when he was still employing Davenport, Greaves had his engine-house blown up. Those who did this outrage had taken off the cylinder top, and had put down a can of powder inside the cylinder, with a fuse attached to it, and had then screwed the cylinder down again.

In consequence of the demand that had been made upon Greaves to discharge Davenport, and of what had happened to him, a meeting of the master brickmakers took place, when they determined no longer to employ union men, and accordingly dis-
1859, Sept. charged all the union men in their service. *John Brooks* was one of the master brickmakers who had been party to this resolution, and had acted on it by discharging the union men in his service on the 17th September 1859. Afterwards, and in that same month, he had two stacks of hay set on fire, about 12 o'clock at night; but fortunately the fire was seen, and, on an alarm being given, was put out. In several places near the stacks were found lucifer matches and chips put together; and in the same field, where the stacks were, a card with the name of John Barker on it, a member of the Oldham Union, was discovered.

1859. In October or November of the same year some cows belonging to John Brooks were poisoned. One of the cows was opened and examined, and was proved to have

died from poison; and in the field where the cows were, were found a number of cakes, which, upon being analysed, proved to be made of meal or bran and water, mixed with arsenic.

In the following May, Brooks also had a quantity of bricks spoilt, and needles put into his clay. 1860.

We have no doubt that all these outrages were committed by members of the Oldham Union.

The Bolton Joiners', Masons', and Bricklayers' Unions.

Jonah Thompson carried on business as a builder at Bolton. In 1866 he had employed a man named Caton as a mason. Caton came to Thompson on the 15th of May 1866, and demanded his wages before, according to the usual course of business, they were due. He came with another man, named Williams, also a mason, who had never been in the employ of Thompson, but who, nevertheless, demanded money of Thompson. The reason they gave for this demand, was, that they wanted money to go on a "spree." Upon Thompson's refusing their demand, they collected a crowd of 300 or 400 persons in the street opposite his premises, and caused a great disturbance. Caton and Williams were taken up before the magistrates, and bound over to keep the peace. It appeared that Caton and Williams were members of the Masons' Union, and in consequence of the proceedings against them there was a strike of the masons in Thompson's employ. 1866, May.

In 1866 Thompson had also employed a man, named Clarkson, a member of the Builders' Union, who, about the 13th June 1866, on being discharged from Thompson's service in the middle of the week, demanded the immediate payment of his wages. Thompson refused to pay him before the usual pay day at the end of the week. Thereupon Clarkson assaulted Thompson's wife, and knocked her down. For this assault Clarkson was sentenced to a month's imprisonment. In consequence of the prosecution of Clarkson, and of the previous proceedings against Caton and Williams, delegates from the joiners', masons,' and bricklayers' unions drew off from their work about 44 of Thompson's men, and his premises were picketed. Thompson then supplied the places of the men who had left him by non-union men, who were exposed to much insult and injury. One of these men, *Charles Harris*, had his head cut open with a brick. The man who committed this assault, and also Charles Harris, were got out of the way by the bricklayers, so that no one was prosecuted for it. Thompson also stated, that at the time of the Inquiry both himself and his men were annoyed and threatened, wherever they went, by members of the joiners', masons', and bricklayers' unions. 1866.

There is a general union of joiners, called the "Operative Carpenters' Union," which extends all over the country, and consists of about 10,000 members. There are lodges belonging to the general union, in the different towns in England where there are joiners. In Bolton there are two lodges, as there are a great many joiners there. The committee of the general union, consisting only of a dozen members, meet in Manchester. The members of the committee are elected within a radius of six or seven miles of Manchester. At certain meetings, which are called delegate meetings, delegates are sent from the different lodges to represent them. The men who are members of the lodges or of the general union are not allowed to work with any men who are not at all events members of some union. The Joiners' Union, *i.e.* the general union, paid the men who picketed Thompson's premises. It was attempted to refer the dispute between the several unions and Thompson to a mediator between the parties, but the attempt failed; the unions demanding that all the expenses arising from the strikes, which appear to have amounted nearly to 1,000*l.*, should be paid by Thompson, and also that he should make an open acknowledgment that he was wrong.

The Bolton Self-acting Minders' Union.

The men who mind the self-acting mules in the spinning yarn trades are called self-acting minders. There is a trades union of them at Bolton. This union at Bolton is connected with other unions of the same sort, of which the central place is Manchester. There is a meeting at Manchester, every three months, of delegates from the several unions of minders. The delegates come from numerous places throughout the country where the unions exist. Cheshire, Yorkshire, and Derbyshire, besides

Lancashire, were mentioned as the principal counties from which delegates are sent These unions are all amalgamated. They will not allow a man to work below a given rate of wages, nor any of their members to work with a non-union man. If a master employs non-union men, he is put down as a "black," and then, it was added, "no respectable" man would go near his shop.

Messrs. John Thomason and Sons had a cotton mill at Bolton; and on the 15th of December 1866 the self-acting minders in their employ, who were members of the union, turned out of work, upon some complaint that the cotton was not good, and that they could not make good work of it. The number of men who thus left was 21, and Messrs. Thomason got in their places 21 hands who were non-union men. The consequence was that the premises of Messrs. Thomason were picketed, and every attempt was made by intimidation to prevent the non-union men from
1866. working. One of the non-union men, named *Winward*, was used very badly, being beaten by the unionists, and much hurt. Another named *Mason*, was insulted, and threatened with violence; and some stones, of about two or three pounds weight, were thrown between 2 A.M. and 4 P.M., through his bedroom window, but fortunately no damage was done to him or his wife, as, from their apprehension of danger, they were then sleeping in another room.

The Bolton Ironfounders' Union.

There is at Bolton a society which is called the Little Bolton Branch of the Ironfounders' Society of Great Britain and Ireland. There are general meetings of this society, both quarterly and special, and they are governed by an executive committee of the whole society in London. This committee is elected by seven branches of the society near London. The governing branch elect two members; Greenwich, one; East London, two; North London, one; and Chelsea, one. There are altogether about 107 branches, which exist throughout the country, in England, Wales, and Ireland. The rules of the society are, however, made at a meeting of delegates, which takes place about every five years, sometimes in London and sometimes in Manchester. There was a special general meeting of the society at Bolton, on the 1st of August 1866, at which it was resolved that there should be a demand for a rise in wages.

Jonathan Edge was an ironfounder in Bolton, and employed about 70 hands in 1866. In August of that year, in consequence of that resolution, a demand was made by the men in his employ for a rise in their wages. Mr. Edge refused to give it; and consequently the men in his employ, who were unionists, left his service. Their places were supplied by non-unionists, who were insulted and intimi-
1866. dated by the unionists upon every occasion. The premises of Mr. Edge were picketed, so that it was difficult for the non-unionists to get to their work; and for that purpose they had to be escorted by the police. Some of the non-unionists were assaulted, and one of them, named *Atkinson*, was very severely beaten and ill-used by a member of the union.

At the latter end of 1866, Mr. Marsden, of the Britannia Foundry at Bolton, gave his men notice that he should reduce their wages 2*s.* a week. The case was brought before the society at Bolton, who sent it up to the executive committee of the Ironfounders' Society in London. The committee there investigated it, and ordered the men to leave Mr. Marsden's service, which they did. Mr. Marsden at first withdrew his notice of reduction of wages; but afterwards, in consequence, it was stated, of some resolution of the masters, gave notice again for a reduction of wages, and the union men left his service.

There is a General Masters' Iron Association, the Lancashire Branch of which is in Liverpool. Mr. Marsden, on his men (about 32 in number) leaving his service on account of the reduction of wages, sent the names of these men to the secretary of the Lancashire Branch at Liverpool. The consequence of thus publishing their names was, that many of them were unable to get employment, and there were said to be 14 of these men who were at the time of this Inquiry out of work, and receiving pay from the union.

The Bolton Tailors' Unions.

There are two societies of tailors at Bolton (No. 1. and No. 2.) which are branches of a General Amalgamation Society. The General Amalgamation Society holds its

meetings at Manchester. In about 80 towns there are branches of the General Society, to which they subscribe. London has a separate Amalgamation Society of its own, and forms no part of the one which meets at Manchester. The subscription to the General Amalgamation Society at Manchester is 3*d.* a member per quarter; the contribution to the Branch Society at Bolton is 1*d.* a week. The funds of the branch are entirely at their own disposal. If a master wishes to reduce his wages, the matter may be brought before the branch, and they may direct a strike; but the proper course is to obtain the sanction of the Amalgamation Society. If a resolution is passed that a certain shop is to be "in block," as it is called, all the union men are drawn off, and no one is allowed to work for the offending master. In one of the books of the society were found the following entries:—"April 1867.—That the men be called from Mr. Roscoe's and Brook's shops until the machines be dispensed with." "That 300 bills be printed and circulated of the names of those who would not comply with the wish of the society." These bills were said to have contained the names of four men, and were published and sent round to the various towns within 12 miles of Bolton, with the object of preventing any members of the union from working with those men. It was stated that the reason why the union men were drawn off from Mr. Roscoe's was that the other men, who were working there, would not tell the union what wages they were getting. The union also regulates the hours at which their men should work. There was another entry in the following words:—"Moved, that the hours of work be from 7 A.M. to 7 P.M., and on Saturdays from 7 A.M. to 2 P.M." That resolution was passed because some men were working 20 hours a day, while others could not work 10 hours a day. Another entry, on 27 March 1867, was "that the society do not recognize machines," which was carried; and another that "masters dispense with machines on 6th of April." It was, however, stated that in the following July the opinion of the union was altered on the subject of machinery, and that the union men were allowed to work with masters who used machinery, provided they got what the union considered to be proper wages, and worked in proper hours.

Mr. Horrocks is a tailor carrying on business at Bolton. A strike took place among his men in November 1866, the reason of which was as follows. There are, as has been mentioned above, two branch societies of tailors in Bolton, No. 1. and No. 2. Mr. Horrocks employed men belonging to both these societies. No. 1. society struck because Mr. Horrocks employed men belonging to No. 2.; then the two societies met, and settled which should be a No. 1. shop and which a No. 2. throughout the town. It was settled that Mr. Horrocks should employ No. 1., though No. 2. wished to work for him. Under these circumstances Mr. Horrocks employed non-union men. A strike therefore took place, and Mr. Horrocks's shop was picketed by men from both No. 1. and No. 2. The non-unionists were insulted and assaulted; and one man, John Campbell, was sent to prison for a month for throwing stones and hitting one of the non-unionists. The violence and systematic intimidation were such that the police had to be employed to protect the workmen; and this state of things continued for about eight or ten weeks. 1866.

We have now given a statement of the principal cases which came under our notice.

We report that there has not occurred during the last ten years, within the district over which our Inquiry extended, any act of intimidation, outrage, or wrong, promoted, encouraged, or connived at by any association of employers.

The outrages which we have related, and which rendered life and property insecure, were, in our opinion, all of them instigated and sanctioned by the several unions in the districts in which they were respectively committed. They were all deliberately planned and executed in furtherance of a system, which had for its object the subjection of both masters and men to the rules of the union, and the destruction of the freedom of labour.

When the conduct of any master as to the mode in which he carried on his business, or as to the men he employed, was opposed to the regulations of the union, it was brought before a general or a special meeting. Sometimes a resolution was passed that the outrage should be committed. But, whether there was a distinct resolution to that effect, or the opinion of the meeting was unmistakeably ascertained, the measures to be adopted for carrying out the known purposes of the union in this

* The machines alluded to were sewing machines.

respect were usually left to the officers of the society, who had the union funds at their disposal for this object. There was no difficulty in finding persons ready to carry out such a purpose, whatever crime it might involve. The officers of the union usually selected one "trusty" individual, with whom the contract for the special service was made, and who found the men to perpetrate the outrage, and paid them for it.

The largest sum we found to have been paid for such a purpose was 20*l.*, and the share which fell to the lot of each man engaged in the transaction was generally about 1*l.*, though the amount varied, and was often more. James Kay, the member of the Manchester Union, whose name has been already mentioned, was said to have been constantly employed for this purpose; indeed, one witness said that Kay did nothing else, and lived only by such employment. This man, James Kay, absconded on the first morning the Commission met at Manchester; and, though every means have been used for his apprehension, he has never since been heard of. In several unions of the brickmakers, as we have already mentioned, the books relating to the accounts and the proceedings of the unions were destroyed, in order to prevent an examination of them at the time of our inquiry, and, of course, we are unable to say what entries those books contained. But, in the books which were produced before us, we found that the money paid for these outrages was frequently entered in the cash book as for "Certain expenses;" in other cases a sum total was put down in the money column without any explanation for what the money had been spent; and these modes of making up the accounts seem to have been so well understood that the auditors never objected to them, but passed the accounts.

The account books, as well as the minute books, were always on the table at the regular meetings of the union when business was conducted, and open to the inspection of the members; and, though few may have taken the trouble to inspect them, we have no doubt, that the expenditure of the money, and the object for which it had been made, were well known to every member of the union. It is but too evident that the members of the different unions, which came under our notice, considered that the outrages we have mentioned had been perpetrated, and the union money had been spent, in the promotion of a system which they sanctioned and upheld.

Dated this 10th of February 1868.

PERCIVAL A. PICKERING.
THOMAS I. BARSTOW.
GEORGE CHANCE.

LONDON:
Printed by GEORGE E. EYRE and WILLIAM SPOTTISWOODE,
Printers to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty
For Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

TRADES UNIONS COMMISSION: MANCHESTER OUTRAGES INQUIRY.

(TRADES UNION COMMISSION ACT, 30 VICT. C. 8;
TRADES UNION COMMISSION ACT EXTENSION ACT, 30 & 31 VICT. C. 74.)

REPORT

PRESENTED TO

THE TRADES UNIONS COMMISSIONERS

BY

THE EXAMINERS

APPOINTED TO INQUIRE INTO

ACTS OF INTIMIDATION, OUTRAGE, OR WRONG ALLEGED TO HAVE BEEN PROMOTED, ENCOURAGED, OR CONNIVED AT BY TRADES UNIONS

IN

MANCHESTER AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

VOL. II.—MINUTES OF EVIDENCE.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
28th February 1868.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY GEORGE EDWARD EYRE AND WILLIAM SPOTTISWOODE,
PRINTERS TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.
FOR HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE.

19669. 1868.

CONTENTS.

	Page
MINUTES OF EVIDENCE - - - - - - - -	1
INDEX OF WITNESSES - - - - - - - -	307

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE

THE EXAMINERS

APPOINTED TO INQUIRE INTO

TRADE OUTRAGES IN MANCHESTER AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD

UNDER

"THE TRADES UNION COMMISSION ACT, 1867," AND "THE TRADES UNION COMMISSION ACT EXTENSION ACT, 1867."

REFORM LIBRARY PALL MALL

FIRST DAY.

Assize Courts, Manchester, Wednesday, 4th September 1867.

PRESENT:

PERCIVAL ANDREE PICKERING, Esq., Q.C.
THOMAS IRWIN BARSTOW, Esq.
GEORGE CHANCE, Esq.
JAMES SHEIL, Esq., Secretary.

PERCIVAL ANDREE PICKERING, ESQ., Q.C., IN THE CHAIR.

(*Mr. Pickering.*) I wish publicly to state what is the nature of this Commission, which is now to be considered as opened. It is a Commission appointed under two Acts of Parliament, one of which passed on the 5th of April in this year, and which is intituled "An Act for facilitating in certain cases the proceedings of the Commissioners appointed to make enquiries respecting Trades Unions and other Associations of Employers and Workmen;" and a further Act was afterwards passed, which is intituled "An Act to extend the Trades Union Commission Act, 1867." Under those Acts there is a power to the Government, upon certain applications which I need not particularly specify, to appoint certain examiners, not exceeding three in number, who shall have power to inquire into any acts of intimidation, outrage, or wrong, alleged to have been promoted, encouraged, or connived at by trades unions or associations, whether of workmen or of employers, and into the causes of such acts and the complicity therein of such trades unions or associations; and the power to inquire is to extend over a period of not more than 10 years.

The Commission may now be considered as opened; but before we proceed to the examination of witnesses I should like to say a few words, not only upon the nature and object of the inquiry (which may be gathered from the words which I have already read from the Act of Parliament), but also upon the mode in which the inquiry will be conducted.

This is an inquiry which is intended not only for the benefit of the masters, but also for the benefit of the workmen, and I need scarcely tell you that it will be conducted in a fair and impartial spirit with reference to both parties—not for the benefit of one more than of the other, but for the benefit of both. Nor is it directed against any particular trades union. We are authorized to receive evidence (and we certainly shall receive it) which may in any way affect any trades union, club, or association which may have been implicated in unlawful practices. At the same time I would say that I hope it will not be considered that either the Legislature or the Government mean to denounce in any way whatever trades unions, associations, or clubs generally. The Legislature had no such object at all in view at the time they passed this Act. No one can deny the benefit which, it seems to me, may result from trades unions, clubs, or associations when they are formed for lawful purposes, and when they attempt to carry out those purposes by lawful means. Persons who have not the advantages of wealth can often only protect their interests and advance their comforts by associations and combinations of this nature, and when that is properly done and when the objects of such associations are carried out by lawful means they are perfectly legitimate; it is only when they trespass beyond their fair bounds and when they attempt by unlawful means to control the exercise of freedom of will and freedom of labour that they ought to meet with the condemnation of every right minded and honorable man. If there is any one right which it seems to me that any man ought to consider as his own, it is the right to the exercise of his own personal freedom, and it appears to me that any person or any body of men who attempts to control or to interfere with the exercise of that right is deserving of the greatest condemnation. I think that the workmen have as much right to have their own personal skill and industry protected on the one hand as the masters on the other hand have to be left uncontrolled in the conduct of their business. I therefore hope we shall have upon this occasion the hearty co-operation of all classes, both of masters and of men, with the view of carrying out the purposes of the Legislature in granting this Commission, and that our labours will tend in some degree to put down that social tyranny, which, while it has been attended with great injury no doubt to the masters has been also accompanied with the greatest misery to the workmen.

We shall receive evidence on both sides with the greatest impartiality, both from the masters on the one hand and from the workmen on the other; and although no one will be allowed to examine witnesses, that being a duty which is peculiarly entrusted to

FIRST DAY.
4 Sept. 1867.

ourselves, we shall receive with great readiness and great impartiality any suggestions from either one side or the other, either from the masters or from the workmen. I assure you that on our part there will be a most sincere desire to act impartially between the two, and whatever facility it is in our power to bestow will be most readily and impartially offered to both parties.

Let me say one word as to the powers which are conferred upon us by this Act of Parliament. We have power to compel the attendance of witnesses and to examine them upon oath, affirmation, or otherwise. And those witnesses who come here to give evidence will be allowed their reasonable expenses. But I wish to call attention to a particular provision of the Act, which it seems to me is well worth the consideration of everyone attending this inquiry. We have power to give an indemnity to every person who may come forward and make a full and true disclosure of all the matters in respect of which he is examined. And therefore if any person, whatever outrages he may have been a party to, or may know of, will only come forward and make a full and true disclosure, he will be saved from all further proceedings either of a civil or of a criminal nature respecting that of which he has given a full and true account. We have no doubt considerable information, and the names of many persons who may have been parties to these outrages are known to us, but nevertheless, if they choose to come forward on this occasion and to make a full and true disclosure of any such acts to which they have been parties, or of which they have been cognizant, they will be safe from any sort of prosecution, and they will remain without any fear or possibility of punishment. I cannot help thinking that this is an opportunity of which, if they are wise, they will gladly avail themselves, for such an opportunity is not likely to occur again. It should be remembered also that the best atonement which such men can make for the past, and the best service that they can do, not only to themselves, but to their fellows, is to make a full and true disclosure of any acts of intimidation, outrage, or wrong which they may have themselves committed, or which they may know of, and also to show to the world by whom such acts have been promoted or encouraged.

We will now proceed to examine the witnesses.

Mr. T. Meadows.

Mr. Thomas Meadows sworn and examined.

1. (*Chairman.*) What are you?—I am a master brickmaker.

2. Have you any partners?—My brother.

3. That is your brother William, I think?—Yes.

4. Where do you live?—At Stockport.

5. Where are your works carried on?—At Stockport.

6. How long have you been a master brickmaker?—About eight years, I think.

7. Have you carried on your business at the same place all the time?—No.

8. Where were you carrying it on in the year 1864?—At Reddish, near Stockport.

9. How far is that from Stockport?—Two miles.

10. Was your brother a partner with you then?—Yes.

11. Were you carrying on your business there somewhere about June 1864?—Yes.

12. You were still then, were you not, a master brickmaker and a contractor?—Yes.

13. How many men do you usually employ in your work?—We employed about 24 union men there, but about 100 altogether.

14. Were all these men that you speak of as being union men members of one and the same union?—They were members of two unions.

15. Will you mention the names of the unions?—Stockport and Oldham.

16. Were there as many in one as in the other?—There were only three from Oldham.

17. Three in the Oldham union?—Yes.

18. And the rest were in what union?—And the rest in the Stockport union.

19. Is that a brickmakers' union or a bricklayers' union, or what is it?—A brickmakers' union.

20. Where did that union hold its meetings?—At the "Pack Horse" in Stockport.

21. Give me the name of the landlord of the "Pack Horse"?—John Taylor.

22. Do they still continue to hold their meetings there?—I do not know, but I know that their lodge is held there.

23. Do you mean that both the unions hold their meetings there or only one union?—One union.

24. Which union?—The Stockport union.

25. Where did the other union hold its meetings?—At Oldham.

26. How far is Oldham from Reddish?—About nine miles.

27. You had you say about 100 men in all, and 24, I think you said, were union men?—Yes.

28. How long had these 24 union men been working for you?—Between three and four months.

29. What wages did they have?—From 30*s.* up to 50*s.*

30. Had they worked for you long?—No, it was a new place that was commencing—the building of a large mill.

31. Did you somewhere about June 1864 make an alteration in the shape of your bricks?—Yes.

32. What was the purpose for which the alteration was made?—So that they would fit a hand machine.

33. Did you effect any saving of labour by that alteration?—Yes.

34. Can you tell me at all the amount of saving in money which you made by that operation?—About 10*d.* for every thousand of bricks.

35. In consequence of that alteration was anything said by any of your workmen?—Yes.

36. Will you explain what took place?—They wanted something extra; they considered that it was a saving of 10*d.* a thousand, and that we might make them if we would give them the 10*d.*

37. Who spoke to you upon the subject?—It was some of the workmen; I do not just remember their names.

38. Was it any of the 24 union men, or was it the others?—Some of the 24 union men employed by us.

39. Some of these men spoke to you upon the subject?—Yes.

40. You know that it was some of the union men?—Yes.

41. Just try to recollect the names of those who spoke to you upon the subject?—I daresay one would be Jackson.

42. Had you more than one man named Jackson?—Yes, we had more than one.

43. Can you tell us the christian name of the one that spoke to you?—I do not just remember it now, but I believe it was John Jackson.

44. Was he alone when he spoke to you?—No, there were others present, three or four of them.

45. What others were present at the time he spoke to you?—I think if I mention John Jackson and William Potts I should be safe on those two.

46. Were they Stockport union men or Oldham union men?—Stockport union men.

47. How many men came up to you to speak?—There would be perhaps half a dozen altogether.

48. What time of the day was it when they came?—The morning part.

49. Can you not remember the names of the other four?—George Bailey would be one.

50. Is he a Stockport union man?—Yes.

51. Now we have three, there are only three left you know. Try again if you can remember some more?—I do not just remember their names now, or

else there were all the brickmakers that came, at least there were six out of the eight.

52. Six out of what eight?—Brickmakers. Six out of the eight came, but I do not just remember their names.

53. What do you mean by out of eight, because they were all brickmakers, were they not?—No, there are only eight that attend. Every brickmaker employs about five men and boys.

54. Do you mean that you only had eight brickmakers in your employ at Reddish?—We had 24 that are called brickmakers that belonged to the union.

55. Then six out of these 24 came to you?—Yes.

56. I do not quite understand what you mean by taking six out of eight?—Because the brickmakers were the leaders. They employ about three men and two boys, and they spoke for the others.

57. Were these 24 men all brickmakers and in your employment?—They all belonged to the union, they did not all make bricks.

58. How many of them made bricks?—Eight of them.

59. And six out of the eight came to you?—Yes.

60. And the only three you are sure of are the three whose names you have mentioned?—There are only three whose names I can just remember just now.

61. Did they all take part in the application to you?—Yes.

62. And they all said something?—No, there were only about two of them, Jackson and Potts.

63. Jackson and Potts were the orators?—Yes.

64. Now will you tell us as far as you can recollect, the substance of what they said?—They said we might make the bricks if we would give them 10*d.* per 1,000*l.*

65. That is to say whatever you saved you were to give to them?—Yes; I offered them 6*d.* and they refused to take it, and in consequence they turned out, and they were out three weeks.

66. How many men turned out?—24.

67. And they were out three weeks, were they?—Three weeks.

68. After the end of the three weeks did any of them come back?—Before the end of the three weeks three of them came back again.

69. Three out of these eight?—Yes, in a week after.

70. Will you mention the names of the three who came back out of the eight?—Humphrey Childs, James Fallowes, and Thomas Wild.

71. Did they come back and work for the same wages as before?—I gave them the 6*d.* that I proffered them.

72. Were these three union men?—Yes.

73. Stockport union men?—One belonged to the Oldham union.

74. Which belonged to the Oldham union?—Humphrey Childs.

75. And the other two belonged to the Stockport union?—Yes.

76. They were out for three weeks?—Yes.

77. And when was it that these men came to you?—It would be in June.

78. Do you remember what day it was?—I do not remember what day.

79. Then it would be in July I suppose when they came back?—In July.

80. How long did they continue to work with you after they came back before anything else happened?—It would be approaching three weeks, but not quite.

81. Did any of the union men come to you after that time with reference to these three men having returned to you?—Yes.

82. Do you remember when that was?—They came about a week before they agreed to go in again.

83. How long had Wild, Childs, and Fallowes been working with you upon their return before these men came to you again?—A little over a week.

84. Who came to you?—I believe Cheetham was one, I do not know the others.

85. How many came?—Three.

86. Have you since ascertained who the others were; was Slater one?—No; Slater did not come the first time, he did come once.

87. But, however, Cheetham was one; was Bailey one?—I believe George Bailey was one.

88. Was Singleton one?—No.

89. Do you remember Brown?—I do not know him.

90. Was one man who came to you George Bailey?—Yes, George Bailey.

91. You do not remember the third?—No.

92. Was it another Bailey?—I do not know the third.

93. And you have not since ascertained?—No.

94. They came to you about a week after these men had returned?—Yes.

95. What did they say to you then?—They asked me if I was going to give them the 10*d.* per 1,000.

96. Then they were three of the men who had been working with you before?—Yes.

97. And they were Stockport union men?—Yes; they asked me if I was going to give them the 10*d.* per 1,000.

98. What did you say?—I said I would give them what I had offered, 6*d.*, but I should not give them any more.

99. Upon that did they go?—Yes.

100. Did they say anything more at that time?—No.

101. When did they or any of them come again to you?—I sent for a lot more non-union men to put in their place, and as soon as they heard of the non-union men they offered to come in at our terms.

102. How long afterwards was that?—It would be three weeks.

103. Three weeks after these men had returned?—Yes, three weeks from the commencement of the strike.

104. Then they came to you and offered to come back?—Yes, on condition that we would turn these three men away.

105. What did you say to that?—I refused to do it.

106. Did they go away then?—They said they could not settle it there, they would have another meeting that night, and they would leave a letter to say whether they would agree to my terms or not.

107. After the night had passed on which the meeting was to be, did you receive a letter?—Yes.

108. Who brought it to you?—I received it from the place where the union is held.

109. Is that the "Pack Horse?"—Yes.

110. Did Taylor the landlord give it to you?—His daughter gave it to me.

111. Did you get it the next morning after the meeting?—I got it the same night.

112. Have you that letter, or is it lost?—I have not got it.

113. What was the purport of the letter?—They agreed to go in on our terms, that was nearly all that they said. These men were to stop at their work.

114. Do you remember by whom this letter was signed?—By the committee.

115. Who were they?—I do not know.

116. The words which were used were "the committee?"—The words which were used were "the committee."

117. There were no names?—No.

118. The committee of the Stockport union?—Yes.

119. Did anything more happen with regard to their requesting that these three men should be given up, or did those come back?—There was nothing said afterwards.

120. Did they come back?—Yes, they never went away.

121. Wild, Childs, and Fallowes returned, but did the other men come back?—Yes.

122. How many came back?—21 I think.

123. Do you remember the day on which these men came back?—I do not just remember that.

FIRST DAY.

Mr. T. Meadows.

4th Sept. 1867.

124. Was it about the beginning of August, the 1st or 2d of August?—It would be before that.

125. Do you think it was in July?—It would be in July.

126. Did they continue to work then?—Yes.

127. Upon these terms?—Yes.

128. You giving them the 6*d.*?—Yes.

129. You do not exactly recollect the day on which they returned, do you?—No, I do not.

130. Childs and Fallowes were with you?—Yes.

131. What was Wild's duty generally?—He was up at night burning.

132. Do you remember the 2d of August?—Yes.

133. Was it Wild's duty to be up that night burning?—It was Wild's duty to be up that night.

134. Burning at the kiln?—Yes.

135. Was it the duty of any of these other men to be up also?—No.

136. Was it the duty of Childs to be up that night?—It was his duty to be up, but he is not bound to be up without he has a mind. He works what hours he likes; he works piecework, I think.

137. But was he usually up at night?—Yes; he works very late at night.

138. He seems to have had the liberty. Was that the time when he seemed to prefer being there at night; was he usually in the habit of being there at night?—Yes, late at night and early in the morning.

139. Was it Fallowes' duty to be up at night?—No.

140. Was it the duty of Fallows to be up that particular night, the night of the 2d of August?—No.

141. Nor Childs?—He works his own hours, does Childs. I do not bind him at all.

142. You say Wild was up that night. When did you first hear of anything having happened to Wild on that night?—About 1 o'clock in the morning, I think it was.

143. Were you roused?—Yes.

144. By whom?—By his wife.

145. Where was their sleeping place, was it on the premises?—No, at a farm close by.

146. Then his wife came, as I understand, and roused you up at about 1 o'clock in the morning?—Yes.

147. Did you get up?—Yes.

148. Where did you go to?—I went to his house.

149. To Wild's house?—Yes.

150. Did you see him there?—Yes.

151. In what state was he?—He was in bed with his legs badly hurt, and also his head and arms.

152. Did you see anybody else on that occasion beside Wild and his wife. Did he mention to you how it happened?—No, he could scarcely speak when I went in.

153. You saw that he was very much hurt?—Yes.

154. Did you see anybody else at all that night as you went to Wild's house or as you came from it?—There were two or three in the house.

155. In whose house?—In Wild's house.

156. Do you remember who they were?—I do not; they were women.

157. Did you see anybody at all about your premises that night?—No.

158. Nor early the next morning?—Early next morning I did.

159. At what time?—Nearly 2 o'clock. I had to send a man in his place.

160. At two in the morning?—Yes.

161. Whom did you send in his place?—Charles Walworth and William Sykes.

162. Whom did you see about the premises at about two in the morning?—No one.

163. Was it the duty of any other of your workmen to be about the premises at night besides Wild?—No.

164. Then I understand you that no one had any right to be about the premises at night excepting Wild?—Childs had a right to be there; he works what hours he likes. He has so much work to do and he gets it done when he likes.

165. But except Childs no one else had a right to be there?—No.

166. Now did you give evidence at the trial of Cheetham and Slater?—Yes.

167. I believe they were apprehended the next day, the 3rd of August, were they not?—Yes.

168. And you gave evidence at the assizes in Manchester?—Yes.

169. And they were convicted I believe?—Yes.

170. I understand that the sentence has been commuted: had you anything to do with that commutation of sentence?—No.

171. Were you at all requested to interfere in their favour?—No.

172. Were you asked to sign any petition?—Afterwards I was.

173. When were you asked?—I think it is about 12 months since.

174. We are now in 1867, and you think it was last year?—Yes.

175. Who asked you?—William Potts.

176. Was he one of the spokesmen on the occasion you mention?—Yes.

177. He asked you to sign a petition for a commutation of sentence?—Yes.

178. And what was your answer?—"No."

179. Did anybody else ask you?—I have been asked three or four times, but I do not know them. Different parties have been to me.

180. Were the people who asked you union men?—Most of them were union men.

181. You were asked three or four times?—Yes, and I refused.

182. I think your expression was that most of them were union men, who asked you?—Yes.

183. Are you sure that you were ever asked by a person who was not a union man?—Yes.

184. Who was that?—I do not know his name.

185. Was he a labourer or a master manufacturer, or what was he?—I could not tell.

186. What became of Wild afterwards. Did he come back to work for you?—Yes.

187. When?—He was working for us for something like six months after that.

188. How long was he ill of his wounds?—I do not remember how long he was ill.

189. But after he was well he came back to you did he?—Yes.

190. And worked with you six months?—Yes.

191. Did these other men continue to work with you?—Yes.

192. Slater and Cheetham were apprehended of course, but the other men you say continued to work with you?—Yes.

193. Did the 19 other men continue to work with you?—Yes.

194. Did you say that Slater had been working with you?—No.

195. Had Cheetham been working with you?—No.

196. Then did all the 21 come back and work with you?—Yes.

197. Then did Wild leave you after six months?—He left somewhere about that time.

198. Do you know why he left you; was there any reason assigned?—No, he never said anything to me only what I could judge.

199. But did he seem in terror or fear, or was there anything you could judge of from his manner?—I judged that that was the cause why he left.

200. Do you know of anything that he was subjected to while he was with you?—No.

201. But you judged that that was the cause of his leaving?—Yes.

202. Did you after he left your service see him anywhere else?—No, I have not seen him since.

203. Did these 21 men continue to work with you?—Yes.

204. Are they working with you now?—There is one of them, that is all.

205. What is his name?—Childs.

206. Childs is still working with you?—Yes.

207. Fallowes is not working with you, is he ?—No.

208. Do you remember on one occasion discharging some brickmakers for drinking ?—Yes.

209. How long had they been drinking so as to be unable to work ?—Four days.

210. You mean that they had been in such a state that they could not work ?—Yes, they had not been at their work for four days.

211. Upon that occasion after they had been unable to work, or at all events away from their work for four days, did you receive any deputation or suggestion or statement from any brickmakers' association ?—Yes.

212. When was this ?—I do not just remember.

213. Was it this year, or last year, or when ?—It was the year after—no, it was the same summer.

214. 1864 ?—Yes, 1864.

215. What did they say to you ?—They wanted me to take the men in again.

216. What did they say ?—Did they make use of any threat or anything of that kind if you did not do it ?—No.

217. Did you take the men back ?—Yes.

218. What made you take them back ?—Well, we could not get anybody else at that time.

219. Are you now building any houses for yourselves ?—Yes.

220. Are they let to a contractor named Josiah Hill ?—They were.

221. Can you tell us shortly whether anything happened to you respecting those houses ?—Yes, the men turned out, the bricksetters.

222. How many turned out ?—Five.

223. How came they to turn out ?—Because I and my brother set a brick.

224. Do you remember at whose instigation they turned out ?—No, I do not.

225. Do you know a man named Clark ?—I know him by sight.

226. Is he the secretary to the Stockport bricklayers' club ?—I do not know that. I have heard so.

227. You know the man ?—Yes, I know him by sight.

228. Did you see him on the premises at all ?—No.

229. After the men had turned out were you requested to pay any money ?—Yes.

230. What were you asked to pay ?—2*l.* 10*s.*

231. What for ?—For setting a brick.

232. You were requested to pay that to whom ?—To the union.

233. Who asked you to pay it ?—It was our own men who told me that we should have to pay it. No one asked me to pay. They said we should have to pay before we could go on with our work.

234. Your men said that before they should come back you would have to pay that money ?—Yes.

235. Did you pay that money ?—I paid it three weeks after.

236. How much did you pay ?—2*l.* 10*s.*

237. Was any more money asked of you ?—No, not then.

238. Did you at first refuse to pay it ?—Yes.

239. Until you had paid that sum the men did not come back, did they ?—No.

240. How long do you say they kept out ?—About three weeks.

241. Did they meet you to demand this 2*l.* 10*s.*, or how came you to pay it ?—I sent for them.

242. Who came to you ?—I do not know his name.

243. But how many ?—One.

244. Was he the secretary ?—No.

245. What did he say to you when he came ?—He said we might start if we paid the 2*l.* 10*s.*

246. Did he say that you had broken any rule ?—No ; we paid him the money with the understanding that if we could prove we were not in the wrong we could have the 2*l.* 10*s.* back again.

247. Were you assumed to be in the wrong, or did you pay this money on the chance of being in the wrong ?—We paid it on the chance of being in the wrong.

248. Has it since been investigated, and have you turned out to be what is called in the wrong ?—It has not been investigated.

249. Was nothing said to you as to whether you had broken any rule of the union or not ?—No.

250. Is it still going on ; is it going to be investigated ?—They have promised me that it shall be investigated, but they have not done it yet.

251. How long ago is that ?—Some two months.

252. Was any other money paid ?—No.

253. Did you employ a contractor ?—Yes.

254. Did they demand any money of him ?—Yes.

255. How much did they demand of him ?—About 2*l.* 10*s.*

256. 2*l.* 10*s.* of you, and 2*l.* 10*s.* of him ?—Yes.

257. Did he pay it ?—No.

258. Did he continue the building on which he was engaged ?—No ; he was doing two houses, but he left before he had paid the 2*l.* 10*s.*

259. Did he cease to be your contractor in consequence of this dispute with the union ?—Yes.

260. In consequence of the dispute with the union, and their demand from you, he left you ?—Yes.

261. That man is Josiah Hill, I think, you told me before ?—Yes.

262. And the whole of these works were stopped, and he lost his job, and you lost your men because you put a brick ?—Yes.

263. What did you really do ; is it that you being a brickmaker did the work which they say belongs to a bricklayer. Is that so ?—They say that no man who is not a bricksetter is allowed to set a brick.

264. Was that the offence which they accused you of having committed, and for which your men turned out, and for which you had to pay the 2*l.* 10*s.*, and your contractor had to lose his job ?—Yes.

265. How much work had you done ; you call it setting a brick, but had you done any amount of bricksetting work ?—No ; it was only about one brick which I set in the key of the door hatch.

266. And that was all ?—Yes.

267. Josiah Hill was your contractor ?—Yes.

268. How came you to go there to assist in putting this key in ?—He asked us to do it.

269. Josiah Hill asked you ?—Yes ; it is an understood thing that if we set a brick we give them an allowance ; that is why we set the brick.

270. It is an understood thing between you and the contractor ?—It is a general rule about buildings ; if you set a brick, and if you have nothing to do with it, you pay them some money.

271. That is as between you and the contractor ?—Yes.

272. Then you set the brick with a view of giving them a treat ?—Yes.

273. What was the sort of treat that you would have given ?—It was not so much ; half-a-crown.

274. You set the brick with a view of giving them a treat of half-a-crown, and because you did that it was considered an offence by this association, and you were fined in the way you mentioned, and the contractor lost his job ?—There was a bricksetter passing at the time we set this brick, and I suppose he drew the men away without asking what was the reason of our setting this brick.

275. You say that you were asked to pay, and did eventually pay 2*l.* 10*s.*; had you before that been asked to pay a less sum ?—We have never been asked to pay anything only what the men told us ; they had a meeting, and at the meeting they said we were to pay 16*s.* 6*d.* before the men were to be allowed to come to work again.

276. And you refused ?—Yes, we refused.

277. And then they raised the demand to 2*l.* 10*s.* ?—Yes.

278. At the meeting, do you know at all from your men whether the reason of your setting this brick

FIRST DAY.

Mr. T. Meadows.

4 Sept. 1867.

had been explained?—Yes, I suppose they explained it; Josiah Hill went down on purpose.

279. Josiah Hill went down on purpose to give the explanation?—Yes.

280. And in spite of that explanation they insisted on your paying this money?—Yes.

The Chairman stated that if any person appearing for the masters or the workmen wished to put questions to the witness it might be done through the court.

Mr. Cobbett, who stated that he was instructed by the Manchester branch of the General Builder's Association said, that during the strike to which the witness had referred, he (the witness) was prevented from obtaining bricks anywhere in the whole neighbourhood.

281. (*Chairman to the witness.*) During this last strike which was in consequence of your setting this brick and which is the one to which I understand the question alludes, were you prevented from getting bricks anywhere else?—Yes.

282. For how long a time where you prevented?—Over a fortnight.

283. Did you endeavour to get bricks anywhere else, and were you prevented?—Yes.

284. Where did you endeavour to get them?—At a place called Bradshaw's yard.

285. Is that near you?—No, it is about two miles from our place.

286. Did you try anywhere else to get bricks?—Ludlow's.

287. Anywhere else?—Yes, Holt's and Atkinson's and two or three others; I do not remember the names.

288. And you were unable to get any?—Yes.

289. In consequence of your being unable to get bricks, were you prevented from fulfilling any contract?—No, it was our own property that we were building upon.

290. But you were prevented from going on with that, I suppose?—Yes.

291. I understand that you are both a brickmaker and a builder?—Yes.

292. Did they give any reason for the refusal at the time of your applications at these different places?—They said they would not be allowed to send any bricks until we had settled the strike.

293. That was the answer that was given you at each place where you applied?—Yes.

The witness withdrew.

T. Wilde.

THOMAS WILDE sworn and examined.

294. (*Mr. Barstow.*) You are a brickmaker, are you not?—A brick burner.

295. In June 1864 were you working for the Messrs. Meadows?—Yes.

296. At that time were you a member of the Stockport brickmakers' union?—A contribution man.

297. That means, I believe that you had paid so much for every thousand?—I paid 1*s.* a week for working.

298. But you had no benefit from the union?—No.

299. Do you remember on the 18th of June 1864 something happening, owing to which you left Mr. Meadows' employment?—Yes, I left to go to Manchester.

300. Can you say what the cause of that was?—Because I did not want to work among them; because they kept throwing the slack.

301. I am speaking now of 1864?—Yes.

302. Do you remember there being some dispute about the men wanting 10*d.* a thousand more?—Yes.

303. Did you leave at that time?—I left when they turned out.

304. Do you remember what time that was. Was that on the 18th of June 1864?—I do not know I am sure.

305. But you turned out at that time?—Yes.

306. Did Messrs. Meadows make you an offer of 6*d.* in the thousand?—No, I had nought to do with the thousands.

307. You were paid so much a week, were you?—Yes.

308. How much a week had you?—6*s.* a day.

309. Did you go in again?—I went in along with Humphrey Childs and James Fallowes.

310. How long were you out?—I was out about five weeks.

311. Do you remember the other men coming in?—Yes.

312. How long was that after you had gone in with Humphrey Childs and James Fallowes?—About a fortnight.

313. You do not remember the day of the year, I suppose?—No.

314. Were you burning the kiln the night that they returned?—Yes.

315. Who had any business about the premises besides yourself?—Humphrey Childs should have been there pressing.

316. Anyone else?—Two more.

317. Who were they?—One should have been pressing and the others should have been picking up; there were three of them.

318. Who were those other two?—John Whittaker was one.

319. Who was the other?—I do not know exactly the other's name.

320. What was his business?—They called him "Yorky" for a byname.

321. What was "Yorky's" employment?—Sometimes he was pressing and sometimes kiln-wheeling.

322. What is kiln wheeling?—It is wheeling the bricks to the clamps.

323. What was Whittaker's business?—The same.

324. These men ought all to have been there?—They should have been there but they were not.

325. They were all away?—Yes.

326. And you were left alone?—Yes.

327. We all know that something happened to you that night. You must tell us what it was?—Well, I had my right arm broken.

328. But were you attacked by any men?—Yes, six.

329. At what time was that?—At 12 o'clock.

330. What were you doing when you were attacked?—I had just been breaking some coal.

331. How were you first attacked?—A man came and shouted "Eh, mister, can you let me and my mate have a lie down for an hour or two."

332. Did you know who that man was?—Yes, I knew him when I got up to him, but I did not tell that I did.

333. Who was it, what was his name?—William Slater.

334. Was there another man with him?—There were five more.

335. But he said, "Can you let me have a lie down, me and my mate." Was there another man with Slater at the time he spoke?—There were five men rushed out, and the second man was Cheetham.

336. Did you know any of the others?—No.

337. You did not know them then?—No.

338. Do you know now?—No.

339. Have you ever heard since who they were?—Not rightly.

340. Has anyone ever told you who they were?—No.

341. Do you know a man named Hills?—There is a Hills, a labourer, but he never said nought.

342. He has never told you who they were?—No.

343. And you have never been told since who they were?—No.

344. And you do not know now who they were—No, not the other four.

345. Who struck you first?—Cheetham.

346. What did he strike you with ?—A lump of wood.

347. What do you mean by a "lump of wood ?"—A piece of wood he hit me with.

348. What sort of a piece of wood ?—A cart leg.

349. Did they all strike you ?—Slater pulled me down and they all set at me then.

350. What did they do to you ?—Some kicked me and some hit me, but I struggled away about 30 yards and they attacked me again in the end of the shed.

351. They attacked you a second time ; did they attack you after that ?—Yes, they attacked me a second time in the end of the shed.

352. Did they attack you after that second time ?—I said, "Lord have mercy upon me, they have finished me !" and as they were going away one made answer and said, "I should burn no more bricks."

353. What did you do ?—As soon as I had just like come round a bit, I tried to get home.

354. How far is your home from the yard ?—About 280 yards. I knocked Thomas Meadows up, the "gaffer."

355. He lives at the "Grey Horse ?"—He lives at the "Grey Horse."

356. Did you do that yourself ?—Yes.

357. Was the "Grey Horse" on your road home ?—Yes, I had to go by it.

358. What injuries did you receive ?—A cut under the right eye and a broken shin, and my right arm broken in several places.

359. You do not mean that your leg was broken ?—No.

360. I believe you were taken to the Stockport Infirmary ?—Yes.

361. How long were you there ?—About five or six weeks.

362. Cheetham and Slater were prosecuted, were they not ?—Yes.

363. They were tried here and convicted ?—Yes.

364. And sentenced to 20 years' penal servitude ?—Yes.

365. Did you see anyone at the "Grey Horse ?"—I did not see anybody. Then my missis went after.

366. Did you see anybody in the street on your way from the brickfield home ?—No.

367. Did you see a man named Fallowes ?—No.

368. Are you sure he was not there ?—I did not see him.

369. You had no conversation with him ?—No.

370. You say you had no conversation with him ; are you sure that he was not there ?—I never saw him.

371. Well, but you would know whether he was there or not ?—I never saw him.

372. Did you see anyone ?—No.

373. I believe Slater is now at large, is he not ?—Yes, he is.

374. Is Cheetham at large ?—Yes.

375. Were you asked at all to sign any memorial in Cheetham's favour ?—Yes.

376. Who asked you ?—Several brickers asked me.

377. Have you worked with Cheetham ?—No.

378. Had you known him ?—Yes, I had known him from seeing him at the "Black Horse."

379. Had you ever had any quarrel with him ?—No.

380. Nor with Slater ?—No.

381. There was no private reason why they should assault you ?—No.

382. What do you think was the reason why they assaulted you ?—Nay, I do not know.

383. In your opinion, what was the reason why they assaulted you ?—I am sure I do not know what was the reason.

384. You must have thought what was the reason which induced them to beat you in that brutal manner ?—Well, it must be from my going on again, I reckon.

385. Do you know who Slater was ?—Yes.

386. What was he then ?—He was a brick-wheeler.

387. Do you know whether he was a member of the union ?—Oh, yes, he was a member of the union.

388. Do you know whether he held any office in the union ?—No, not that I am exactly aware of, only that he was a big man like among them.

389. You were asked to sign a memorial in Cheetham's favour, were you not ?—Yes.

390. Were you pressed more than once ?—I was pressed many a time.

391. I want the names of all who pressed you ?—Humphrey Hulme, and William Potts.

392. Did anyone else press you ?—Humphrey Childs.

393. Anyone else ?—There were several more, but I do not exactly know their names.

394. Was Joseph Brown one ?—He was one when I signed the paper.

395. Was George Bailey one ?—No, George never asked me.

396. Was a man named Singleton one ?—No.

397. Was George Hulme one ?—No, not that I know of.

398. Ainsworth ?—No.

399. Paulett ?—There was one they called "Bill," but I do not know what was his other name.

400. You do not know his surname ?—No.

401. Are you sure it was not William Paulett ?—He is a moulder.

402. A man they call "Bill," who is a moulder ?—Yes.

403. Do you know whether his name is Paulett or not ?—No, I do not exactly know what his name is.

404. When was the first time that they asked you to do this ? How long was it after the trial ?—It is 17 or 18 months since.

405. That would be in the beginning of last year ; was that so ?—It was before I left Reddish.

406. But I do not know when that was ; was it the beginning of last year ?—I have been from Reddish this side of two years.

407. Then it is more than two years ago ?—Yes ; they were at me to get me to sign at Manchester here.

408. More than two years ago would be, of course, in the summer of 1865 ?—Yes.

409. Did you refuse at first ?—Yes, I refused many a time.

410. Did they threaten you ?—No.

411. Did they hold out any inducement to you to sign ?—They never threatened me about signing.

412. Did they offer you any money if you would sign ?—Well, they reckoned they would guarantee me 20*l.* if I signed that. I did not know them. I went to an attorney to sign that paper.

413. Who made you that offer ?—Humphrey Hulme. It is on the paper there.

414. Where was that ?—At Salford.

415. Whereabouts in Salford ?—Regent Road, Small's buildings.

416. Where you were living ?—Yes.

417. At your house in Small's buildings ?—Yes.

418. Was there any one present ?—William Potts.

419. William Potts was present when Humphrey Hulme made this offer ?—Yes, and Humphrey's "missis."

420. That is to say there were four altogether, you and Humphrey Hulme, and William Potts and Humphrey's "missis" ?—Yes.

421. Were those all who were present ?—Yes.

422. What did you say then when they made you that offer ?—I told him it was more than I durst do.

423. Then you did not sign anything at that time ?—No.

424. They left you ?—Yes.

425. Was that the first time they had been to you ?—No, the second time.

426. When was the first time ; who asked you the first time ?—It was in Regent Road. Humphrey Hulme and William Potts came.

427. Anyone else ?—Humphrey's "missis."

FIRST DAY.

T. Wilde.

4 Sept. 1867.

428. That was the first time?—Yes.

429. The same people asked you before?—Yes.

430. Was that at Reddish, or where?—At Salford.

431. Then I suppose they asked you afterwards?—Yes.

432. How did they come to you to ask you to sign this paper?—They came and said if I signed that paper which came down from London from Mr. Watkin's it would do no harm.

433. They said it had come down from London from Mr. Watkin?—Yes.

434. Do you recollect which of them said that?—Humphrey and William Potts.

435. Both of them?—Yes.

436. Did they ever get you to go into any public house with them to talk it over?—Yes, the day that I signed to get the 5*l.*

437. The day that you signed they took you to a public house?—Yes.

438. Did they ever take you to a public house before?—They had tried to get me there, but I would not go.

439. But you tell us that you signed some paper?—Yes.

440. Take that paper in your hand (*handing a paper to the witness*). Have you seen that paper before?—Yes.

441. What is it?—It has their names on. It is their signatures while I should not work among them.

The following paper was read:

"March 28th, 1865. We, the undersigned, as the "representatives of the Stockport Brickmakers' "Society, do guarantee that on condition that Thomas "Wyld signs the paper in question we will reinstate "him to all the benefits of the brickmakers' union, "and further that we recompense him in the sum "of 5*l.* including expenses of this day. (Signed) "Humphrey Hulme, Joseph Brown, and William "Potts (his mark)."

442. (*Mr. Barstow to the witness.*) Where did you see that paper that has just been read. Did they give you that paper in the public house?—In the public house.

443. In what public house?—At the "Swan" in Deansgate.

444. For what were you to have that 5*l.*?—For signing.

445. It was for signing some paper, was it not?—For the day's work they called it.

446. What paper was it that you were to sign?—To say that I did not know the men.

447. And did you sign a paper?—Well, I signed a paper to that effect in front of a lawyer, Mr. Andrews, in Deansgate. I would not sign without going before a lawyer.

448. Who was that lawyer?—They called him Andrews, an attorney.

449. Where did you sign it?—In his office.

450. In his office, where?—He wrote to that effect.

451. But where was his office?—It was in Deansgate; I do not know where it may have been since.

452. I only want to know where it was then. You have seen that paper; just take in your hand (*handing a paper to the witness*). Is that the paper which you signed?—This is a copy of it, but the paper went up to London.

453. Have you seen that paper before?—Yes.

454. Had Humphrey Hulme that paper with him at the time?—This is a copy of it.

455. How do you know that it is a copy?—Because Jabez Britton wrote a copy of it.

456. Who is he?—A paperhanger.

457. Did you refuse to sign it unless you went before an attorney?—Yes.

458. And you took Jabez Britton for a witness?—Yes.

459. And you saw him take that copy?—Yes.

460. What became of the paper from which this is a copy?—It went to London.

461. Do you know in whose writing that paper was?—Well, I went to Mr. Watkin's office at Bank Top yonder, and I saw Mr. Watkin with it in his hand.

462. You saw there the paper from which this was copied?—Yes.

463. Did you see your signature to that paper in Mr. Watkin's hand?—Yes.

464. You had signed the paper from which this was copied?—Yes, with a cross.

465. You had made your mark upon it?—Yes.

466–7. Did you see that mark on the paper which Mr. Watkin had?—Yes.

The following paper was read:

"I Thomas Wyld of Small's Buildings, Regent "Road, Salford, brickmaker, the prosecutor in the late "prosecution against Holland Cheetham and William "Slater, tried and convicted at the Winter assizes for "Manchester, in 1864, and sentenced by Mr. Justice "Blackburn to 20 years penal servitude, do hereby "testify that I believe that the said Holland Cheetham "and William Slater never have had any malice or "desire to injure me personally or otherwise; and I "further say that from Holland Cheetham I ex-"perienced at times great kindness, and when out of "employment he exerted himself for me to obtain a "situation. That William Slater I know but little "except as a workman in the same trade; that I "never had any falling out or quarrel with him which "would lead to a motive for his committing the "offence for which he is now suffering, and I cannot "ascribe to either Cheetham or Slater a motive for "doing me an injury. Under these circumstances, "and taking into consideration the uncertainty of the "testimony I have given, for I may have been mis-"taken as to their identity, (although I cannot say "that I have,) I trust that Her Majesty will be pleased "to give the prisoners the benefit of any doubt upon "the case, and if not liberating them at least commute "the punishment to a short period of imprisonment.

"Dated this 28th day of March 1865.

"(Witness to signature,)

"(The mark of Thomas Wyld.)'

468. (*Mr. Barstow to the witness.*) When you were at the "Swan" I suppose you had a glass with these people?—Yes, I had a glass, and cheese and bread, and my "missis" was with me.

469. What had you to drink?—A glass of beer.

470. Nothing else?—A sup of gin.

471. You and your "missis"?—Yes.

472. That was before you consented to sign it?—Yes.

473. Were you quite sober when you signed it?—Oh yes! as sober as I am now.

474. How often do you think they had tried to get you to sign a paper of that sort?—Above ten or a dozen times throughout, first one and then another.

475. And you had always refused up to this time?—Yes.

476. What was your reason for refusing?—Because I thought I should get into a hobble, being no scholar.

477. Why should you get into a hobble?—I am no scholar.

478. Had you ever any doubt that Slater and Cheetham were the men who beat you?—No, never.

479. You have no doubt now?—No.

480. And you would not have signed that paper except for the promises made you by Humphrey Hulme and Potts?—No.

481. You say you went to Mr. Watkin's; who took you there?—Humphrey Hulme, and Slater's wife.

482. Were you at Mr. Watkin's more than once?—No, they wanted me to go again and to say before Mr. Watkin, they would guarantee me 20*l.* to say I did not know them. They said it would do me no harm. I said I might get a rope.

483. By "they" you mean Slater and Cheetham?—Yes.

484. Was this after you had been the first time to Mr. Watkin ?—Yes.

485. And after you had seen the paper in his possession ?—Yes.

486. Had you any conversation with Mr. Watkin ?—No.

487. You said nothing ?—I said naught about signing anything at his place.

488. What took place then when you went there ?—They kept bothering and bothering me to go to Mr. Watkin and see Mr. Watkin.

489. And so you went and saw Watkin ?—I went and saw Watkin to please them.

490. You only saw him and came away ?—That is all. He said he thought the paper would do a deal of good.

491. Did Watkin say anything to you ?—No.

492. He did not say a word to you ?—He only said he thought I had been badly hurt.

493. Was there any conversation in your presence between Mr. Watkin and Humphrey Hulme and Mrs. Slater ?—He wanted to know if I was sure they were the right men, and I said " Yes."

494. You are quite sure of that ?—Yes.

495. At this time was that paper that you had signed in Mr. Watkin's hand ?—Yes.

496. Was it read then ?—Yes, he read it over.

497. Did he read it to himself or did he read it aloud ?—He read it up. He said he thought it would do a deal of good.

498. He read it aloud so that you could hear ?—Yes.

499. Then when was it that he said it would do a deal of good—was it when he had finished reading it ?—Yes.

500. Was it after that that he asked you whether you were sure ?—He asked me when he read it whether I was sure they were the right men, and I said, " Yes."

501. Was it before or after he had read the paper that he asked you if you were sure they were the right men ?—He asked me after he had read it.

502. The first thing that he said after he had read the paper was that it would do a deal of good, was it ?—Yes.

503. Upon your saying that you were sure that Slater and Cheetham were the men who assaulted you, did Mr. Watkin say anything ?—He asked me if I knew if they were the right men and I said, " Yes."

504. Did he say anything after you said that ?—He wanted to know if I knew they were the right men, and I said, " Yes."

505. But after that did he say anything ?—He made no remarks.

506. He said nothing ?—No.

507. I do not know whether you know what became of that paper that Mr. Watkin had in his hand ?—I do not.

508. You left Mr. Meadows's employment after having worked for him six months I believe ?—Yes.

509. What made you leave his employment ?—Because I was like frightened for one thing.

510. What should you be frightened of ?—Of their doing me an injury.

511. What should they do you an injury for ?—They threatened to set fire on the place at Reddish.

512. Who did you fear would do you any injury ?—The brick men.

513. Why should the brick men do you an injury ?—I do not know, because I had stood to the men I suppose.

514. How do you mean " stood to the men ?"—It is because I swore to the men and would not be turned off.

515. By " the men " do you mean Slater and Cheetham ?—Yes.

516. You told us that they threatened you ?—Yes.

517. What threats did they use ?—George Bailey told John Smith the farmer.

518. That is the man with whom you lodged ?—I hired a place of him at Reddish. George Bailey told John Smith the farmer that if he did not get shut of us he would set fire to the house.

519. Were you present when he said that ?—No, I was not.

520. Who told you ?—My " missis " had heard of it.

521. Did John Smith tell you ?—John Smith would not have anything to do with it.

522. But did John Smith tell you that he heard George Bailey saying so ?—He told my " missis."

523. Do you know whether John Smith lives in the same place still ?—No, I do not.

524. You left Meadows ?—Yes.

525. Did you change your name ?—Well, I was going under another name, but it is not to be known like.

526. We will not ask you that, but what is the reason of the change ?—To keep myself quiet. When I was living in Regent's Road, Small's Buildings, they came and punched the panels of the door and broke it.

527. Have they done anything else besides that ?—They told me to come out and they would wash their hands in my blood.

528. Do you know who it was that said that ?—No I do not. It was a Manchester brickmaker in the Salford Road.

529. Do you know that the man was a Manchester brickmaker, who said that ?—Yes, he is in the Manchester club, but I do not know his name.

530. Have they done anything to you ?—No they have never done aught to me, only they forced me to two summonses on Saturday.

531. Have they put anything into your bricks while you were working ?—No.

532. Have they done anything to you while you were at work ?—No.

533. Have they threatened you except this time that you tell us of ?—No.

534. They have not threatened you besides that ?—No.

535. Would you know this Manchester man if you saw him ?—Well, I cannot say.

536. Was he a man whom you had seen before ?—No.

537. You had never seen him before this time ?—No.

538. (*Mr. Chance.*) You say that you were not a member of the union, except by way of contribution; could you have belonged to the union if you had asked ?—No, it was only contribution.

539. They would not let you belong to the union ?—No.

540. By any payment ?—No.

541. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Did you ever try ?—Yes: I tried a time or two.

542. And they refused ?—Yes.

The witness withdrew.

Mrs. Sarah Wilde sworn and examined

Mrs. S. Wilde.

543. (*Mr. Chance.*) Are you the wife of the last witness, Thomas Wild ?—Yes.

544. Do you remember your husband being assaulted ?—Yes.

545. Was that about the month of August 1864 ?—Yes, on the 2nd of August.

546. Was the first information you had of it seeing him in his injured state ;—Yes, he came to the bottom of the steps and called out, " My wife ! my wife ! my wife !" three times over. I got down and says, " Whatever is to do ?" and I took hold of his hand and felt it was wet.

547. Where was this ?—At Reddish, Stockport, at our own home.

548. Did he come home by himself ?—Yes.

FIRST DAY.

Mrs. S. Wilde.

4 Sept. 1867.

549. Where was he when he called out to you?—At the bottom of the steps.

550. Then you went down to him?—Yes.

551. Just tell us the state in which you found him?—He was leaning over the steps. There are 10 steps to go up to our door, and he was leaning over the steps. Says I, "Whatever is to do? Hast thou fallen "off the top of the kiln?" I took hold of his hand and he said, "Oh!" His arm was bleeding and it dripped on to my hand. I got him up into the house. I said, "Whatever is there to do? and I laid him down on the floor and went out and knocked his master up. He was insensible and could not tell me, and he did not tell anyone till he told the policeman he knew two of them.

552. You say that he was insensible. Did you hear him tell the policeman who had done it?—Yes, he kept being insensible all the night.

553. How long after was it before he told the policeman who had done it?—I think it was near 5 o'clock in the morning before we saw the policeman.

554. At that time had your husband recovered his senses?—Yes, he kept being insensible at times. I think he was sensible at the time he told the policeman.

555. That was about 5 o'clock in the morning?—Yes, it might be a little before five.

556. Who did he tell the policeman had done it?—I did not hear him tell who, the policeman said, "You must not tell anyone."

557. Did you hear him tell the policeman who had done it?—No, I did not hear him say any name.

558. Was your husband's arm broken?—His arm was broken.

559. In more than one place?—His arm was broken here (*describing the same*), and I think his finger was broken. I cannot say whether it was broken in more than one place or not.

560. What other injury was done to him?—His head was cut, and under his eye, and it affects him now, and his leg was hurt.

561. Was his leg broken?—No, it was only cut.

562. How long was he ill?—He was ill a long time. I think he was in the infirmary about five or six weeks, or it might be more.

563. Do you remember Cheetham and Slater being tried and convicted?—Yes.

564. After that do you remember any men coming to your husband to ask him to sign a paper?—Yes, our master forgets things, but the first paper they brought to him was on the Christmas after.

565. After the conviction?—Yes, but he forgets a deal of things.

566. Who came to him then?—There was Slater's wife, Cheetham's wife, and some more. I do not know who they were.

567. Slater's wife?—Yes.

568. Cheetham's wife?—Yes.

569. And how many other people?—I cannot tell, three or four men, but I cannot tell who they were.

570. Had you ever seen any of these men before?—Not to the best of my knowledge.

571. Did you hear any of their names mentioned when they came to you?—No.

572. Have you seen any of them since?—I cannot say that I have; they took him to a beerhouse.

573. What beerhouse was it?—Mrs. Taylor her name was, then in Reddish.

574. What was the name of the beerhouse?—I cannot say, only Mrs. Taylor's.

575. Mrs. Taylor's in Reddish?—Yes.

576. Did you go with them?—I followed them.

577. Why did you follow them?—Because they wanted him to sign a paper, and I wanted to know what it was he was signing.

578. Had they asked him to sign a paper before they left to go to the beerhouse?—No, not before, that I know of.

579. What made you follow them?—Because I saw these strange men and their wives with him coming from his work.

580. Did you go to see what they would do?—Yes.

581. Did you follow them to the beerhouse?—Yes.

582. Did you see them go into the beerhouse?—Yes.

583. And you followed in after them?—Yes, they asked him to sign the paper.

584. Did they let you go into the room?—Yes.

585. (*Chairman.*) You say they asked him to sign the paper?—Yes.

586. (*Mr. Chance.*) Do you know the kind of paper they asked him to sign?—It was like a letter. I cannot say that I can tell; I can tell you what it had in.

587. What did they say to him?—They asked him if he would sign the paper.

588. Did they say what the paper was?—No. I said, "What is it?"

589. Before you said anything did he say anything?—No. I said, "What is it? because we can neither "of us read writing, and he must not sign anything "except it is read." We fetched a young man to read this paper for us, and he read it several times.

590. The young man did?—Yes.

591. Who was it?—I cannot tell you what his name was.

591*a*. He lived in Reddish?—He said, "I shall not sign this paper."

592. Did you hear the young man read the paper over?—Yes, several times.

593. Now tell us what it was the paper contained?—He says, "I shall not sign the paper."

594. Tell us what the paper contained?—It said: "I Thomas Wyld have committed these men. I have "committed them wrongfully. Had I it to do again "I would not do it. I have been compelled by a "neighbour."

595. Were those the words or the substance of what the paper contained?—It is as near as I can tell. I fetched Smith, the policeman, and I believe he took the papers and said if there was any paper signed it must go to the police office to be signed.

596. Did you fetch Smith, the policeman, when the paper was read?—Yes. I think Smith took the paper; I am not certain, and we went before the magistrate the same time, the day after at Stockport, and he said if he signed any paper to that effect he was liable to be put in prison. I went to the police myself with Smith.

597. Did he refuse to sign the paper altogether?—Yes, he did not sign it, not for many a time coming: they found us wherever we was living.

598. Did he have any beer?—No, he had a drink of porter with them, and they offered me some porter.

599. Had any threats been made?—No.

600. Did they make any promises to him?—No, not at that time.

601. Then he refused to sign it and you all went before the magistrate?—I and Smith went.

602. Not your husband?—No, my husband went to his work the next day and did not go.

603. Was there any other occasion after that on which any men came to your husband to ask him to sign the paper again?—Yes, several times.

604. What was the next occasion which you can remember?—I cannot remember what day of the month it was.

605. How long after this first occasion did it occur?—It would be many a month after we went to live at Manchester, and they found him there. He went to work for Mr. Ashworth, and they found us perhaps three months after.

606. Why did you and your husband go to Manchester?—We went out of the road of the men so that they would not bother us to sign the paper. I was afraid of him doing something he should not do.

607. Were you afraid of being injured at all by the men at Reddish?—That was one thing.

608. That was one reason of your going?—Yes.

609. The other was that you did not want to be bothered about signing the paper?—Yes.

610. When you got to Manchester did any of these people or anybody come to your husband to ask him

to sign the paper again ?—Yes, to sign another paper for their time to be shortened.

611. What do you mean by "for their time to be shortened"?—They thought 20 years was too long for them.

612. You mean the time for which they sentenced Cheetham and Slater to penal servitude ?—Yes.

613. Who came upon this occasion ?—I do not know who came the first time.

614. How many people came ?—About three came, but I do not know many of the brickmakers.

615. Were any of them people that had come on the first occasion ?—No.

616. Neither Cheetham's wife nor Slater's wife ?—No, not at that time.

617. Were they men or women ?—Men.

618. What did they say to him then ?—They wanted him to sign the paper, and he said he would not.

619. Was that at your own house ?—Yes. I said any paper we signed we would have written by an attorney, and then we should know what we were doing. We did not care to sign a paper for the time to be shortened without knowing what we were signing.

620. Was that paper read over to him ?—We did not sign any then.

621. Was it read over to him when he was asked to sign it ?—The paper at the beerhouse do you mean ?

622. No ?—They did not show us any paper then.

623. What took place on that occasion ?—Nothing ; they went back again.

624. What was the next occasion on which they came to your husband ?—They came again and wanted him to sign another paper.

625. How long after was that ?—About a fortnight.

626. Who came then ?—Slater's wife and Cheetham's wife and Humphrey Hulme's wife and Humphrey.

627. That is four. Who else came ?—I cannot say the others. I did not know their names.

628. How many more were there besides those four ?—Two or three more.

629. Were they men or women ?—Men.

630. Were they the same men that came to you on the first occasion ?—No.

631. Where was it that they came to you ?—To our own house, Small's Buildings, Regent Road.

632. What time in the day or night did they come? —In the afternoon.

633. What did they ask your husband to do then ? —They asked him if he had made up his mind to sign the paper ; I said he had not, and would not do it.

634. Did they bring any paper ?—I did not see any.

635. Did they say what they wanted him to sign ? —No, only that it was a petition that was going to London to have their time shortened.

636. They mentioned that ?—Yes.

637. Did they say to whom that petition was going ? —No.

638. Did he refuse to sign on that occasion ?—He did not see them that time ; no one saw them but me. I told them he would not do anything.

639. Did they then leave ?—Yes, and they came again.

640. How long after did they come again ?—About another week.

641. Was it at your own house ?—Yes, I was not with them. They met Mrs. Ward, Humphrey Hulme, Joseph Brown, and Humphrey Hulme's wife, and they came up for me and I went and met them.

642. Did you go by yourself or with your husband ? —By myself at that time.

643. Where did you go to ?—We went to Andrews' office.

644. Is that Andrews the lawyer ?—Yes, whether it was Andrews or not it was the lawyer. I went to him to sign the paper when he was in the infirmary for them to come out on bail.

645. You went with them to Andrews' office ?—Yes.

646. Did your husband go with you ?—No.

647. Who had said anything about going to Andrews, did any of them say anything to you about it ?—I proposed to go to some attorney to see whether he could do anything.

648. You proposed to go with them ?—Yes, I did not propose anywhere.

649. Was it in order to protect your husband in signing what he was signing ?—To prevent him signing or doing anything wrong we went, and he ordered us to come again next day and our master went and he signed that paper.

650. You mean your husband went ?—Yes.

651. Who went with him ?—Jabez Britton.

652. Did you go too ?—Yes.

653. Was any one else there except you, Britton, and your husband ?—Mrs. Ward of the "Grey Horse" Reddish, Humphrey Hulme, Joseph Brown, and another man or two, but I cannot tell you who.

654. Was there any paper produced then for him to sign ?—Yes.

655. What paper was that ?—The paper you have got a copy of.

656. Do you mean the large paper ?—Yes.

657. Had you seen the paper that was produced just now, the large paper ?—Yes, that was a copy of it. We took it to our home with us.

658. Was it read over to him at Andrews' office ? —Yes, they wanted him to say that he was mistaken, and Andrews said if he wrote the paper to say he was mistaken, it would be more than his place was worth. He said he would write one to do as much good as it could without doing each side any injury.

659. Who said this ?—Andrews.

660. He referred to the paper which has been read here to-day ?—That was a copy of it.

661. Was that the paper you refer to (*holding up a paper*) ?—Yes.

662. Did your husband sign it ?—My husband put his cross to it at the public-house.

663. I am speaking now of Andrews' office ; did he sign it at Andrews' office ?—He put a cross on the one that went to London, but not in Andrews' office.

664. Your husband did not sign the paper at Andrews' office ?—No, he signed it at the public house.

665. Did he refuse to sign there ?—They never asked us there. They went out when they had done speaking to the public-house, and they said, if he would sign it they would give him 5*l.* for his day's work. Mr. Britton said they must not sign it without signing a paper as to whose names were there that gave it to him.

666. To what place did you go from Andrews' ? — I cannot say ; I was a stranger.

667. Was it at a public-house ?—Yes.

668. You do not know the name of it ?—No.

669. Did the same people go to the public-house who were in Andrews' office ?—Yes.

670. Did you all go together to the public-house ? —Yes.

671. When you got to the public-house what took place there ?—They asked him if he would sign it, and they said they would pay him for the loss of his work, and give him all the preference of their society, and take him in again and let him work at 6*s.* a day. He said, "Well, he did not care what he did, but he "did not want to do himself any hurt, and he did not "mind if that paper would do him no hurt, and do "them any good in signing it," and they gave him the 5*l.* towards the expenses he had lost and his work, and they said they would take him into his club again.

672. Did they give him 5*l.* ?—Yes, they gave it to me, not to him.

673. Did they give the 5*l.* before or after he signed? —Before he signed it for his day's work.

674. It was the same paper that had been taken into Mr. Andrews' office ?—Yes, that was a copy of it.

FIRST DAY.

Mrs. S. Wilde.

4 Sept. 1867.

675. Had Andrews advised him not to sign?—Andrews did not advise him either to sign or not, but he said that it was as much as his place was worth for him to do it.

676. After the 5*l.* had been paid to you, did your husband sign the paper?—Yes, he put his cross on it. He was willing for the time to be shortened.

677. Did your husband suppose that the paper contained only a request that the time should be shortened?—There was every word that is on that paper.

678. Was the paper read out at the public-house?—No; only Mr. Britton wrote that off it.

679. The paper was read out at Andrews' office?—Yes.

680. Did you hear it?—Yes.

681. And your husband too?—Yes, and Andrews said it would do him no harm.

682. (*Chairman.*) Was Britton there when the paper was read out loud?—Yes, all the time.

683. (*Mr. Chance.*) Do you believe also that it only contained a request that the time might be shortened?—That he was willing for the time to be shortened, if not liberated; he did not care if they were at home next morning.

684. Was it in consequence of the 5*l.* and the promises made that your husband signed the paper?—He thought he was doing some good by shortening the time.

685. It was your belief that the paper contained only that?—We thought we were doing good by shortening the men's time.

686. (*Chairman.*) Was it your belief after hearing the paper read that it was only a request to have their time shortened?—To have their time shortened.

687. Nothing else?—Nothing else.

688. Do you remember whether the paper said anything about his being sure or mistaken about the men?—Yes, he said he could not say he was mistaken in his identifying them. The paper said so.

689. That was the way in which you understood it?—Yes.

690. That he was not mistaken about the men, but he had no objection to the time being shortened?—Yes.

691. That was the way in which you understood it?—Yes.

692. (*Mr. Chance.*) You did not understand at all when he said he would take 5*l.*, that he had any doubt about them?—We did it only to shorten the men's time.

693. That was the only object you had in signing the paper?—Yes.

694. (*Chairman.*) Never to express any doubt about the men?—No, they did not ask us, they only asked us whether we were willing to have their time shortened and we said, "Yes, we were, or else liberate "them, we did not care."

695. (*Mr. Chance.*) When you signed, did you all leave then?—Yes, we left them there and went home.

696. At that time were you living in Manchester?—Yes.

697. Have you since that time removed?—We left Manchester.

698. You have gone out of the district of Manchester?—Yes.

699. Did you leave Manchester because you were in fear of being illtreated?—No, we left for work.

700. (*Mr. Barstow.*) And could you not get work in Manchester?—No, the brickmakers would not give him any work.

701. (*Chairman.*) Your husband is going under a feigned name, is he not? I do not want to know the name, but it is not his own name?—No.

702. (*Mr. Barstow.*) They gave you 5*l.* and offered him the benefit of the union?—Yes.

703. To put him on the union?—He went to Oldham to work and got a job there, and everyone put their jackets on and would not work with him.

704. They offered him the benefit of the society?—Yes.

705. Has he ever been made a member of the society?—No.

706. He did not have the benefit of the society?—No.

707. In that respect they have broken their word to him?—Yes.

708. (*Chairman.*) Is he going under a feigned named not only to get work in another district, but also because he is afraid of being injured?—Yes. There are club men there as well as here, and we do not wish it known.

The witness withdrew.

W. Singleton.

WILLIAM SINGLETON sworn and examined.

709. (*Chairman.*) What are you?—A working brickmaker.

710. How long have you worked at brickmaking?—A dozen years on and off.

711. Are you a married man?—Yes.

712. Have you any family?—Yes.

713. How many?—Four children living.

714. Where do you live?—In Stockport.

715. You have been in the brickmaking trade for the time you have mentioned?—Yes, but I have been off it sometimes.

716. Are you now working for anybody?—Yes.

717. Whom are you working for?—James Ludlow.

718. Where are his works?—In Reddish.

719. How long have you been working for him?—Since the 2nd of January.

720. This year?—Yes.

721. Whom did you work for before?—Thomas and William Ludlow.

722. How long did you work for them?—Something better than one year.

723. Whom did you work for before that?—Samuel Ludlow.

724. How long had you been employed by them?—Off and on about six years. We had not full employment in the winter and we had to break off work.

725. Are you in pretty good work now?—Yes.

726. You are a member of the Stockport union now?—Yes.

727. What office do you fill?—I am treasurer now. I was made treasurer yesterday.

728. Whom did you succeed as treasurer?—Thomas Holt.

729. How long had he been treasurer?—Three months. We are only on three months at once.

730. How long had he been treasurer?—Three months.

731. Who was before him?—I think it was me three months before.

732. How long were you treasurer before that?—Not for several years before that.

733. You had been?—Yes.

734. Three or four years before that?—Yes.

735. What does the treasurer do; does he keep the money?—He draws the money and locks it up in a box and pays it out for the purposes wanted.

736. Before any money is wanted have you a general meeting and resolutions passed?—No, we have rules to go by.

737. Who is the judge about the rules, is it the treasurer for the time being?—These are the rules (*handing in the same*).

738. You are the treasurer and have been so a long time, and you are just the person to tell us about this. You have the funds in your hands have you not?—We have a box that we keep the books and moneys in. I never carry any money about with me. I only lock it up in the box.

739. Before you pay away any money do you bring it before the meeting?—We pay it according to the rules.

740. Supposing a person comes and says, "I want money for such a purpose," are you the judge as to whether it is within the rules or do you put it before the meeting?—I never pay any money except the rules justify it.

741. Now and then there is a little extra; is not that in consequence of a resolution?—Yes, by the rules in the books. I am no scholar myself. They tell me how much money is wanted.

742. You can understand what you are told about money or you would not be treasurer?—Yes.

743. Supposing that there is any money wanted for any particular job, is there a resolution of the meeting, and are you instructed to pay it?—I cannot answer you upon a question of that kind, because I am not acquainted with any except from our rules.

744. Is not there sometimes money paid in consequence of some resolution of the meeting?—No, they come and tell me they want so much money and I pay them.

745. Is that the only mode in which you pay money according to the rules?—Yes, I only draw the money and sit there to receive it as it is paid on the club nights, and they tell me what they want and I pay it.

746. They tell you that they want money for what?—They say they want so much money and I pay it.

747. Supposing a man is a member of the club and he comes and says that he wants money, I suppose he says what he wants it for; he must tell you that?—Yes, there is a meeting and they read it up and tell me how much they want.

748. Do the men want it for being out of employment?—Yes, sometimes for being out of employment, and sometimes for funerals.

749. If a man tells you that he has been so many weeks out of work you pay him according to the scale?—Yes.

750. If he says that he has done any work for the society do you pay him for it?—Yes, if he has been an efficient and excellent member.

751. If he has been an efficient and excellent member you pay him something as a reward for it?—Yes.

752. You pay him for work done?—Yes.

753. If a man comes and says he has done work for the society you pay him?—Yes.

754. Are your accounts audited now and then?—Every quarter.

755. Do you put down in a book all that you have paid?—Yes.

756. You keep a regular account?—Yes.

757. Have you got your books here?—I think some of our members will have the books. I am not able to keep books. I am no scholar.

758. Who does that job for you?—The secretary.

759. Who is the secretary?—A man of the name of Joseph Brown went off and Samuel Moss is secretary now. He will be the changed man coming in yesterday.

760. Did you change all your officers yesterday?—Yes, we change them once a quarter.

761. How came you, if they change once a quarter, to have been six years treasurer?—I have never been more than three months at once.

762. Are you about to be re-elected?—Yes.

763. So therefore, although you change once a quarter, the same man may go back?—No, not until he has been out. He goes out of office, and he can be elected in a quarter or half-year afterwards.

764. Who was the secretary before, because you changed all your officers yesterday, and have got a new set in?—I cannot say.

765. You must know the man who has been writing and keeping the accounts?—I do not attend every meeting. I am three or six months sometimes and never go to club.

766. Where do they come to you for the money, at the club, or at your house?—I pay the money at the clubhouse.

767. You must go pretty regularly if you have to pay?—Yes, they bring their books.

768. You must be there to receive them?—Yes, when I am in office.

769. Is your union called the Stockport union?—Yes.

770. How many members are there in it?—Perhaps about 200.

771. How often do you hold your meetings?—Once a fortnight in summer, and once a month in winter.

772. In the evenings?—At 6 o'clock at night we commence, and go on till 9 o'clock.

773. Do your meetings last three hours?—Some live a good way off, and we stop for them.

774. Is there a little speaking done at the meeting? No.

775. Who is the president who was elected yesterday?—William Slater. He has not been changed, it was not his day.

776. Is that Mr. William Slater who has been in prison?—Yes.

777. When did he come out of prison?—Just the beginning of the year; I cannot say exactly. I did not take particular notice.

778. You recognized him as an old acquaintance when he came out?—Yes, of course.

779. You have re-elected him as president since he came out?—Yes.

780. When had he the honour of being re-elected?—A quarter before yesterday.

781. When did he come out of prison?—It would be some time in the beginning of the year; I cannot say exactly when.

782. The next quarter did you re-elect him as president?—Yes, he was re-elected as president.

783. Had he been president before?—He had been president before.

784. Before he "got into trouble?"—Yes.

785. How long had he been president before?—I cannot say.

786. Do you remember whether he was president in 1864?—He was president, but I cannot say how long.

787. But he was president in the year 1864?—Yes, perhaps two or three months.

788. But he was president in the year 1864?—Yes.

789. Were you in office then?—No.

790. You were a member of the union?—Yes.

791. But not in office?—No.

792. When had you the honour of first being elected to office?—Perhaps it might be five years since, perhaps it might be longer.

793. You were out of office in the year 1864, having been elected in the year 1862; you were in office in 1864, were you not?—I cannot say to be confident.

794. What offices have you filled in the union?—I have never filled any other office.

795. You have always had the money?—I have been treasurer nine months in my time.

796. Five years ago you were in office?—Yes.

797. What was the office which you first filled?—A district man.

798. What are the duties of a district man?—Going about measuring the gauges.

799. And looking after the men belonging to your union?—Yes, and anything that is necessary.

800. Anything that you consider necessary from observation?—According to the rules.

801. You go round the district and look after the men belonging to the union?—We take a few yards.

802. What are you paid for that?—Sixpence a quarter, or something like that.

803. How often do you hold your meetings?—Once a quarter; they are quarterly meetings.

804. I understand a quarterly meeting will be held once in a quarter; but how often do you hold your

FIRST DAY.

W. Singleton.

4 Sept. 1867.

meetings besides. How often do you meet together and have a council or committee meeting?—Once a fortnight.

805. Are those meetings in the evening?—Yes.

806. Do you hold them at the "Pack Horse"?—Yes.

807. You have held them sometimes at the "Pack Horse?—Yes.

808. Taylor is not a member of your society; we understand that he is the landlord?—Yes.

809. You have a private room then?—A club room that is used for other purposes.

810. How many of you generally meet there once a fortnight?—If the men were all there there would be nearly 200.

811. I am able to follow you there. Of course if they were all there there would be 200; but as a general rule how many do you muster?—They would all wish to come there.

812. Then you generally muster 200?—They are there very seldom.

813. Are they fined for non-attendance?—Yes.

814. That is one of your rules, is it?—There is a fine of course.

815. And you as treasurer look after that?—I receive the money when they give it to me.

816. And you ask them for the money?—No.

817. Is it not your duty to collect it?—I receive it.

818. A man may collect and receive. Do you go round and collect?—No; they bring it to me.

819. You were a member of the union in 1864?—Yes.

820. Were you in office in 1864. I think you were?—If I was it would be at the latter end of the year after the men were imprisoned. I believe it would be after they were imprisoned.

821. Were you not in office before the year 1864?—No.

822. Not at all?—No.

823. After your services began in 1862, and they knew the value of them, they would surely go on re-electing you. Were you not in office in 1864?—I cannot say whether I acted as district man or not, to tell you correct.

824. You may have been in that sort of office in the year 1864?—I will not say; I might have been in the beginning of the year.

825. You know Mr. Meadows?—Yes.

826. Have you a committee? You always have a committee, have you not?—No, we have no committee.

827. Have you what they call an executive committee, and an active committee?—Sometimes they might have a special meeting.

828. Then I will call it a council?—Sometimes a master wants something done different from the rules, and then we have a meeting.

829. Then you might want something different?—Sometimes we call the members together for something of that sort.

830. You know Mr. Meadows, do you not?—Yes; I know two Meadows.

831. The two partners together?—Yes.

832. Did you know them in 1864?—I was not acquainted with them much then. I have been better acquainted with them since.

833. You know that they existed at the time?—Yes.

834. You know that they had some works at Reddish?—Yes.

835. Did you hear of a dispute between them and their men in 1864?—Yes, there was some dispute.

836. It was brought before a meeting, I suppose, at one of your regular meetings?—Yes; there was a dispute and there was a turn out.

837. It was brought regularly in the ordinary business way before your meetings of the union?—Yes.

838. And the whole thing was properly discussed?—Yes.

839. Did you understand what the dispute was about? Was it as to making 10*d.* in 1,000 more, and the men wanting the 10*d.*?—I believe the dispute was about making bricks of different dimensions.

840. So as to save in the cost of them 10*d.* which the union men said ought to be divided amongst them; that was it, was it not?—Yes, I think it was.

841. And there was a turn out in consequence?—Yes, until the question was settled.

842. You did not work at Mr. Meadows', did you?—No, not at that time.

843. Then we understand that part of the men went back to the works, Wild, Child, and Fallowes, is that so?—There were some that went back.

844. Those were the three, there is no doubt about it?—Perhaps they were; I was not much acquainted with them.

845. You heard that they went back?—Yes, some of them did.

846. Did you hear of Wild being ill used?—Yes, I heard talk of it, and the men were taken up.

847. You say they had discussed the cause of the turn out, and also had discussed the fact that some of the men had gone back?—I never heard anything discussed at the union about that affair.

848. You say that you heard the discussion at the union that there had been a dispute about making the bricks?—Yes.

849. Had you heard it discussed at the union?—Yes.

850. You heard that the master had offered to give the men 6*d.*, and that it had been refused?—Yes.

851. You heard, of course, that in spite of that three of the men had gone back to work; you must have heard that at the union?—I never heard of it at the union.

852. But you did hear of it?—Not at the union.

853. You did hear of it?—Yes, I heard of that.

854. It was common talk amongst you, surely?—When we are working at the other side of the town we do not hear every particular.

855. But you heard something that is particular, you heard that the men had gone back?—Yes, some part of them.

856. Did you hear also that Wild had been ill-used?—Yes, I heard him tried.

857. Before the trial took place did you not hear that he had been ill used?—Yes, I heard them speaking about taking men up, that was the next day.

858. You understood that they took up Slater and Cheetham?—Yes.

859. Slater at that time was the president?—No, he was the treasurer.

860. He had your office?—I think he was treasurer.

861. Was Cheetham a member?—Yes, he was the president.

862. Cheetham was the president and Slater was the treasurer?—Yes.

863. You heard of their being taken up, did you not?—Yes, I heard it the next day.

864. You did not hear anything discussed about the ill-usage of Wild before it took place?—No, not in the least.

865. You are quite sure of that?—Yes.

866. What was the district that you were the district man of?—In Hampshire Lane, the other side of Stockport.

867. Was this out of your district?—It would be three miles.

868. Who was the man in that district?—The district man?

869. Who was the district man at that time?—I cannot say, to tell you true. I cannot say who he was.

870. There is no doubt that there would be one?—Yes, there would.

871. When you talked at the meeting, had not the district man reported that some man had gone to work against the rules of the union?—I cannot remember it.

872. Is it not your duty, as a district man, to mention to the meeting if any man is working against the

rules?—Sometimes they do and sometimes they do not.

873. If they do their duty they mention it?—Mr. Meadows came and stated his grievance himself about the turn-out to the society.

874. Where were you on the night of the 2d of August 1864?—Would that be the night——

875. That was the night Wild was hurt.—I was at home and in bed.

876. What time did you go to bed?—Perhaps about 9 o'clock—between 9 and 10.

877. When did you first hear that Wild had been injured?—The day following.

878. Early in the morning?—No, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

879. On the 1st of August or on the 2nd of August was there a meeting of your club?—No, not in August, not that I am aware of.

880. How can you say that there was not?—Not that I am aware of.

881. Can you swear that there was not?—I cannot say, to tell you true, whether there was or was not.

882. Can you refresh your memory?—I cannot remember whether there was or not. There might have been, but I cannot say that there was.

884. Have you sometimes a meeting at other places than the "Pack Horse," got up in a hurry?—Sometimes, on bits of cases. Sometimes a man leaves his work, and we have to get a change of men, and different things of that kind.

885. There is a meeting, is there?—We get a man to fill his place, or something of that sort.

886. You sometimes have a meeting in the yard in the open air as well as at the club room of the "Pack Horse?"—Yes.

887. Now, I ask you whether there was not a meeting of that sort on the night of the 1st or the 2nd of August; take care how you answer?—There might have been on the day before, but I cannot swear to that.

888. Will you swear that there was not?—No, I will not.

889. Will you swear that you were not present at a meeting the night before, namely, the 1st of August 1864?—Before the 2nd?

890. The 1st or the 2nd of August, I will put either?—Yes.

891. Were you present at that meeting?—I was present at no meeting.

892. I am not talking of a meeting of the club at the "Pack House," but were you present in company with the men belonging to your union at a meeting either on the 1st or 2nd of August?—I was at no meeting either on the 1st or the 2nd.

893. Were you in the company of several of your union men in the club on the 1st or 2nd of August?—Only with the men I work with in the field.

894. That you swear, will you?—Yes.

895. Take care what you are about?—Yes. The next field to us there were men at work. There were a good deal of men altogether, and I might have been in their company.

896. Of the union men?—Yes.

897. Had you a meeting together in which matters were talked of and discussed. I am not talking of working in the field?—I cannot remember any meeting.

898. Will you swear that you were not in company of several of the union men on the night of the 1st or 2nd of August 1864, call it a meeting or call it what you like?—I was never in a house at any meeting.

899. I am not speaking of a house. In the field or yard?—I cannot remember it.

900. You will not swear that something of that sort did not take place at which you were present?—A meeting? No, sir, I cannot swear that.

901. Do you remember on the night of the 1st or 2nd of August 1864 about talking about Wild and these other two going to work against the union rules?—No, I cannot remember that.

902. Will you swear that you did not?—I cannot remember it, there being no meeting.

903. Will you swear that you did not?—I cannot remember.

904. We are not talking of anything being called a meeting. I talk of several of you coming together and talking over that matter. Just let me remind you of the Act of Parliament. If you know the truth and refuse to tell us, we have power to send you to prison, and we mean to exercise that power. At the same time if you make a full and true disclosure of the matters in which you may have been implicated, or with which you have been in any way connected, we have power to give you a certificate of indemnity, so that you shall never be molested in any way, or troubled by any civil or criminal proceeding. I warn you first as to what you may expect. I tell you it is your duty to mention everything you know upon the subject. I promise you upon the part of myself and my learned friends that if you make a full and true disclosure (that is the condition) of all that you know of in the matter you will have perfect indemnity, and will never be liable to be punished in any way whatever. Now I ask you again if you do not remember meeting together with these people and talking over this matter of Wild, Childs, and Fallowes having gone back to work at Meadows' on the 1st or the 2nd of August 1864?—I remember our having a meeting and talking and discussing the question about the men being at work, and letting the men go to work again. That was with a few men working together in the next field.

905. Was that the night of the 2nd of August?—That was the 1st of August I think.

906. Who were there?—The men that worked in the next field.

907. Was Slater there?—No; I am not aware that he was.

908. Will you swear that he was not?—He might be, but I cannot say that he was.

909. You will not swear that he was not?—I cannot.

910. Tell me the men who were there?—I can tell the men working in the field.

911. Tell me the men who were there with whom this conversation took place. I insist upon knowing. You must know who they were?—There were a good many men there that worked in the field.

912. Tell me the names of some of them?—There was James Ludlow, the man that worked with me, and a man of the name of Samuel Bray.

913. Is Samuel Bray a member of the union?—He was not a regular member.

914. Tell me the union men that were there?—There was Thomas Holland, Humphrey Hulme, and Thomas Hulme. They worked in the same field. I cannot say whether they were all there. There might have been some missing.

915. You say you cannot tell. Do recollect a little and tell me who were there. Are you sure that George Hulme was not there?—No, I think not.

916. Will you swear that he was not?—I cannot swear whether he was or was not. I cannot tell you correctly how many men were there.

917. I do not ask you how many, I ask you to tell me the names of some who were there; you must remember?—I cannot just think of the men's names.

918. Yes, you can mention some names; was not George Hulme there?—He does not work in the next field.

919. I do not care where he worked, was not he there?—I cannot be confident.

920. Yes, you can?—He might be there.

921. Was not he there?—I cannot say to that.

922. Had you seen him there?—There was no meeting, no more than one or two.

923. Never mind the meeting, was George Hulme there?—I cannot say.

924. Had you seen him that evening?—I cannot say that either; I do not know that I did.

925. Where was he working, how far off from you?—About a mile.

FIRST DAY.
W. Singleton.
4 Sept. 1867.

926. Was George Bailey there?—I think he went through the field the same day.

927. As he went through did you talk with him or he with you?—Yes, I spoke to him.

928. You spoke to him no doubt; do you remember the subject of your conversation?—There was a little conversation about the men going to work again.

929. There was?—Yes, that was all; it was no meeting.

930. We have given up the meeting and do not trouble ourselves about meeting. This was in the field?—Yes.

931. Was Joseph Brown there?—Yes he was.

932. Was Potts there?—No; I think there was no Pott there.

933. I am talking about Potts?—Yes.

934. Was he there?—No.

935. How was it that George Bailey came through the field?—I think he was looking round for employment.

936. He did not work in the field?—He worked there when there was a day for him.

937. There was no day for him then?—Yes, when they wanted a man to assist in getting the bricks together they employed him.

938. He was not employed then?—I do not know whether he had not been working the week before.

939. The week before, but he was not employed on that day?—He was coming round looking.

940. What time was it, was it in the evening?—Yes.

941. And he was looking in the evening for work. What was Joseph Brown doing there?—He worked in the next field.

942. How came they to come from the next field?—They are both together, there is no fence between them, it was in one field that we were getting clay out that we were using.

943. There was no fence between them, it was practically one field?—No, it was pulled down, there was no fence.

944. Was Slater there?—I cannot say whether he was in that field that day or not.

945. Will you swear one way or the other whether Slater was there? Take care what you are saying, I warn you.—Whether he came to the field that day I do not know; he might do.

946. Will you swear that he did not come and talk to you on that day; he is the president?—I cannot recollect it on that day.

947. On that day or the next, the 1st or the 2nd of August, will you swear that Slater was not there in that field?—No, I cannot.

948. Was Cheetham there?—No, I never saw Cheetham.

949. That you swear, will you?—Yes.

950. Slater did not work in that field or the next?—No, he would be a mile away.

951. But you will not swear that he was not there? What time in the evening was it when you had this conversation?—It was at dinner time as we just saw one another.

952. You had a talk about these men who were going back to work?—It was about letting the men go to work again, about taking the offer that Mr. Meadows had made.

953. You talked about taking the offer, then this must have been on the 1st?—Yes.

954. You say the 1st?—Yes.

955. Was Robert Bailey there?—No, I cannot say whether Robert Bailey was there or not; there were generally five or six working on the ground.

956. Was John Bray there?—I am not aware that he was.

957. Will you swear that he was not?—He might have been in the field.

958. Was he working in the field?—No, he was not working where I was.

959. Was he working in the next field?—I think he was out of employment.

960. Still you will not swear that he was not there?—He might have been there looking round.

961. Was Henry Hill there?—No.

962. Will you swear that he was not there?—I never saw him there.

963. Did you see Humphrey Childs there?—On the 1st?

964. Yes.—I cannot remember; he might be in the field, but I cannot say whether he was or not.

965. You say at this meeting you discussed about the men going back and accepting the terms?—Yes.

966. Who spoke about going back?—It was about the men walking about.

967. Who took a part in the discussion?—On the 1st?

968. Yes, on the 1st.—George Bailey came and asked whether there could not be something arranged so as to go to work?

969. He wanted to know whether something could be arranged so as to go to work?—Yes, and take the money that Mr. Meadows had offered us.

970. "Offered us"?—Offered them.

971. You said "us;" you yourself then were a party to it in some way as being a union man; that was what Bailey said, was it?—Yes.

972. Whom did George Bailey address; did he address you and the others?—There were three or four of us, and we were talking altogether.

973. Who were the others who were talking altogether? Who else was talking?—Two or three men working along with me.

974. You all took part in it?—Yes.

975. What did you say? I should like your opinion, you were the district man.—I was not the district man. We thought it would be proper to take the 6*d.* which he had offered us to go to work.

976. Did you give that opinion?—Yes.

977. Who else took part in the discussion?—The men that were there.

978–9. How many men were there?—Not very many; a man owns two or three stews.

980. How many were there of you?—About eight or nine.

981. All union men?—One was not a union man.

982. Who was he?—A man named Bray; he was working along with me.

983. He stood by listening to you?—He heard it; it was no secret.

984. "No secret amongst friends." Were all friends there?—Yes.

985. How many men work at a stew?—Three.

986. That would make nine men?—Yes.

987. There was something said, I suppose, about those other three men who had gone back continuing to work?—No, I cannot remember whether there was anything said about their being at work particularly.

988. Just tell us not very particularly what was said?—I rather think they were given over again.

989. What do you mean by "given over again?"—They had ceased work again, these three men.

990. Was it said that they should cease work in order to enable the other men to go back?—I think they had ceased in order to go to their own part of the work.

991. I do not understand you?—I think they were not working.

992. They were working at Meadows' at the time; you surely knew that Wild was working there?—Yes, he was working there.

993. Was anything said about what would become of Wild if they went back?—No, I did not hear Wild's name mentioned.

994. Did they mention them as "those fellows that have gone back"?—I rather think they had given over again until they had compromised the question.

995. What do you mean by saying "they had given over again"?—Till they could all go to work together.

996. If these men were at work, the question was whether the other men were to go back?—Yes.

997. Were your men to go back if Wild continued

to work there?—Yes; these men that went back were not to work along with him.

998. Had this matter about Wild, Fallowes, and Childs going back to work been discussed at more than one of your regular meetings?—I never heard it discussed at any meeting I was at.

999. I understood you to tell me that you had heard this subject discussed at one of your meetings?—Nothing more than about the wages and about the men going back that were turned out.

1000. Was not anything discussed about the three men who did go back?—They said they would give over and go to their own work and the men would work along with them. That was the discourse we had in the field, and there was no more discourse of any affair that I am aware of.

1001. When was the first time that you heard of Wild being injured?—About 4 o'clock the next day.

1002. When was your next meeting of the club after this had occurred?—I cannot say just to a day or two.

1003. About a week?—More than a week.

1004. Did you meet at the "Pack Horse" inn?—Yes, there was a meeting at the "Pack Horse."

1005. Of course you discussed about your treasurer having been apprehended?—Yes, I think it would be about a week after.

1006. That was the subject of discussion at your meeting?—Yes.

1007. Who was president then?—The treasurer and president were apprehended.

1008. Did you find the funds for their defence when they were tried?—Yes, of course it was found, part of it, and part by their friends.

1009. It was found by the union men?—Yes.

1010. Would that appear regularly entered in the book?—Yes, I should think it would be entered in a book.

1011. Would it be their duty to put down for the defence of the treasurer and president whatever money was spent?—Yes, and the accounts every quarter are entered up and then they are done away with, only the money that we have in hand.

1012. Do you know how much money was spent in their defence?—No, I cannot tell that.

1013. Were you active in trying to get a petition up for a commutation of the sentence?—I went to see the men at different times.

1014. In prison?—Yes.

1015. After they had been convicted?—No, before they were convicted.

1016. Did you take your instructions from them for the defence?—No, I merely called to see how the men were.

1017. How often did you do that?—Twice.

1018. Did you do it officially in that capacity?—Yes, I did just call to and see the men.

1019. What was your office in the union?—I was the treasurer then.

1020. You became the treasurer when Slater was apprehended?—I took his place.

1021. You went in your capacity as treasurer to ascertain the proper mode of defending them?—We took as peaceable means as we could do.

1022. Did you try to get up a petition for a commutation of the sentence after they had been sentenced to 20 years' penal servitude?—I believe there was a petition. I took no active part about it.

1023. Did you take a quiet part?—I had something to do with it.

1024. There was something done by you; the treasurer is a man of importance; what did you do?—I was out of office then.

1025. You were not out for two years?—Yes, I was.

1026. Were you out for two years after the sentence: they were convicted in 1864, I understand?—Yes.

1027. You were not out of office in 1865 and 1866, were you?—I went into office when they were apprehended.

1028. I want to know how it was that you took part in trying to get a commutation of the sentence?—I cannot exactly say. There were several petitions got up, but not being a scholar I could not take much active part in it.

1029. Oh yes you could; you have a tongue, and you could take an active part in that way; it does not require a scholar?—There was a petition got up.

1030. Did you go about in order to get it signed?—No.

1031. Did you ask anybody?—Yes, I asked individuals that I was acquainted with.

1032. Did you see Wild on the subject?—No.

1033. Did you see anybody else on the subject?—I saw many that were going round getting the petition signed.

1034. Whom did you speak to upon the subject of getting a commutation of the sentence?—A man that lives in Heaton Lane was getting up a petition first; I forget his name now, he was a shoemaker. He was the first man that went with the petitions.

1035. Was your reason for taking what part you did in getting up this petition that these were two of your men, the president and the treasurer?—Yes.

1036. You knew the sort of injury Wild had sustained?—I had seen Wild; I did not know the man. I never spoke to him in my life.

1037. I did not ask you that; you had heard the sort of injury Wild had sustained?—I saw him when he was in the court where they were being tried.

1038. You were present at the trial?—I went to see him.

1039. You heard a statement of his injuries?—Yes; the first day he was poorly, and did not speak, and I did not hear his statement.

1040. You heard that he had been attacked by six men, his right arm broken in several places, injured under the eye, and his leg hurt?—Yes, I heard the statement that he made.

1041. You heard of it before he made it. You heard that he had been attacked by six men?—I heard he had been ill-used.

1042. Had you any doubt why he was ill-used?—No.

1043. You had no doubt?—No.

1044. What was the reason he was ill-used?—I cannot say.

1045. You do not understand me. You really say you cannot tell why he was ill-used?—I cannot answer that.

1046. In the discussions that took place afterwards in your meetings there was no reason suggested why he had been so cruelly used?—No.

1047. None whatever?—I cannot give you a fair answer to that.

1048. You have no notion at all?—I cannot say.

1049. Did you think it was private malice, or what?—I cannot say.

1050. You had no notion why he had been injured?—No.

1051. It was never mentioned, or suggested at any of your meetings, why he was ill-used?—It was never suggested at any of the meetings about any one ill-using him.

1052. It appeared to you a very strange affair that he had been ill-used. You had not the slightest notion why he had been ill-used?—We knew that he had been ill-used.

1053. You had not the slightest notion why?—No.

1054. Not at all?—No.

1055. Not the slightest?—No; the man went to his work when he came round again.

1056. Do you know now why he was ill-used?—I know he had been ill-used. I heard of it.

1057. What had you heard?—I heard that he had been ill-used.

1058. Had you heard why?—No.

1059. You have not the slightest notion now why he had been ill-used?—No; he was at his work.

1060. Do you think that was the reason why he was ill-used?—I cannot say.

1061. Have not you known of other outrages for

FIRST DAY.
W. Singleton.
4 Sept. 1867.

which you cannot account besides this?—I cannot account for that.

1062. You cannot account for it at all?—No.

1063. Have you heard of others that you cannot account for? Did you hear of any other outrages in the year 1864 besides this one while you were a member of the Stockport union? Do you know a person of the name of Thornley?—Thornley?

1064. Yes; John Thornley. Did you ever hear of him?—Yes; in Heaton-Mersey.

1065. He was a brick manufacturer, was he not?—Yes.

1066. Did you hear that in July 1864, he had 40,000 bricks destroyed?—I heard that there had been something of that sort done, but I never saw it.

1067. You did not see it done, did you?—No; I did not see it at all. I did hear there had been some damage done by some party.

1068. Did you hear that at the time that he had the 40,000 bricks destroyed he happened to be employing non-union men?—I think he was not employing union men.

1069. He was employing men who were not union men?—There might be some. I cannot say.

1070. You have no idea why the 40,000 bricks were destroyed?—I remember them being talked about at the time.

1071. Were they talked about at the "Pack Horse"?—No; not particularly in company.

1072. In your company there?—No; I never heard it talked of at the "Pack Horse."

1073. In the company of the union men it was talked of?—Not particularly the union men.

1074. It was talked of in the company of the union men?—I was told by parties that there had been damage done.

1075. You had not the slightest notion why the damage was done?—No, I had no notion at all.

1076. Do you mean to swear that it was quite an astonishment to you that the 40,000 bricks were destroyed?—I swear I knew nothing about it.

1077. I am not asking you whether you were a party to it. Take care what you are at. You heard of it in 1864?—I heard that some damage had been done. That was all that I knew.

1078. Do you know a man of the name of Simpson?—Yes.

1079. Is he a brick manufacturer?—Yes, I believe he is a brick manufacturer.

1080. Did you ever hear of any damage being done to his bricks?—Yes.

1081. When was that?—I cannot say how long since. I remember its being talked of that some damage has been done, but I cannot say justly how long it is since.

1082. Was there any complaint made about Simpson as to the union?—He had no union men.

1083. And some how or other that was an extraordinary coincidence. He had no union men and his bricks were injured?—I cannot say what his bricks were injured for.

1084. I do not ask you that, but that is the point; he had no union men and his bricks were injured?—He had no union men that I know of.

1085. That I quite understand, but he had no union men and his bricks were injured. The two things sometimes go together, that the man has no union men and his bricks are injured?—I heard of his bricks being spoiled.

1086. You heard that he had no union men?—I did not know of any that were working there.

1087. Do you know Bailey, a brick manufacturer at Heaton Mersey?—Yes.

1088. Had he any sort of disturbance with the union?—No.

1089. Was there any complaint about his employing non-union men?—No, he has all union men.

1090. Was there any sort of complaint between him and his workmen then?—Not that I am aware of.

1091. Did you hear of his bricks being destroyed?—Yes.

1092. Do you mean to tell me that there was no complaint between him and his men; he had union men as I understand?—Yes.

1093. Was there any complaint at the time?—No, I never heard of any complaint.

1094. You have not the slightest notion why he had 50,000 bricks destroyed?—I never heard of any complaint at all.

1095. It is surprising that bricks are destroyed in this district in this way; have you heard of his bricks being destroyed on more occasion than one?—I do remember about some being spoiled years back, but it is some years since.

1096. Did you hear of injury being done to his bricks on more than one occasion?—Not lately.

1097. I do not ask you about lately, but within the last 10 years?—I think it will be more than 10 years.

1098. Then you heard of it?—Yes, it would be more than 14 years since.

1099. (*Mr. Barstow.*) You have told us that you have been three times treasurer of this society?—Yes.

1100. You call yourselves "The Stockport Brickmakers' Friendly Association?"—Yes.

1101. You know the rules pretty well, do you?—Yes, I know the rules, or the greatest part of them.

1102. You tell us that you really have no committee?—There is no committee at all now.

1103. Did you ever have a committee?—Yes, there have been committees.

1104. How long ago was there a committee?—Perhaps three or four years since. There might have been one since.

1105. There was a committee three or four years since?—Yes, and there has been one since.

1106. What I mean is, is there a committee regularly elected from quarter to quarter?—Sometimes, and sometimes they are not.

1107. Sometimes there is a committee regularly elected?—Yes, but I think the district men sit as a committee.

1108. Can you tell me how it is that a committee is sometimes elected and not at other times?—Sometimes the men will alter their opinions. They will not lay out their money in that way, and it saves a few shillings a quarter. They give 1*s.* a quarter to sit on the meetings. They do not want them in the winter time, and they save the money.

1109. Do you hold regular general meetings?—Yes, every quarter.

1110. Every quarter there is a regular general meeting?—Yes, every quarter, to examine the books and regulate them.

1111. I suppose then every member is warned?—Generally, sometimes they are and sometimes they are not.

1112. You tell us that you have fines for non-attendance?—Yes.

1113. What is the fine for non-attendance?—1*s.*

1114. What business goes on at these general meetings?—Transacting the business of the society.

1115. I know that general meetings transact business, but I want to know what business is transacted?—Sometimes there arises disputes with the masters; and the masters sometimes come and we decide the question when their own men cannot do it. It is to settle the disputes with the masters.

1116. Such things as making bricks not according to gauge perhaps?—Yes, or anything that might occur between the workmen and the masters.

1117. Paying wages below the scale fixed by the union?—It is not often a case of that kind occurs.

1118. But it does occur?—Sometimes.

1119. All those things are discussed?—Anything that occurs between the masters and the men the masters can come and discuss.

1120. Such a question as a man being out on strike?—Yes.

1121. I suppose they could not go in again without the authority of the general meeting?—We go by the rules; and if not, we call a general meeting and

the masters come to it and we compromise the question.

1122. Can your men go in without the authority of the general meeting?—That depends upon their wages.

1123. I do not understand you. If they have made a claim upon the masters which the masters have refused, and the men in consequence have turned out, could they go in again on the masters' terms without the authority of the general meeting?—Yes, if they come to terms without. They do sometimes. If he is infringing the rules sometimes a turn-out takes place.

1124. But could the men go in again on the masters' terms without the authority of the general meeting?—Yes.

1125. They could?—Yes.

1126. Do you mean to say that is ever done?—Yes, if they come to terms without.

1127. If the masters come to the men's terms; but I ask you can the men go in on the masters' terms?—If they have been turned out and we think it is right and just, then they go to work again.

1128. Who decides that?—Then we have a general meeting.

1129. Does it not come to this—that the men cannot go in on the masters' terms without the authority of the general meeting?—Not always.

1130. How is the practice?—Sometimes the men might have turned out wrongfully.

1131. Who thinks the men have turned out wrongfully?—They call together a few of the men working in some other district.

1132. Do you mean that a few men called together in a district can give men authority to go in again on the masters' terms?—Yes, if they have gone in behind the rules.

1133. Have you ever known a case of that sort?—Yes.

1134. Which case was that?—One at Mr. Meadows'.

1135. Which is that?—In Reddish.

1136. What case do you mean?—It was a general strike.

1137. When was that?—Some time in the last summer but one; 12 months since or 14 months perhaps.

1138. What was the strike about?—Over walling bricks.

1139. You mean putting up so much in a day, walling too many bricks in a day?—No, he was not paying the proper wages.

1140. Upon what terms did the men go in?—He said he would pay legal wages and the men went in again.

1141. Then they went to work?—They went to work again.

1142. And they struck because Mr. Meadows did not pay them legal wages?—Yes.

1143. Mr. Meadows paid them the legal wages and then they went in?—Yes.

1144. That is going in on their own terms, not upon Mr. Meadows' terms?—Yes.

1145. Have you ever known a case where the men on strike have gone in on the masters' terms without the sanction of the general meeting?—No, it is a general meeting. I said a general meeting.

1146. Have you ever known an instance of their going in by themselves?—No.

1147. You tell us that at this meeting in the brickyard, which you speak of, there were eight men present where you were at work?—Yes.

1148. And you told us that the object of the strike at Mr. Meadows' was discussed?—Yes.

1149. Do you mean to tell us that the men went in to work with Mr. Meadows in consequence of the sanction of that meeting?—No, I do not.

1150. But they went in the next day?—They went in a few days after.

1151. They went in the next day?—Yes, in that case.

1152. By what sanction did the men go in?—By Mr. Meadows giving the wages they turned out for.

1153. No, that is not so?—It was understood so.

1154. It was not so. He offered them 6*d.* and they demanded 10*d.*?—That was for another strike.

1155. No, it was not; it was the strike on which the men went in on the 2nd of August 1864. We have had Mr. Meadows and Mr. Wild here. The men demanded 10*d.* for every thousand and Messrs. Meadows offered 6*d.* a thousand?—Yes, they went in at 6*d.*

1156. Then they went in at Mr. Meadows' own terms?—Yes.

1157. Who sanctioned their going in?—The general meeting.

1158. Where was the general meeting held?—I cannot say the day of the month.

1159. When was it held? They were out on the 1st of August and they went in on the 2nd of August, and you had a meeting in the brickcroft?—No, not on that occasion.

1160. Yes, it is on that occasion.

(*Chairman.*) You certainly said so.—No, the men came round to see if they could do something, and we thought there should be a general meeting called.

1161. (*Mr. Barstow.*) When was the general meeting called?—A few days after.

1162. It could not sanction the men going in because they had gone in at that time. You say that the men went in with the sanction of the general meeting. Now I ask you, who became treasurer a few days afterwards, when was that general meeting called?—I cannot say when it was called. I cannot say how long they were out.

1163. I want to know when the general meeting was called in consequence of which the men went in on the 2nd of August. You know when there was a general meeting called?—I cannot say the day of the month. There was a general meeting I know.

1164. How long was it before the men went in?—I think there were two general meetings.

1165. And there was one at which their return to work was sanctioned; how long was that before the men went in?—I cannot say.

1166. You cannot say the day of the month, but you can say about your being present at it?—Yes, I was present.

1167. Can you say when it was?—It was at night.

1168. I suppose it was at night. You know what I ask you. How long before they went in was it held, was it a fortnight before they went in?—They might be out about a fortnight; I cannot say exactly.

1169. That is not what I ask you. I ask you how long the general meeting that sanctioned their return to work was held before they went in to work; that is before the 6th of August?—Perhaps it would be a fortnight.

1170. What occasion was there then for this meeting of the eight people in the brickcroft to sanction their going in?—They did not sanction it, they were only suggesting. They thought it was proper that they should go to work. It was sanctioned at the meeting.

1171. It was sanctioned according to you. Why should the men stay out any time after their return to work was sanctioned: why should they stay out a whole fortnight?—They were out a fortnight before.

1172. You told us just now that the general meeting was held a fortnight before their return to work was sanctioned; is that true or not?—Yes; I think there was one held, and they went to work as soon as it was held.

1173. You told us it was a fortnight before they went to work?—There was one before the men turned out.

1174. That is not the meeting I am speaking of. I ask when was the meeting that sanctioned their return to work held? You answer me a fortnight before they returned to work. I ask you now why they remained out a fortnight after their return to work was sanctioned?—They did not after the sanction to go to work was given.

FIRST DAY.

W. Singleton.

4 Sept. 1867.

1175. Then when did the sanction come for them to go to work?—I cannot say exactly. They were turned out about a fortnight.

1176. Then it must have been less than a fortnight after the general meeting was held before they went to work; how long was it?—I cannot say, a few days; I cannot recollect exactly. I did not put down the day of the month or anything of that sort.

1177. You remember this time, because directly after this time the treasurer was arrested for the outrage upon Wild, and you succeeded him, and therefore you recollect the time as well as anything in your life. Now I want to know when the meeting was held?—The meeting before they went into their work?

1178. Yes.—I suppose it would be just before they went into their work. I cannot recollect that. I cannot give you a proper statement of that.

1179. Was it the day before?—I cannot say.

1180. Two days before?—I cannot say.

1182. Was it less than a week before?—I cannot say; I should think it would be.

1182. They went to work again on the 2nd of August; was it some days before the 1st of August that the meeting was held which sanctioned their return to work?—It must be.

1183. It was then?—It must be before they returned to work.

1184. Why should it be the subject of discussion at the meeting of eight members that took place in the brickcroft?—It was at the time they were out that the meeting was that I refer to in the brickcroft.

1185. You told us that it was on the 1st of August?—I may have been mistaken as to the day of the month.

1186. (*Chairman.*) I asked you several times?—I tell you no untruth if I am aware of it.

1187. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Was that meeting before or after the meeting when the return to work was sanctioned?—The general meeting?

1188. Yes.—The general meeting would be before they returned to work.

1189. The day before they returned to work you had a meeting of eight members in the brickcroft?—It was not a meeting; it was just discoursing about their going. The general meeting was got together, and the question was arranged and the men went to work.

1190. Then what was the use of talking of it at the meeting of the eight in the brickcroft?—It was before the general meeting.

1191. You told me just now that it was after the general meeting?—I might be mistaken about the day of the month.

1192. You must not shuffle in that manner. You said it was the day before the men went to work, that is the 2nd of August; therefore it must be the 1st; you cannot be wrong about the day, that is fixed?—I cannot say the day of the month.

1193. No, but we can. I want to know what you talked about at this meeting of eight?—No further than we thought it wise for the men to go to work at the 6*d.* a thousand advance that Mr. Meadows offered.

1194. They had agreed to that already?—It was the meaning of the discussion at this meeting.

1195. You had agreed to that already at the general meeting?—It was before the general meeting.

1196. You have told us very often indeed that it was not?—I must have misunderstood.

1197. You told us it was the day before the men went to work, and we know that was the 2nd of August?—Then I mistook the day of the month, that is how it is.

1198. That is impossible. The day before the men went to work is the 1st of August. It is impossible that you can be mistaken as to the day of the month. At this meeting that was held in the croft were the names mentioned of the men who were at work?—No.

1199. That you swear?—Yes.

1200. You swear that their names were not mentioned?—Yes.

1201. Although you discussed the propriety of going in at 6*d.* a thousand, and these men were already working at 6*d.* a thousand, do you mean to tell us that their names were never mentioned?—We had no more discussion at the meeting than that we thought it far better for them to go to work than to be walking about.

1202. Was nothing said about the men already at work?—I cannot remember any more discussion at the meeting.

1203. Upon your oath, in that meeting was nothing said about the men who were at work?—I never heard anything said.

1204. Upon your oath you never heard anything said about the men who were at work—Wild, and Childs, and Fallowes?—Not to my recollection.

1205. You can recollect quite well, you know. You have as clear a memory as anybody. Upon your oath was nothing said about them at that meeting?—No, not that I am aware of.

1206. You heard all that went on?—I do not know that I did. I might not hear everything that was said.

1207. There were only eight of you?—I never heard it mentioned at the meeting. All they discussed was that the men should go to work.

1208. You remember Wild being beaten?—I heard of it the next day at 4 o'clock.

1209. Had you at that time any doubt why he was beaten?—No.

1210. You had no doubt?—No.

1211. Had you the slightest doubt that he was beaten because he went in to work at Mr. Meadows' terms?—I cannot say what he was beaten for.

1212. You cannot say for certain, but in your own mind tell us what he was beaten for?—I cannot.

1213. You must have some notion what he was beaten for?—The man went to work at the same place when he was round again. He was off work a few weeks.

1214. Have you any doubt in your own mind why he was beaten?—No.

1215. Do not you know that he was beaten because he went in to work at Mr. Meadows' terms when the other men were out?—He was turned out and he had his pay.

1216. He went in when the others were out?—I cannot say anything about that. I cannot answer you.

1217. For what else could it be?—I cannot say.

1218. You know Slater very well?—Yes.

1219. And you know Cheetham very well?—Yes.

1220. Had they any private quarrel with Wild?—Not that I am aware of.

1221. You do not know that they had?—No.

1222. What could be their reason for beating him?—I cannot say.

1223. (*Mr. Chance.*) Was there not a deputation to Mr. Meadows to discharge those three men, Wild and the other two?—I cannot say.

1224. Do you know anything about a note being left at the "Pack Horse" for Mr. Meadows?—No.

1225. Did you take part in the general meetings that were held at that time?—There are meetings sometimes and I am not at them.

1226. Do you remember whether there was more than one meeting called on that occasion?—Yes, I think there were two.

1227. Between the time of the dispute with Mr. Meadows and the outrage upon Wild, was there more than one meeting called?—On the question of the men being turned out?

1228. Yes.—Yes, there were two general meetings.

1229. There were two general meetings held between those times?—Yes.

1230. Were you present at them?—I was present at one, and one I was not present at.

1231. Which were you present at, the first or the second ?—I think the first.

1232. Upon that occasion, was there a note sent by the meeting or the committee to Mr. Meadows offering terms ?—I think Mr. Meadows was at that meeting himself.

1233. At the first meeting ?—Yes.

1234. At that meeting was the name of Wild and the other two mentioned ?—No.

1235. Are you sure of that ?—Yes, I never heard them mentioned.

1236. Were you present ?—I was the first part of the time ; I never heard the names mentioned.

1237. What was discussed ?—About the wages question.

1238. Then was not a note to be left at the "Pack Horse," telling Mr. Meadows the terms on which the men were to go back ?—There might be.

1239. Do remember whether there was such a letter sent ?—No.

1240. Have you heard anything about its being sent since ?—No, not that I can give any straightforwardness about it.

1241. At the first meeting was any conclusion come to about the terms to be arranged with Mr. Meadows ?—No, we did not come to terms ; we wanted 10*d.* and he offered 6*d.*

1242. The meeting broke up without anything being arranged ?—Yes.

1243. You do not remember anything being said about a note ?—No.

1244. After that meeting was there not a deputation to Mr. Meadows ?—Yes, there might have been.

1245. Do you remember a deputation going to Mr. Meadows ?—I heard some talk about one, but I was not there.

1246. You heard some talk about one ?—Yes.

1247. Did you hear what the deputation went to Mr. Meadows about ?—No.

1248. Was it for the purpose of asking him to discharge these three men ?—I cannot say that.

1249. What was it for ?—I cannot say.

1250. You heard something about a deputation being sent ; was it not for the purpose of his starting these three men ?—We do not take particular notice about things in other districts. I cannot answer that question.

1251. You say that you had a meeting in reference to the dispute with Mr. Meadows. Was not that deputation for the purpose of asking him to discharge these three men ?—I was at no meeting at which it was ever passed.

1252. Is it the custom in your trade to commit outrages upon men for no reason whatever ?—There are no meetings about outrages.

1253. Wild is attacked by six men, and you say that there was no quarrel, and you can form no opinion as to the cause. Is it the practice among the brickmakers to injure men without any reason whatever ?—I cannot give you an answer to that question.

1254. Was it not because it was a trade matter ?—I cannot answer you.

1255. Did you discuss the matter at a meeting afterwards, when Cheetham and Slater had been taken up ?—Yes, the case was talked about—their being apprehended.

1256. Who do you suppose had done it ?—We do not know.

1257. It was done by six men ?—I did not know who did it.

1258. Did you denounce or pronounce any indignation against those who had done it ?—We could not tell who had done it.

1259. Did you express any anger against the men who had done it ?—I did not know who had done it to express any anger.

1260. (*Chairman.*) I asked you some questions about Peter Bailey ?—Yes.

1261. Be cautious how you answer these questions. You told me you never heard of any of his bricks being destroyed ?—Yes, I heard of his bricks being destroyed this summer.

1262. Did you hear of his having 50,000 destroyed at one time on the flats, and then the walls being knocked down ?—Was that this summer ?

1263. I did not ask you that ; perhaps you may know more about it than I do. When did you hear of it ?—I heard his having some bricks destroyed talked about some years back.

1264. Did you hear of as many as 50,000 bricks being destroyed on the flats and also of some walls being knocked down ?—I cannot say how many.

1265. Did you hear that there were a good many ?—Yes.

1266. On the flats, and did you also hear of the walls being knocked down ?—Yes.

1267. Did you hear of his plant being injured ?—I heard something about breaking his materials, or something of that sort.

1268. Do you know how it was done ?—No.

1269. Was a saw used in doing it ?—I cannot say.

1270. Had you a saw at that time ?—I do not know ; I generally have a saw.

1271. I ask you upon your oath, and you are bound to answer me, whether you were not present when that plant was injured, and whether you did not use the saw and also injure that plant at Peter Bailey's ?—Yes.

1272. You did ?—No, I did not use any saw.

1273. Were you there when it was injured ?—No.

1274. Will you swear that you were not there ?—Yes.

1275. Will you swear solemnly that you were not present when that plant of Peter Bailey's was injured ?—Yes.

1276. That you swear ?—Yes.

1277. I ask you again, were you not present, and did you not use a saw in helping to destroy that plant ?—Yes.

1278. You mean to say that you did not ?—Yes, I did not.

1279. You were not present at all ?—No.

1280. That you swear ?—Yes.

1281. You cannot misunderstand me. You mean solemnly, upon your oath, to swear that you were not present when Mr. Peter Bailey's plant was injured ; is that what you mean to swear in one respect ?—I never——

1282. Were you present when any plant or property of Mr. Peter Bailey's was injured ?—No, I never was present at all.

1283. And you never used a saw for that purpose ?—No, nowhere.

1284. Do you know, or have you ever heard, who destroyed Peter Bailey's plant ?—No.

1285. You have never heard ?—No.

1286. You have not the slightest notion about it ?—No, I never heard who destroyed it.

1287. You never have heard that ?—No.

1288. And you swear that you did not see it done ?—Yes.

1289. That you have sworn already ?—Yes.

1290. I have cautioned you before. You have answered the question, and that is your answer. Now, I give you another opportunity to answer again if you like ?—I know nothing about his plant being destroyed, or his bricks either, or who did it.

1291. You were not present when it was done ?—No.

1292. And you never used a saw for that purpose ?—No, I never did.

1293. Did you ever hear of barrows being destroyed belonging to Peter Bailey ?—I cannot say what there was destroyed.

1294. Did you ever hear of barrows belonging to Peter Bailey being destroyed ?—I heard that there was a rumour that they were cut or broken up, or something.

FIRST DAY.

W. Singleton.

4 Sept. 1867.

1295. You say they were cut?—I cannot say; I never saw them.

1296. But you heard that they had been cut?—Yes.

1297. You were not present when they were cut?—No, I was not.

1298. And you did not use a saw for that purpose?—No, I did not.

The witness withdrew.

W. Slater.

WILLIAM SLATER sworn and examined.

1299. (*Chairman.*) Are you on a ticket-of-leave now, or has your sentence been altogether commuted?—I have an unconditional pardon.

1300. How long were you in prison?—Two years four months and seven days altogether.

1301. At which assizes were you convicted?—At the winter assizes.

1302. We understand that since you have come out of prison you have been made president of the same society, namely, the Stockport Union?—Yes.

1303. You are now president?—Yes.

1304. In 1864 were you then president?—No.

1305. Were you treasurer?—Yes, I was treasurer.

1306. Did you then know Thomas Meadows?—Perfectly well.

1307. Have you ever worked for him?—No.

1308. What are you?—A brickmaker.

1309. Have you been so all your life?—Twelve or 14 years; I never was in any other trade.

1310. In June 1864, you were treasurer of this society, were you not?—Yes.

1311. Do you remember the dispute between the workmen and Mr. Meadows, about the 10*d.* a thousand being saved in making the bricks?—There was a dispute. I do not know exactly what it was over; whether it was 10*d.*, or what the money was exactly.

1312. The dispute was made the matter of discussion at your union club, was it?—Yes, I believe it was.

1313. You, I suppose, as treasurer, regularly attended the meetings, did not you?—Yes.

1314. At the "Pack Horse?"—Yes.

1315. Were those meetings every fortnight?—Every fortnight to receive contributions.

1316. And quarterly for your general meetings?—Yes, there might be a general meeting between.

1317. You remember, at one of those meetings after this dispute, the whole matter being brought before the meeting?—I cannot say whether it was brought before the meeting.

1318. There was a discussion about it?—It was either a council meeting or a general meeting, which I cannot say.

1319. What is a council meeting?—Some few picked out to rule the body.

1320. Was that so in the year 1864?—Yes.

1321. How many of these men were picked out to rule the body?—Thirteen.

1322. Were you one of the thirteen?—I was treasurer, and was compelled to be there.

1323. You were, by virtue of your office, one of the council?—Yes.

1324. And Cheetham was present, we hear?—At the same time.

1325. Was this subject of the dispute between Meadows and the men the subject of discussion at more than one meeting?—Yes, I believe it was.

1326. Did you come to a resolution that they should not go back, except upon the terms which you thought right?—Yes.

1327. Do you remember those terms being that 10*d.* being saved in making 1,000 bricks, the 10*d.* was to be divided amongst your men?—I believe it was 6*d.*

1328. Sixpence was offered, and 10*d.* was saved, and you claimed the whole 10*d.*?—No, I believe it was 6*d.*

1329. Tenpence was saved in the labour, and Mr. Meadows offered the union men who were working for him 6*d.*, and they refused that, and demanded the whole 10*d.* Do you remember that?—It might be so.

1330. You remember it being the subject of discussion at your meeting?—Yes.

1331. And you came to the resolution that until your terms were adopted, your union men should not work there?—Yes.

1332. Do you remember whether you had 21 men in the Stockport union, and three men in the Oldham union working for Mr. Meadows at that time?—There was only one non-union man working at that time.

1333. How many of your union men were working at that time?—Upwards of 20; I cannot say exactly.

1334. And you remember that Messrs. Meadows having offered 6*d.*, three men, Wilde, Childs, and Fallowes, went back to work?—Yes.

1335. And their going back to work without the sanction of your union, while the others remained away, was against the rules of your union?—Yes, it was.

1336. Did you have a meeting at which it was agreed that a letter should be sent to Messrs. Meadows upon this subject?—I believe there was a letter sent to Mr. Meadows, but I did not attend that meeting.

1337. It was upon the subject of that dispute?—Yes.

1338. And you remember that you came to a resolution that the other men should go back provided Wild, Childs, and Fallowes, who had gone back against your rules, were sent off?—I believe that resolution was passed; I am not certain.

1339. Do your books keep an account of the resolutions which you pass, and so on?—All resolutions that are passed they do not put down.

1340. How do they make the selection as to which shall be put down and which shall not?—There are plenty of resolutions made which are immaterial.

1341. But this is a remarkably material one. Would this appear in your books?—No, I believe not.

1342. That is a sort of thing that you do not want to appear in your books, is it? Have you got your books here?—I have two books present.

1343. Are you sure that this resolution would not appear in these books?—No; these are new books made within the last 12 months.

1344. Would it appear in the old books?—I cannot say.

1345. Are the old books here?—No.

1346. Where are the old books, in Stockport?—Yes.

1347. In the natural course of business would a resolution of this kind appear in the books?—No, I do not think it would.

1348. Would the payments to the men out on strike appear in the books?—Yes.

1349. And the reason, or only the money?—Only the strike.

1350. Would the entry be "for being on strike so much?"—Yes.

1351. That would appear?—Yes.

1352. You were not one of the men who attended the meeting?—No.

1353. When you came to that resolution that your men should return, provided Wilde, Child, and Fallowes no longer continued on your work, it was refused, was it not?—I cannot say for Fallowes and Child, but for Wild I can.

1354. It was refused?—Yes.

1355. In consequence of that resolution had you another discussion about it at any of your meetings?—We might have.

1356. In the natural course of things you would have?—Yes.

1357. Did you come to any resolution at any of your meetings that you would go back and work

while Wild was there, and take the 6*d.* offered you Mr. Meadows?—It was passed.

1358. It was passed as a resolution?—Yes.

1359. Do you remember the men going back to work on the 2nd of August?—They went back before the 2nd of August, I believe.

1360. Was it about that time, not fixing you to the day?—Yes, a fortnight before.

1361. It cannot be. The men returned on the 2nd of August according to Mr. Meadows, who must remember, and they all admit it; you may be mistaken?—No, I am not mistaken.

1362. You think that 21 men went back to work a fortnight before the 1st of August?—No, not 21 men, because he stopped two jobs altogether.

1363. Did the 20 men go back to work a fortnight before the 1st of August?—Near upon a fortnight before.

1364. Are you sure of that?—Yes.

1365. Do you know Singleton?—Yes, perfectly well.

1366. You knew him at that time?—Yes.

1367. Do you remember seeing him in the field upon the night of the 1st or the 2nd of August?—On the forenoon of the 2nd of August.

1368. You saw him?—Yes, not at night.

1369. Where was it?—In Turn Croft Lane.

1370. Who were there besides?—George Hulme was one.

1371. Who else?—George Bailey and William Singleton and Thomas Holland.

1372. And Joseph Brown?—And Joseph Brown.

1373. Any of the Pauletts?—No, not that I am aware of.

1374. John Bray?—No.

1375. Was Cheetham there?—No.

1376. Was this after any general meeting that had sanctioned the return of the men, or when was it?—I cannot say exactly whether it was or no.

1377. You told me, as I understood you just now, that you were sure the men returned a fortnight before the 1st or 2nd of August?—The men had returned to work before we had this meeting.

1378. Nearly a fortnight before?—Yes.

1379. It was in consequence of a resolution of your club?—Yes.

1380. What passed at the time when you all met; in what way was it discussed?—It was chiefly over Thomas Wild.

1381. I suppose you all took a part in the discussion?—Yes.

1382. Was it there settled that measures should be taken against him?—It was.

1383. Those measures were carried into effect on the next night?—I believe they were.

1384. We have heard that he was attacked by six men?—Yes.

1385. You and Cheetham were two of them?—No. I can speak for myself; I cannot speak for Cheetham.

1386. Will you swear that you were not there?—Yes.

1387. Can you tell me whether at this meeting, when it was agreed that measures were to be taken against Wild, it was settled who was to carry those measures into effect; it must have been?—Yes, it was.

1388. Who were the men that were to do it?—There was no Stockport man, not one.

1389. Tell me who were the others who were to carry it into effect?—I cannot mention more than one name.

1390. Who was he?—James Kay, from Manchester.

1391. He was to carry into effect those measures which you settled were to be done to Wild?—Yes.

1392. Cannot you mention another?—No.

1393. Was he one?—I was sent to James Kay personally.

1394. That was after this meeting?—Yes, from this meeting.

1395. Kay was in Manchester?—Yes, I went to his residence.

1396. Did you tell him the result of what the meeting had come to?—Yes.

1397. And he was to see it done?—Yes.

1398. Then you saw Kay; did you see him the same day?—The same evening.

1399. Did you see him at Manchester?—Yes.

1400. You are here now to speak the truth, and it is an opportunity which you ought to be glad to avail yourself of?—I came purposely.

1401. Tell us what passed between you and Kay, and what was then settled?—I can hardly think of every word that was said.

1402. I only ask you the truth in substance; I do not ask you for every word?—I told him there had been a resolution passed between a few of our members that Wild was to have a good beating, and he agreed to find the men to do it.

1403. Was it agreed how much money should be given for the job?—Yes.

1404. How much?—10*l.*

1405. Your club was to find the money to pay Kay?—I expect so.

1406. That was the understanding?—Yes.

1407. Was anybody present when you and Kay settled it?—I think not.

1408. Are you sure?—I cannot be sure, there might be somebody in the same room but not to hear the conversation.

1409. Was anybody present at all hearing and taking part in the conversation?—No.

1410. Where was it that it took place?—In Manchester.

1411. Manchester is a large place, what room?—A jerry shop close to where he lives.

1412. Where does he live?—Just off the Rochdale Road.

1413. Did you speak to him in a whisper so that if there were any other persons in the room they should not hear it?—They could not hear it.

1414. Who is James Kay?—A delegate for the Manchester brickmakers.

1415. He has been so for some time?—As far as I know he has.

1416. Were the names mentioned whom Kay was to employ?—No.

1417. No name was mentioned?—Not that I am aware of.

1418. You left him to procure the men to give Wild a good beating?—Yes.

1419. At the meeting which took place as you have described, did anybody offer to be present, did any man whose name you have mentioned offer to help Kay?—No.

1420. Whether they did or not you do not know?—I cannot say whether they did or not.

1421. You never heard any of them say that they did?—No.

1422. You were apprehended the next day, were not you?—Yes.

1423. Was the 10*l.* paid for the job?—I cannot say for that.

1424. Have you heard from members of the union whether it was or not?—No, not since I came back I have not heard, I was taken the day following.

1425. Would that payment as a matter of business appear in the books in another way?—No, I do not expect it would.

1426. Still the treasurer would have to account for the 10*l.*?—Yes.

1427. Singleton was made treasurer as soon as you were taken up?—I do not know.

1428. I suppose no other hand but that of the treasurer pays the money as a matter of business?—I do not think it would.

1429. You have been treasurer yourself?—I am treasurer at the present time.

1430. And before he pays it he must know for what it is to be paid?—Yes.

FIRST DAY.

W. Slater.

4 Sept. 1867.

1431. Would such a sum being so paid have to be sanctioned by a resolution at a meeting of the club?—No.

1432. Who has authority to sanction the payment of such a sum of money as that?—The council, as I mentioned before.

1433. How many members formed the council at that time?—13.

1434. Had there been a resolution of the council for that purpose?—No.

1435. Then how was it sanctioned? Did you guarantee that there should be a resolution of the council for that purpose?—By these few that met in the brickyard.

1436. Were they all members of the council?—I believe they were at the time.

1437. I forget how many there were?—I did mention the names, I believe there was no one else.

1438. Can you tell me how many there were that met?—Somewhere about six or eight, I am not certain.

1439. Six would not be a majority of 13, eight would be; there was a majority of the council that met?—I daresay there was.

1440. You could not come to a resolution of that sort without the majority of the council meeting. Six out of the 13 would not do?—Eight would. I think there would be about eight there.

1441. How would that 10*l.* as a matter of business appear in the books; you say that it would not appear in actual words what it was?—I do not think it would appear in the books at all.

1442. The treasurer would have to account for the money, or else he would be a defaulter to the amount of 10*l.*; surely it would be paid according to some resolution of the council?—I cannot answer you that.

1443. You have been treasurer?—Yes.

1444. And have paid money. Whenever you have paid money do you put it down "Money paid by resolution of council" so much, "Resolution of the meeting" so much, or "Money paid to A or B" for particular work?—I never put it down in that way.

1445. If you had continued treasurer and had not been apprehended, how should you have put it down?—I cannot say that exactly; I might do it a different way, and perhaps never enter it at all.

1446. But then you would have appeared a defaulter to the amount of 10*l.* How would you make the book up; would you put it down "10*l.* by order of the council"?—I cannot answer that.

1447. Did you when you were treasurer put down any amount of money which you had paid by the resolution of the whole meeting or by order of council?—No.

1448. No case of the kind has occurred?—No.

1449. You do not know if you had continued treasurer how you would have entered it?—No.

1450. The books are audited regularly, are they not?—Every quarter.

1451. Who would be the person whose duty it would be to audit them after the 2nd of August?—I cannot tell you at present, I could tell you to-morrow, I cannot tell you to-day.

1452. Is the auditor a regular officer in the —No.

1453. Do you appoint a man to audit the accounts from time to time?—Every quarter he is picked.

1454. Every quarter you nominate a man to audit the accounts?—Yes.

1455. Who was the man who audited the next quarter after you were away, you do not know?—No.

1456. Does the president or the treasurer sign the accounts when audited?—The secretary, I believe, signs them.

1457. Now I ask you, do you mean solemnly to swear that you were not present when Wild was injured?—Yes, upon my solemn oath.

1458. You say that you were wrongly convicted?—Yes.

1459. You have no idea of it beyond what you have told us; you were not there at all that night when Wild was injured?—No, I was not.

1460. Where were you?—I was at home.

1461. Are you a married man?—Yes.

1462. Where do you live?—Broomhall Lane, Stockport.

1463. How far is that from the place where Wild was injured?—Perhaps two or three miles.

1464. What time did you go to bed that night?—It would be after 11.

1465. What makes you remember that you went to bed at 11 o'clock that night?—Because my wife was confined a few days before.

1466. That will not make you recollect?—I was taken the day following, makes me recollect it.

1467. She had been confined three days before?—Yes.

1468. Who was nursing her?—Mrs. Rachel Hulme.

1469. Had you any other grown-up person in your house besides yourself, your wife, and Rachel Hulme?—Not that I am aware of.

1470. You went to bed you say after 11; do you mean before 12?—Yes.

1471. You did not get up till when?—A quarter past five.

1472. When was the first time you heard about this injury to Wild?—When Mr. Smith, the policeman, came and apprehended me at a quarter to five in the afternoon.

1473. He told you why you were apprehended?—Yes.

1474. We understand that the union defended you?—Yes, I daresay it did; I believe it did.

1475. Were there any other men's names mentioned at the meeting, for the purpose of carrying this into effect, besides Kay's name?—No, not that I am aware of.

1476. You have told us the names; I forget how many were present at the meeting; you have only given me five?—I was asked whether Bray was there and I said no.

1477. There were six there, can you give me the names of the other men?—I was not certain whether there were six or eight.

1478. I know you were not certain. It is obvious there must be more than six; remember who was there. Was Robert Bailey there?—No.

1479. Or Henry Paulett?—I do not know that man.

1480. Was Potts there?—No.

1481. Or Ainsworth?—No.

1482. Cheetham, I think you mentioned?—No, Cheetham was not there.

1483. Was Hill there?—No.

1484. You say you were apprehended on the afternoon of the 3rd of August, were you taken before the magistrates?—Yes, on the 4th I was taken before the magistrates.

1485. Did you tell them the story you have told us to-day?—No, I told them nothing.

1486. Were not you called upon for your defence?—I had an advocate there.

1487. Who was he?—Mr. Roberts.

1488. Did not Mr. Roberts make any statement in your defence, to the effect that you were not there but were at home that night?—I think he did.

1489. Did he or not?—I am not certain.

1490. You do not know whether he said anything?—On the 4th I was remanded.

1491. When did you come up again?—I was remanded three different times.

1492. Did you tell Roberts what you have told us?—No.

1493. You never told him?—No.

1494. On any occasion when the case went before the magistrates, did you or Roberts then mention to the magistrates what you have told us?—No.

1495. On the trial at this place, at the assizes, was Rachel Hulme called?—Yes.

1496. She was called as a witness, was she ?—Yes.

1497. Was she called before the magistrates ?—Yes.

1498. How came she to be called; I understand you to say that you did not tell Roberts what you told us; perhaps you misunderstood me. Did you tell Roberts that you had gone home to-bed the night before at 11 ?—Yes.

1499. Did he make that statement to the magistrates; did they call Rachel Hulme ?—Yes.

1500. You were defended by counsel before Mr. Justice Blackburn, and then the same statement was made before him and Rachel Hulme was called ?—Yes.

1501. Was anybody else called in your behalf ?—Yes.

1502. Who ?—James Wall for one.

1503. Why was he called ?—He was called because he was with me at half-past 12 the same night.

1504. Where ?—At home at my own house.

1505. Who else was called ?—I believe that was all that were called.

1506. Then your defence upon that occasion was totally different to Cheetham's, the other man ?—Yes.

1507. You had nothing to do with Cheetham's defence ?—No.

1508. You say that you met in the lane; did you meet by agreement ?—No.

1509. Do you mean to tell me that seven or eight of you, all members of the council, all met by accident ?—No, I was eating my dinner, and a man came to me when I was having my dinner, and told me I was wanted in Turn Croft Lane; so I went and met the others there.

1510. That was the way you were summoned ?—Yes.

1511. Was that the first intimation you had of the meeting ?—Yes.

1512. Who was the man that came to you ?—George Bailey.

1513. One of the men ?—Yes.

1514. Do you know whether any warning was given by any of you to Child not to be there upon that night ?—No.

1515. You do not know that one way or the other ?—No.

1516. That was not at all a matter of conversation ?—No, it was never mentioned in my hearing.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to to-morrow at 11 o'clock.

REFORM CLUB
PALL MALL

SECOND DAY.

Assize Courts, Manchester, Thursday, 5th September 1867.

PRESENT:

PERCIVAL ANDREE PICKERING, Esq., Q.C.
THOMAS IRWIN BARSTOW, Esq.
GEORGE CHANCE, Esq.
JAMES SHEIL, Esq., Secretary.

PERCIVAL ANDREE PICKERING, Esq., Q.C., IN THE CHAIR.

WILLIAM SLATER recalled and further examined.

1517. (*Chairman.*) Who is the secretary of your society, the Stockport union, now ?—Samuel Moss.

1518. Is he the man who was elected two days ago? —On Tuesday.

1519. Who was the secretary before that ?—Joseph Brown.

1520. Are the books of your society here relating to the year 1864 ?—I believe Joseph Brown has them.

1521. Can he produce them when we want them ?—I believe so.

1522. Are you at all able to tell us this morning what you did not quite recollect yesterday: whether six or eight members of the council attended that meeting on the 1st of August ?—I am not quite certain whether they were all members of the council that were there.

1523. But can you mention the names of any others besides the six that you mentioned yesterday ?—No, I cannot.

1524. None whatever ?—Not that I am aware of.

1525. According to the rules of your society, when there is a council appointed, as there was then, is there a particular number which constitute a quorum; or must there be, as I was thinking yesterday, a majority of the 13 which you mentioned as the number ?—13 is the number.

1526. In order to do an act which you have authority to do according to your rules must there be a certain number present, must there be a majority of that 13, that is to say, not less than seven, or do any particular number constitute what is commonly called a quorum ?—Not that I am aware of.

1527. Then any two, or three, or four, or five, as it may be, if they met together, might order an act to be done which would be binding on the union ?—Yes.

1528. They can ?—Yes.

1529. How many is the least number that you have known to meet under these circumstances to do an act which has been recognized and sanctioned by the union ?—I never knew one before this last.

1530. Then what makes you say that the council can act; what is the authority of the council, how can any small number bind the union ?—I do not quite understand the question.

1531. What is the object of the council of 13 being appointed; what are they to do ?—To rule the body.

1532. Now I ask you how many of them ought to meet properly to rule the body ?—13.

1533. But supposing they were not all present, as they were not on this occasion, how many ought to be there to make a rule which would be binding on the body ?—I cannot answer that question.

1534. Strictly speaking we assume that all the 13 ought to be present, and you say that they are to bind the body; you cannot always get the whole 13 together. How many were you in the habit of getting generally to the council ?—13 always.

1535. But if you could not get the 13 you nevertheless came to a resolution, did you not? Have you met as a council with a less number than 13 on other occasions ?—Yes.

1536. How many is the smallest number that you have known to meet ?—I do not exactly know.

1537. When you have met what is the sort of thing you have done with a view of binding the body ?—Different things have been brought before them.

SECOND DAY.

W. Slater.

5 Sept. 1867.

1538. Acts of this sort, I suppose, sometimes?—Not that I am aware of.

1539. Have you come to resolutions as to persons working against the rules of your society?—Yes.

1540. And I suppose you have also come to resolutions that measures should be taken to stop that?—No, not before the whole council. We have drawn men out on strike. Those have been the measures we have adopted.

1541. Have you done that often?—Yes.

1542. Has that been done by the council?—That is a general rule.

1543. As a general rule it has been done by the council?—Yes, but it is a general rule as well.

1544. It is a general rule that the council have met together and gone into a case which has been said to be a violation of these rules, and come to a determination what to do; is that so?—Yes.

1545. Has that been often done?—I cannot say that.

1546. With regard to this money, did you on that night in question pay any part of the 10*l.* to Kay?—No.

1547. It was all promise on your part?—That was all.

1548. Are you quite sure that no names were mentioned between you and Kay, either by you or by him?—Not that I am aware of.

1549. Just think again. Will you swear that no names were mentioned of persons to carry out the intention?—Yes.

1550. You will swear there were no names mentioned?—I cannot swear whether any names were mentioned or not.

1551. Then you will not swear that no names were mentioned?—No, I cannot swear that.

1552. Have you employed Kay on other occasions for the union purposes?—Yes.

1553. What was the occasion last before this case of Wild in which you had employed Kay?—That is a mistake of mine; I never did engage him or employ him before.

1554. Whether it is a mistake of yours or not, or whether you employed him or not, have you known him to be employed for the purposes of the union before?—Yes.

1555. How long before this case of Wild's had you known him to be employed?—A few days.

1556. Do you remember which of your men employed him?—No, I do not.

1557. But you were made acquainted with the fact that he had been employed?—Yes.

1558. Who told you?—I cannot say exactly who told me.

1559. You were the treasurer, and naturally everything would be told you?—Yes.

1560. You do not remember who told you?—No.

1561. Was it mentioned at one of the fortnightly meetings?—No; it was mentioned by some of the council.

1562. At a council meeting?—I do not know exactly whether it was a council meeting or no.

1563. At all events when you were together?—Yes.

1564. What was it for—where was he employed a few days before?—In Thornley's case.

1565. What was he employed to do?—To spoil bricks.

1566. Where was that?—At Heaton Mersey.

1567. What was he to have for that job?—I cannot say.

1568. You were the treasurer. Was it not ever mentioned?—I forget at the present time.

1569. But tell me as nearly as you can remember. You are here to speak the truth you know?—I cannot say how much he had.

1570. Was it as much as he had for the other job, was it 10*l.* or 5*l.* or what?—I think it would be more.

1571. Would it be as much as 20*l.*?—I cannot say.

1572. Are you sure it was more than 10*l.*?—I cannot swear that.

1573. But is it your belief that it was more than 10*l.*?—Yes.

1574. That was to destroy Thornley's bricks?—Yes.

1575. And you know that they were destroyed, do you not?—Yes.

1576. Do you remember how many bricks were destroyed?—Not exactly; 50,000 or 60,000 I think.

1577. Do you know whether Kay was to employ any of your union men for that?—No, I do not know whether he was to employ anyone.

1578. Or whether he was to do it himself, that you do not know? You were the treasurer; were you apprehended before the money was paid?—Yes.

1579. Otherwise you would have had to pay it?—Yes.

1580. On what other occasions have you known Kay to be employed?—None.

1581. Will you swear that?—Yes.

1582. On what other occasions have you known works of this sort to be done while you were a member of the union?—None; only there was one of Mr. Simpson's.

1583. Before I come to that, let me just ask you when were you first a member of this union?—In June 1857 I believe it was.

1584. Is it a union of brickmakers only?—That is all.

1585. Not of bricklayers?—No.

1586. What was the day on which you came out?—On the 14th of December.

1587. December last?—December last 1866.

1588. Now I will go to that case of Simpson's which you say you remember, that was in the year 1864, was it not?—Yes.

1589. At that time were you the treasurer?—I believe I was.

1590. You say you believe it. You have no doubt about it I suppose; that is the usual expression?—Yes.

1591. Was Simpson a manufacturer?—Yes, of bricks.

1592. Where was he a manufacturer?—It is either Green Lane or Black Lane.

1593. Close to Stockport?—It is in Stockport.

1594. Was there some resolution of the council that his bricks or tools should be destroyed?—Yes, there was.

1595. What had he done to give you offence?—I do not know exactly what it was.

1596. Surely you must recollect what it was that was said to be his offence against the union?—He would not give our price for making the bricks.

1597. Then there was a meeting of the council and you came to the resolution that his bricks and tools should be destroyed?—I cannot say all the council were together.

1598. But there was a meeting?—Yes.

1599. And who was employed to do that job?—I do not remember.

1600. Were you one?—Yes.

1601. And as you were one you can tell me who went with you to do it?—Yes, I cannot perhaps mention every one's name.

1602. But I dare say your memory will be refreshed as you get on. Tell me those whom you do remember at this moment?—There was George Hulme for one, Thomas Holland, and a man of the name of Garner.

1603. (*Mr. Barstow.*) What was his Christian name?—James.

1604. (*Chairman.*) Was he a union man?—No.

1605. Were the other two that you have mentioned, Hulme and Holland, union men?—Hulme was; Holland was not at that time, but he is now.

1606. Who else was there besides Garner?—A man of the name of Jackson, but I think he is out of the country altogether.

1607. What is his Christian name ?—I do not know.
1608. Was it John Jackson, do you think ?—No.
1609. Was he a union man ?—No.
1610. Who else was there ?—That was all I think.
1611. How many were there altogether ?—I believe there were five.
1612. That makes the five. Did you go at night ?—Yes.
1613. And did you destroy some bricks ?—I think there was a few destroyed.
1614. May I ask how many you call a few ?—I do not think there were above 1,000 destroyed altogether.
1615. Not above 1,000 ?—I believe not.
1616. Can you say for certain whether they were or were not bricks on the flat or bricks on the wall ?—On the wall.
1617. Were any tools destroyed ?—Not that I know of.
1618. But you must have known if you were there ?—I could not see them all in the dark.
1619. But did you see any ?—No, I did not see tools.
1620. Then were you all employed in some act of destruction ?—Yes.
1621. One went to one part and one went to another, and so you did it all ?—Yes.
1622. What month was this in ?—I do not know exactly what month it was.
1623. Was it a dark night ?—Yes.
1624. Was it in the winter or in the summer ?—In the summer.
1625. Was the shed set on fire ?—Yes, I believe it was.
1626. Who did that ?—I do not know exactly who did it.
1627. What did you do, may I ask, since you seem to have been one of the five ?—I helped to knock down some part of the wall ; the green brick in the walls.
1628. Is that all you did ?—All that I am aware of.
1629. But you must be aware of it if you did it. Do you mean to swear that that was all that you did that night. Take care ; you are now upon your oath. I ask you what it was you did ?—I helped to knock the walls down.
1630. And you did not injure any of the tools ?—No.
1631. But you saw the shed set on fire ?—Yes.
1632. Then you must know who set it on fire if you saw it set on fire ?—I cannot say that.
1633. You told me just now that you saw it set on fire, and dark as the night was you were near enough to know who did it ?—We were all together.
1634. How was it set on fire ?—By naphtha.
1635. You carried that with you of course on purpose ?—Yes.
1636. Who carried it ?—I cannot say who carried it ; I did not.
1637. What size jar was it in ?—It was a large bottle.
1638. A two-gallon bottle ?—Perhaps it might be.
1639. If it were a two-gallon jar you must know which of you five carried it ?—I saw it there, but I did not take particular notice who carried it. Some one of us carried it.
1640. Did you carry it ?—No.
1641. Did you carry it any part of the way ?—No.
1642. However you saw the shed set on fire with naphtha ?—Yes.
1643. Does Simpson keep a watchman ?—Yes.
1644. What is his name ?—Peter Plant.
1645. Did you know he kept a watchman when you went there ?—Yes.
1646. Did you threaten to shoot him ?—No.
1647. Was there a threat to shoot him ?—No, not to my knowledge. I never heard any threat.
1648. Had any of you a gun ?—Yes, there were two guns, I believe.
1649. Who carried the guns ?—This Garner carried one, and I believe Holland carried the other.
1650. You did not carry one ?—No.
1651. You never touched them of course ?—No.
1652. Garner carried one and Holland carried the other ?—I believe so.
1653. Were they loaded ?—I believe they were.
1654. Did you see the watchman that night ?—No, I did not see him.
1655. Did you hear him ?—Yes, I heard him shout.
1656. Did any of your party shout first ?—I do not know.
1657. Do you mean to tell me that you did not hear any of your party speak or shout to the watchman. You have come here to tell the truth ?—I have come here to tell nothing but the truth.
1658. We will see ; you must have heard some of your party say something to the watchman ?—They might say something.
1659. Probably they did. My question to you is whether they did ?—Perhaps they might do for anything I know.
1660. But did they ?—I cannot say.
1661. Do you mean to swear that these two men who went there for the purpose of destroying bricks, and who had naphtha to set the shed on fire, which they did, two of them having loaded guns, said nothing to the watchman ?—He was not outside, he was in the house in the yard.
1662. Did he speak to you or shout, you say that he did ?—Yes.
1663. What did he shout ?—I heard him shouting in the lane.
1664. You said that he was in the house ?—Yes, but afterwards.
1665. When you first heard him shout where was he ?—He was in the house.
1666. What did he shout ?—I cannot say what he said.
1667. Did he call out "Hulloa !" or what expression did he use ?—I cannot say.
1668. But you heard him shout ?—Yes.
1669. What answer was made when he shouted out ?—I cannot tell you what the answer was.
1670. Was there any threat about shooting him ?—Not that I know of.
1671. Do you mean to swear that you and your party having deliberately taken two loaded guns to this place, there was nothing said with reference to those guns ?—The guns were taken for the dogs.
1672. How many dogs were there ?—One.
1673. Two guns for one dog ?—Yes.
1674. Did you say anything to the watchman at all ?—No.
1675. Did you hear anything said ?—No.
1676. Did you see the watchman ?—I believe not.
1677. When you destroyed these bricks and set the shed on fire, was no alarm given ?—Yes.
1678. Who came out ?—I heard him go in the lane shouting.
1679. He shouted to you of course ?—No, he was shouting down the road to get some one there.
1680. To get some one there to help him ?—Yes.
1681. And you swear that nothing was said ?—No, I do not swear that nothing was said. I never said anything.
1682. I do not ask you that ; I ask you if you heard anything said ?—No, I did not.
1683. You will swear that the guns were not fired ?—No.
1684. Were they fired, either of them ?—I believe they were.
1685. Both of them ?—No, I cannot say that, I heard the report of guns.
1686. Can you tell me who it was that fired them ?—No, I cannot.
1687. Must it have been one of these two, Garner and Holland ?—Yes.
1688. You never saw the guns change hands ?—No.
1689. They were in the hands of those two ?—Yes.
1690. Did they fire after the watchman had shouted ?

SECOND DAY.

W. Slater.

5 Sept. 1867.

—No, I cannot say, I never heard them go off after the watchman shouted in the lane.

1691. But before he came out of the house did you hear any gun fired?—I cannot say, I was down in the croft.

1692. But was it after you heard him shout at all, that you heard the gun fired?—Yes.

1693. Did you hear where he was from the direction in which the voice came?—Yes.

1694. You did not see the gun fired?—No.

1695. And was it just after you heard his voice that the gun went off?—Yes.

1696. Only once?—There was above one report.

1697. Were they in succession, quick one after the other?—Not long between.

1698. Had the shed been set on fire before the gun was fired?—No, but we were off when the gun was fired. I believe so, but I am not quite certain.

1699. Was the shed destroyed?—No.

1700. It was set on fire, but not destroyed?—No.

1701. Were you disturbed, then, before you had done all the damage you meant to do?—Yes.

1702. Were you disturbed by this watchman?—Yes.

1703. Or else your intention was to have done more damage?—Yes.

1704. Did the watchman fire at any of you?—I cannot say.

1705. You said, did you not, that there were men employed in this affair who were not union men?—Yes.

1706. What were they to have for the job?—I believe it was 15*l.* altogether.

1707. That was to be divided among how many?—I am not certain exactly whether it was five or six.

1708. But were you all to share in it?—Yes.

1709. You were to have some of it?—Yes.

1710. Then you were to pay yourself: you were treasurer, you know?—Yes.

1711. Did you afterwards pay the men?—Yes.

1712. Then altogether, what went out of the funds of the society, including what you got yourself?—It was to be about 15*l.*

1713. If there were five men, that would be about 3*l.* each?—Yes.

1714. That was what you got?—I cannot say whether it was five or six, but we all shared alike.

1715. 15*l.* was the money?—Yes.

1716. Did you make any entry of that in your books?—No.

1717. When your accounts had to be audited, how did you, as treasurer, account for that 15*l.*?—I was apprehended before the time.

1718. How would you have entered it?—I should have had to tell the auditor about it.

1719. How would it have appeared in the book? Would it have appeared as "sundries"?—I should have put nothing in the book.

1720. But after telling the auditor how would it have been put down in the book?—I do not think it would have been put down in the book at all.

1721. Was there an understanding between you and the auditor, so that it would not have appeared in the books at all?—No.

1722. But if you say in your books that you have received so many hundred pounds, and if you put down on the other side what you pay, how would you have managed it so that the accounts would balance?—I am not the secretary; I do not keep the books.

1723. Then he is the man who would tell us how the books are managed?—Yes.

1724. Have you ever been secretary?—Yes.

1725. Have you never had a job of this sort to enter as secretary?—No.

1726. How long were you secretary?—Six months.

1727. When was that?—I believe it was in 1861.

1728. While you were secretary did you make a clear entry of every 6*d.* you paid?—Yes.

1729. Under the regular name of what the money had been paid for?—Yes.

1730. There was nothing of this sort during those six months in 1861?—No.

1731. Who was secretary at this time in 1864, when this 15*l.* was paid?—Joseph Brown.

1732. Then he will know how that will appear in the book?—Yes.

1733. Who were the auditors then?—I cannot say who they were; you asked me that yesterday, but I could not tell you.

1734. But you have had a night to refresh your memory?—The books will be here to-day I expect, and they will show you.

1735. The ordinary practice is, I suppose, that the auditors sign the book?—Yes.

1736. (*Mr. Barstow.*) To certify that the accounts are correct?—Yes.

1737. (*Chairman.*) What other case has there been in your knowledge?—None.

1738. Do you mean to swear that the only cases you know are Wild's case and Simpson's case and Thornley's case?—Yes.

1739. You do not know any other?—No.

1740. How long have you known Kay?—It is four years, I think, since I knew him first; between three and four years.

1741. Have you had much intercourse or communication with him?—No.

1742. In what character have you known him?—As a delegate from the Manchester brickmakers.

1743. Then if your Stockport club wanted to have communication with the Manchester brickmakers you would communicate with Kay?—Yes.

1744. Have you had frequent communication with him upon these subjects?—Upon these two subjects.

1745. On which two subjects?—Thornley's and Wild's.

1746. On no other?—No.

1747. But you have had general communication, I suppose, as to men working and so on?—No.

1748. Do you mean to say you have told us the only cases that you are acquainted with, where money has been paid by the society for things of this description?—Yes.

1749. That you will swear, will you?—Yes.

1750. Now you know, do you not, that there has been a dispute between the Manchester brickmakers' club and your club, the Stockport club, as to what the two districts are, as to whether such a place is within your district or within theirs?—Yes.

1751. Now as to Levenshulme, there has been a dispute as to whether that was in the Stockport district or in the Manchester district, has there not?—There has.

1752. Do you remember some destruction of property at Heaton Mersey?—Yes.

1753. That has happened since you have come out this year, has it not?—Yes.

1754. Will you state what that was?—It was a case of spoiling bricks.

1755. Whose were they?—Peter Bailey's and Barrett's.

1756. Where is Bailey's place?—I do not know exactly whether it is Heaton Mersey or not.

1757. Had he some bricks destroyed?—Yes.

1758. How many?—About 40,000 I believe.

1759. When was that, was it last June?—Yes, I believe it was.

1760. How far is Heaton Mersey from Stockport?—About three miles.

1761. Is there any dispute about whether this place of Bailey's is within your district or within the Manchester district?—No.

1762. Do you know who destroyed these bricks?—No.

1763. That is in the Stockport district, is it?—Yes.

1764. In consequence of that destruction of property did he make any claim upon your club?—No, he made no claim.

1765. But was any resolution come to to pay this

money?—Yes, we paid him for the damage that was done.

1766. I believe you wrote him a letter to that effect?—Yes.

1767. Is that your letter (*handing a letter to the witness*) ?—Yes.

(The following letter was read.)

" Stockport, June 20th.

" Sir,—This is to inform you that we, the Stockport " brickmakers, have come to the conclusion that we " will pay the damage you have received with your " brickyard, namely, 20*l.*, providing you let your men " commence work in the morning, and two men will " wait on you to-morrow with the money.

" W. Slater, President."

1768. (*Chairman, to the witness.*) You were president at that time, were you not?—Yes.

1769. And there was a resolution to that effect, which you carried out in that way?—Yes.

1770. How did you come to the resolution for the payment of that 20*l.*?—He stopped his men working for one thing.

1771. What men?—His own brickmakers.

1772. Will you explain to me more fully why, because he stopped his own men, you, as a club, came to a resolution to pay him 20*l.*?—Because the damage had been done on our side.

1773. Is it because you considered that the damage was done by another union, or by somebody else, that you, the Stockport union, said you would pay him 20*l.*?—Yes.

1774. By whom did you believe the damage to be done that made you come to that resolution?—I did not know who it had been done by.

1775. But you must have had some belief on the subject. It is not because anybody does damage to another person that I suppose the Stockport union come readily forward and pay money. What was the belief at the time you came to that resolution?—We thought we should have a bother with the Manchester brickmakers.

1776. Did you imagine that the Manchester brickmakers had done the damage?—We could not exactly imagine that: we thought it was through that.

1777. I do not know why you could not imagine it. Did you consider that it was in consequence of a dispute between your club and the Manchester club that the damage had been done by somebody?—Yes.

1778. Why should damage be done by anybody to Mr. Bailey who was within your district. Had he employed Manchester men?—No.

1779. What was the supposed reason for damage being done to Mr. Bailey's bricks?—Because there had been a misunderstanding between the Manchester brickmakers and the Stockport brickmakers.

1780. But because there is a misunderstanding between the Manchester brickmakers and the Stockport brickmakers, why is a man who is clearly in the Stockport district to have his bricks injured?—I do not see that.

1781. But you must have had some reason for giving him the 20*l.* I ask you the reason?—I cannot explain it any different from what I have said.

1782. You must have some belief about it. At the time when this was discussed a resolution was come to to give him 20*l.*, and you as president wrote that letter. You must have had some belief as to the reason?—Yes.

1783. You say you imagine the damage was done in consequence of a dispute between the Manchester and the Stockport men?—Yes.

1784. Then why should he have his bricks damaged in consequence of that dispute?—The Manchester brickmakers took it to revenge themselves that way.

1785. Now you have answered the question. You say the reason was because you imagined the Manchester union had taken their revenge that way?—Yes.

1786. Then it was on your belief that the Manchester union men had had their revenge in that way, and caused that destruction, that you recompensed him to the extent of 20*l.*?—Yes.

1787. Did you pay the 20*l.*?—Yes.

1788. Did you pay it?—No.

1789. Were you one of the deputation?—No.

1790. Who were the two that were sent?—Joseph Brown was one. I believe it was Thomas Holland and Joseph Brown.

1791. Is the dispute between your union and the Manchester union men still going on?—For anything I know of it is.

1722. But you are president, and you must know?—Yes, for anything I know of it is.

1793. Has it led to any other outrage as far as you have heard?—No.

1794. Is this the only case of the destruction of property which has happened since you have been in office; since your return last December?—I have heard that there was a destruction last week at Levenshulme, I have heard so.

1795. You have pretty good channels of communication generally for what you hear, have you not, you have people looking out for you in the different districts?—Yes.

1796. Then you say you have had information that some damage was done last week at Levenshulme?—Yes.

1797. Did you understand that it was done in consequence of this dispute that is going on between your union and the Manchester union?—I cannot say that; I never have any communication with the masters. It might have been so.

1798. Is it an offence, according to your rules, that any person in the Stockport union district should employ Manchester men?—No.

1799. Do I understand that any master manufacturer who lives in your Stockport district, may employ, if he pleases, Manchester brickmakers or bricklayers?—I cannot say for bricklayers.

1800. You can tell me one way or the other. Is it an offence against the rules that he should employ men of that description who belong to another district?—As long as the Stockport brickmakers are out of employ, according to our rules we do not allow them to get brickmakers anywhere else.

1801. I suppose this is the sort of course you adopt if they do not yield to you in that way. Supposing you have brickmakers out of employ and they do choose to employ brickmakers elsewhere, you put a stop to it in this way?—Generally.

1802. You have mentioned that your union is a brickmakers' union?—Yes.

1803. Is there any other brickmakers' union in the Stockport district but yours?—No.

1804. Is there a bricklayers' union?—I believe there is.

1805. Where is that; what is the name of it?—It is held at the " Sun " public-house in Stockport.

1806. You have constant communication with them, I suppose?—Yes.

1807. Do you know how many they consist of?—No.

1808. You are not a member of that society, are you?—No.

1809. At Manchester, in this district, I presume there are brickmakers' unions and bricklayers' unions?—Yes.

1810. What other unions exist in Stockport besides those that you have mentioned. Is there a builders' union?—I do not know of any.

1811. Do you know of any other?—No.

1812. As you have been a member of this union so long and you have mentioned the fact of a council existing, before any act is done by resolution of the council do you always see the president of the society, although he may not happen to be present at the meeting?—In anything that I have had anything to do with we have.

1813. I mean before any money is to be paid you would naturally ask the president?—Yes.

SECOND DAY.

W. Slater.

5 Sept. 1867.

1814. Then although a council came to a resolution that a certain amount of money should be paid, if the president was not there they ought to come and communicate with him first before they made the agreement to pay?—They ought to do so.

1815. And that is usually done, is it?—Yes.

1816. Then on the day in question, on the 1st of August, when that council meeting or whatever it was, came to the resolution that 10*l.* was to be paid to Kay to do this job, before you communicated with Kay and made the bargain, of course you saw the president?—Yes.

1817. The president at that time was Holland Cheetham, was he not?—Yes.

1818. Where did you see him?—At Mr. Birch's brickyard in Withington.

1819. About what time?—About 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

1820. And of course you communicated with him and got his sanction to make the bargain you describe?—Yes, I had not cash enough.

1821. And you got it from Cheetham?—Yes.

1822. You got his assistance, and agreed on the amount of money?—That was agreed on before.

1823. But you got his sanction?—Yes.

1824. You have mentioned to me a good deal about Simpson's case, and you have said that there had been a division in the council before you went?—Some part of the council.

1825. Tell me what part?—I do not know that I can mention.

1826. Tell me how many?—I cannot mention that.

1827. You must have some idea. You have told me that five men went?—Five or six I said.

1828. Can you tell me how many were present?—It is so long since; I cannot just think of it.

1829. Three years is not a very great time to recollect, and you have recollected a good deal. Where was the meeting held?—I believe it was held at the "Pack Horse."

1830. In the evening I suppose?—Yes.

1831. That is your regular place of meeting?—Yes.

1832. How many were present?—There might be all there, or there might be some few short.

1833. Of course there might be anything. Have you any books containing the minutes of those meetings?—Yes.

1834. Then there would be a book mentioning the number, and who were present I suppose?—Yes.

1835. Then your book for the year 1864, if produced, would show how many were present at this meeting of the council before Simpson's property was injured?—It will not state how many were present; it will state how many were on the council, and the names of them.

1836. But would not your book show who were present at any meeting?—No.

1837. Will it not show how many were present?—No.

1838. Do you mean to tell me that your book is not usually kept in that way to show how many were present?—No.

1839. Then how do you know how to fine the absent men?—They would be put down in the fine book.

1840. Does it appear how many were present, and therefore from how many of the absent ones you have to collect fines?—Yes; it appears in the fine book who was absent.

1841. You must be able to give me some notion how many of the council were present at the time the resolution took place in 1864 to do this at Simpson's?—I cannot upon my oath.

1842. Were there eight or 10?—There might be all the 13 there for anything I know; there might be one or two short.

1843. Who else was at the meeting on that night besides yourself?—I am not sure whether it was the night before, or it might be a week or two before.

1844. Whenever it was when the resolution was come to, who were present?—I cannot give them all.

1845. You can mention some of them, at all events?—Yes; I can mention some of them, but it will appear in the minute book who were there.

1846. Now, you tell me that it will show who were there?—It will state the number of the council, and the men's names.

1847. But it will not state, according to what you have said, who were there at the time when this resolution was come to?—No.

1848. Then granted that there were 13 members of the council, how many of them were present when the resolution was come to?—Well, I say they might all be there, or there might be one or two short.

1849. You must recollect who were there at the time?—I can mention some of them.

1850. Then mention them?—There would be George Hulme, Thomas Holland, Joseph Brown, and I am not sure whether David Potts was there. I believe David Potts was there.

1851. And who else. Was Cheetham there?—Yes; I believe Cheetham was there.

1852. Was he the president then?—Yes.

1853. You mean Holland Cheetham?—Yes.

1854. He has a brother, has he not?—Yes.

1855. What is his brother's name?—William.

1856. Is he a brickmaker?—Yes.

1857. Is he a member of the union?—Yes.

1858. Was he there?—No.

1859. Who else was there?—I cannot say who else was there for certain.

1860. That is five, and yourself makes six. There were more than six you know?—There were more than six.

1861. Then who else was there?—I think Robert Bailey was there.

1862. Was George Bailey there?—I do not know.

1863. Was Singleton there?—I think he was.

1864. Have you any doubt whatever that William Singleton was there?—I am sure I cannot say for certain.

1865. But you just said that you believed he was there?—Yes; I do believe he was there.

1866. Have you any doubt about it?—I have no doubt that I know of.

1867. Have you any doubt whatever that William Singleton was there?—I cannot say for certain whether he was there. I believe he was there, but I am not sure.

1868. Just think again, and see if you have any doubt about it. Was he in office at the time?—No.

1869. He was a member of the council, was he not?—Yes, I believe he was.

1870. Now, have you any doubt whatever that he was there?—I cannot say whether he was there or not, to speak the truth.

1871. I am only asking you to do that, but you believe he was there?—I cannot swear whether he was or no, but I believe he was.

1872. Was Paulett there?—I do not know a man named Paulett.

1873. Was John Bray there?—No.

1874. I think you mentioned Robert Bailey?—Yes.

1875. And George Bailey?—Yes, George Bailey, I believe, was there.

1876. Was Henry Hill there?—No.

1877. Do you remember any other name?—I cannot.

1878. How long was it before the attack upon Simpson's property that you think this meeting took place?—Somewhere about three weeks.

1879. And during the course of those three weeks were you watching your opportunity?—Yes.

1880. Were the union men, of whom you were one, and who went there, selected at the meeting? Did you volunteer, or did they elect you?—It was voluntary.

1881. And to whom was it left to find these other men to do it, who were not union men?—To me.

1882. Then at the meeting was a resolution come

to as to how much money should be spent in all upon the job ?—No.

1883. Then was that left to you?—Yes.

1884. I suppose in consultation with Holland Cheetham the president ?—I do not know.

1885. You consulted him, of course, upon the subject ?—I am not sure whether I did or not.

1886. But there was something said about the money at the meeting, was there not ?—Yes, there was something mentioned.

1887. Was the 15*l.* mentioned ?—No, not then.

1888. Was it mentioned afterwards ?—Yes.

1889. When was it mentioned afterwards ?—I believe it was on the club night.

1890. Was that on the night of the quarterly meeting ?—No, it was the fortnightly meeting.

1891. There were a good many people there then I suppose ?—Yes.

1892. Was Holland Cheetham there ?—Yes, he was there.

1893. Then was it agreed that 15*l.* should be the sum altogether ?—Yes.

1894. Then when you made your bargain with Garner and the other men, who were not union men, I suppose you told them how much they would get ?—Yes.

1895. Did you say how many men were to be employed on the job ?—No.

1896. It depended upon that, you know, because if you had had twenty men, they would have had less, and if you had had five men, they would have had more. Did you tell them how many were to be employed ?—Yes, I told them six or seven.

1897. And you told them the sum would be 15*l.*, and they would share it ?—No.

1898. Not at that time ?—No.

1899. However, you told them that there would be a good round sum, and that six or seven men would be employed in the job, and that you would all share alike ?—Yes.

1900. What is Garner, is he a brickmaker ?—No, he is a labourer.

1901. He has nothing to do with you ?—No.

1902. He only went for the money ?—Yes.

1903. And so with the other ?—Yes.

1904. Did you, at this meeting, where it was resolved that the work should be done as you describe, settle what was to be done, and how it was to be done ?—No.

1905. Then was it left to you to manage all that ?—Yes.

1906. Then you arranged it. Did you arrange it by yourself, with your own head, or in consultation with others ?—In consultation with others.

1907. Who were the others with whom you consulted as to the mode in which it should be carried out ?—George Hulme.

1908. Did you consult with anybody else ?—No, I believe not.

1909. Are you quite sure ?—Yes, I think no one else besides.

1910. Then you arranged with George Hulme that there should be a couple of guns and naphtha taken ?—Yes.

1911. Who was to get the guns ?—The men that went with us.

1912. Of course ; but did you undertake to get the guns ?—No.

1913. Who was to get the guns ?—Thomas Holland got one gun.

1914. You agreed with him that he should take one gun ?—That he must take one gun with him.

1915. And you agreed with Garner, the other man, that he should take another gun ?—Yes.

1916. Do you know whether they had the guns, or whether they had to hire them ?—They had guns of their own.

1917. Did you find them the powder and shot ?—No.

1918. They had each of them that ?—I expect so.

1919. You understood so ?—Yes.

1920. They said so ?—Yes.

1921. Then you had arranged with George Hulme that there should be a little naphtha taken ?—Yes.

1922. Who got that ?—I believe George Hulme got the naphtha.

1923. Did you ?—No.

1924. Do you know what it cost ?—Yes.

1925. Was he paid for it ?—Yes.

1926. How much was he paid for it ?—I do not know what it cost exactly. I cannot think of it just now.

1927. But, however, you were treasurer were you not ?—Yes.

1928. And you paid him ?—He was paid out of the 15*l.*

1929. You say you watched your opportunity. Did you go out several nights for the chance of it before you did it ?—Once before.

1930. All in the same way with the guns and the naphtha ?—There were no guns before.

1931. There were no guns the first time ?—No.

1932. There was naphtha, was there ?—Yes, there was naphtha.

1933. The night that you went you say two men carried the guns. There were only three men; do you mean to say that you do not know who carried the naphtha ?—They might carry the gun and the naphtha as well for all I know.

1934. But the naphtha was in a large bottle ; you would not let one man carry a gun and the naphtha, surely ?—I cannot say to that.

1935. You say you did not ?—Yes.

1936. Do you mean to swear that you yourself only knocked down a part of the wall ?—Yes.

1937. That is all you did ?—Yes.

1938. You were disturbed, I think you said ?—Yes.

1939. You proceeded to Simpson's place. What time was it when you got there ?—Somewhere about 12 o'clock.

1940. At night ?—Yes.

1941. How did you dispose of yourselves, where did the men with the guns go ?—To the dog-kennel.

1942. Is that close to the house ?—Yes.

1943. And was the watchman called out ?— Yes.

1944. And they went there ?—Yes, we all went to the dog-kennel first.

1945. Was the dog there ?—Yes.

1946. Did he call out in his own way ; did he bark at you so as to rouse attention ?—Yes, he growled.

1947. But did no one shoot at the dog ?—No, he never came out of the kennel.

1948. You did not shoot at him ?—No.

1949. The guns were fired at something else ?—I heard the guns fired afterwards.

1950. Where were the people when the guns were fired ?—They were somewhere close to the cabin.

1951. Is that the watchman's cabin ?—Yes, by the sound of the report.

1952. You were not very far off I suppose ?—I was knocking the walls down at the time.

1953. But that was not very far off ?—Not so far.

1954. And the shots you heard fired were close to that cabin ?—Yes.

1955. Were the bricks destroyed before the shed was set on fire ?—Yes.

1956. Do you mean to swear that you do not know what the guns were fired at ?—Yes, I do.

1957. You told me before that you heard the watchman shout out, and that the guns were fired in somewhat quick succession one after the other and that they were not fired at the dog. Have you any doubt in the world that they were fired at the watchman ?—I cannot say for that.

1958. You have told me that it was after the watchman shouted out, and that the guns were not fired at the dog which was in the kennel, and that you heard a report close to the watchman's cabin ?—I believe there was only one gun fired.

1959. Have you any doubt in the world that that was fired at the watchman ?—No.

SECOND DAY.

W. Slater.

5 Sept. 1867.

1960. Do not let me misunderstand. You believe that it was fired at the watchman ?—Yes, I do.

1961. Did you hear the second shot ?—I dare say I heard half a dozen shots or very near it, and I believe some came from the watchman.

1962. Was there any difference between the sound of the report of that which you say you believe came from the watchman and that which came from the guns of Holland and Garner ?—Yes.

1963. Was the sound of the report which you think came from the watchman like the report of a revolver ?—Yes, like the report of a revolver.

1964. Then how many sounds did you hear which you thought came from a revolver ?—I cannot say.

1965. But it was pretty sharp on both sides I suppose ?—Yes.

1966. Had Holland and Garner extra powder and shot with them ?—I cannot say. The guns were loaded when we met them.

1967. Did you see them load again ?—No.

1968. You heard as you say several shots fired from a gun as I understand ?—No.

1969. Did you hear more than two shots fired which were reports of guns ?—They might be for anything I know. I could not say exactly.

1970. Tell me one way or the other, were more than two of the shots which were fired the reports of guns ?—I cannot answer that question.

1971. You cannot tell me one way or the other ?—No.

1972. Then was it this firing, partly from the watchman and partly from your two men, that disturbed you and made you go away ?—Yes.

1973. Then was it before the firing began on either the one side or the other that the shed was set on fire ?—It would be after the firing of the guns.

1974. After the firing of the guns you set the shed on fire ?—Yes.

1975. Where were you when the shed was on fire ?—I was close to it.

1976. Then you must know who set it on fire ?—I cannot say who lighted the match.

1977. But after the match was lighted who set the shed on fire by the naphtha ; who put the naphtha on the shed ?—I threw some of the naphtha on the shed.

1978. Then you were entrusted with the job ?—Yes.

1979. Did anyone else throw naphtha on besides you ?—I cannot say ; somebody else for aught I know.

1980. But you do not know that anybody else did besides you ?—No.

1981. Who had the matches ?—I do not know.

1982. Had you ?—No.

1983. Then one of those other two men I suppose had the matches ?—We were all together.

1984. But the other two men were occupied with the guns ?—This was after the gun firing was over.

1985. But still they had the guns with them. I suppose they brought them away ?—Yes.

1986. And you had both your hands at liberty I suppose, and your feet too ?—Yes.

1987. And after the guns were fired you set fire to the shed ?—Yes.

1988. And then you made off ?—Yes.

1989. Where did you throw the naphtha ?—On the boards in the shed.

1990. Did you empty the jar ?—No.

1991. Did you bring away the jar ?—No.

1992. You left what was then in it ?—Yes.

1993. Now with regard to this money. You paid the money and it was allowed by the auditors ?—I cannot say ; I was apprehended before that.

1994. But do the auditors as a matter of course allow what has been sanctioned by the council and the president ?—They generally do.

1995. And the auditors are selected from the body ?—The auditors are selected from the body.

1996. Are they in office any given time ?—Yes, six months—two quarterly nights.

1997. I suppose the auditors would have no power to disallow money which has been spent by order of the president ?—Yes.

1998. They have no power surely to disallow what has been done by authority ?—If they mentioned it to the body, and the body did not agree for it to be done, it could be altered.

1999. You were a member of the union the year before this case of outrage at Simpson's, were you not ?—Yes.

2000. Do you remember another outrage taking place somewhere in the year 1863 before this one of Simpson's ?—No.

2001. Let me try to remind you. Do you remember some bricks and barrows and spades being destroyed before Simpson's case ?—No.

2002. Do you remember some footmarks being traced from the place where those bricks were destroyed, very near your house ?—No, I do not.

2003. Do you remember whether there were footmarks as if stockings had been drawn over boots, which came from the direction of the place where the bricks were destroyed and went in the direction of your house ?—In the year 1863 ?

2004. At any time.—No, never.

2005. You do not remember anything of the sort ?—No.

2006. Are those cases which you have mentioned—Simpson's, Thornley's, and Wild's—the only outrages of which you have been aware ?—Yes.

2007. You will swear that you do not know of any others ?—No.

2008. There have been no others that you are aware of brought before the consideration of your union ?—Not that I am aware of.

Mr. Ernest Jones stated that he appeared on behalf of the Manchester and Salford Operative Brickmakers' Burial Society.

The Chairman explained to Mr. Jones the form of procedure which the Court had adopted, and inquired if any person wished to suggest questions to be put to the witness.

The witness withdrew.

H. Cheetham.

HOLLAND CHEETHAM sworn and examined.

2009. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Before I examine you I must caution you. I am aware that you have already suffered for one matter which is part of our inquiry. For that you are in no peril at all. But we have also information that you have been concerned in other things, for which you are in peril. We have the power if you tell us the whole truth of giving you a certificate which will free you from all fear in respect of any consequences for any crime you have committed, and about which you will be examined here to-day. That certificate is dependent upon you yourself telling the truth and the whole truth ; and if you tell us the whole truth you will be a perfectly free man in regard to those transactions in which you have taken part. The object of this inquiry is not to cause the punishment of any person for any crimes which they have committed about which we are to inquire, but to get at the truth of them. What are you ?—I am a brickmaker.

2010. Are you a member of the Stockport brickmakers' union ?—Yes.

2011. How long have you been a member ?—Five years.

2012. You have several times held offices in that union ?—I have in respect of the chief offices.

2013. How often have you been president ?—Once.

2014. Not more than once ?—No.

2015. When was that ?—In 1864.

2016. Have you held any other office ?—Not any, being a district man.

2017. Have you been on the committee or council ?—I have.

2018. Is that the same thing as being a district man ?—Partly the same; they have a little more power to act.

2019. You say you were president in 1864, that was at the time that there was a dispute between Mr. Meadows and his men ?—It was.

2020. And also at the time some damage was done to Mr. Simpson's property ?—It was.

2021. Were you present as president at all the meetings of your society both council meetings and others that were held at that time ?—I was not.

2022. Were you present at most of them ?—I cannot say. I lived at a good distance from the place where the society is kept, consequently I was not called to every meeting.

2023. Not to every meeting ?—No.

2024. Were you at many of the meetings ?—I was.

2025. Were many meetings held about that time ? Generally speaking there are always meetings at different times belonging to the brickmakers' association.

2026. Were there any special meetings held ?—There were.

2027. Where were those held ?—I believe there was a council meeting held.

2028. Wait a minute. I will ask you first were there any special general meetings held about that time ?—Not that I am aware of.

2029. Special council meetings ?—There was one.

2030. Not more than one ?—Not that I can speak to, nor to tell the truth.

2031. I hope you will not tell us anything else ?—That is my intention.

2032. Do you know when that special council meeting was held ?—I believe it was about between a fortnight and three weeks before this affair took place that I have suffered for.

2033. I presume you were in the chair at that meeting ?—I was.

2034. And sat at the end of the table and the members of the council each side of you ?—I did.

2035. And you heard all the proceedings ?—I did.

2036. And will be able to tell us of course all that took place ?—Yes. It was a council meeting. It was agreed on that night that Wild should be beaten.

2037. Was the beating of Wild the only subject that engaged the attention of the meeting ?—I cannot say.

2038. You do not remember whether anything was said at the meeting with reference to Simpson's affair ?—I do not.

2039. You know whether it was or not ?—I believe it was not that night.

2040. You, perhaps, can tell us now when Simpson's affair was determined on ?—I cannot, though I was the president.

2041. How so ?—Because it was done without my knowing.

2042. You were president, you must explain to us how that happened ?—It was in consequence of my living so far away from the place where the meetings are held. I was not called to every meeting that was held ; that job was done without my knowing anything about it.

2043. Do you know now whether Simpson's affair was determined on at the special general meeting ?—It was not in my presence. I believe not.

2044. Do you know whether it was determined on at the special council meeting ?—Simpson's affair ?

2045. Yes.—Yes I do now, it was. I remember now that they said it must be done, but there was no specified time when it must be done.

2046. It was decided that Simpson's job was to be done, but not decided at what time it was to be done ?—It was not.

2047. When did you first hear that Simpson's affair was determined on ?—I cannot say whether it was at the council meeting on Wild's affair or one previous to it, I cannot say to be certain.

2048. I understand you to say that you were not present at the meeting which determined Simpson's affair ; you heard of it at some subsequent council meeting ?—I did, but I cannot say to be certain when I did hear it, but I did hear that it was to be done.

2049. Was it spoken of openly in the room ?—Not in the presence of all the body, it was at the council meeting.

2050. It was spoken of in the council meeting ?—Yes.

2051. It was a matter discussed in the council meeting ?—It was ; I remember it being discussed, and I remember it being decided that it must be done, but my recollection has almost gone out of my head about that affair.

2052. I do not quite know which was the first in order of time, was Simpson's the first ?—I believe Simpson's was the first.

2053. Now I will take that first ; you were not present at the council meeting when Simpson's matter was decided on ?—I heard it discussed, but I was not present at the time they decided it must be done.

2054. It was subsequently discussed in your presence ?—Yes.

2055. Who were present when it was discussed ?—I believe William Slater was there, Thomas Holland, and I believe William Singleton was there.

2056. When you say you believe, have you any doubt ?—I should not like to swear when I say that, because it is so long since, the recollection of that affair has almost gone out of my head, but I must speak the truth.

2057. Still it is a very remarkable affair ?—I had no interest in that, or very little ; I had no interest in it at all in a manner of speaking, though I was president, in consequence of my living so far off. I have no doubt there was a good deal done at that tim that I did not get to know of.

2058. Still you were present and did know of this ?—I did know that it was to be done, but I did not know when it was to be done.

2059. We do not ask you about that, but you were present when the question of doing some injury to Mr. Simpson was discussed ?—I was.

2060. I presume even among you brickmakers the subject of doing injury to property cannot have been a very common thing to discuss ?—No.

2061. Did not that make an impression upon you ?—I was a very young member at that time.

2062. Did not that make an impression upon you ; were you present ?—I was, though I was a young member at the time, I had not got to know the ins and outs at that time.

2063. How many men were present in the council meeting when Simpson's matter was discussed ?—12 or 13.

2064. You have given us three names, and your own makes four ?—Yes.

2065. You must try and remember some more, you must know who were on the council at the time ?—If I must be put to my oath I cannot remember them all.

2066. I suppose not, but you can remember more than three ?—If I am not mistaken Robert Bailey was there.

2067. Why do you say if you are not mistaken, you must be sure whether he was there ?—I cannot recollect.

2068. The same men were in the council when Simpson's affair was on and Meadow's affair ?—I cannot say that.

2069. Was George Hulme there ?—I believe George Hulme was there.

2070. Was Joseph Brown there ?—He was.

2071. You might as well tell us ; we know most of the names ?—I have not the least doubt you do, but being so long since I cannot remember, and being out of the society between two and three years a man's recollection does leave him, and therefore you will allow that I hope.

2072. Then you have good cause to remember ?—

SECOND DAY.

H. Cheetham.

5 Sept. 1867.

Yes, but my mind has been occupied upon another subject to that altogether.

2073. Was George Bailey there?—I believe George Bailey was one of the council.

2074. Was he there that night?—I believe he was.

2075. Was a man named Potts there?—Which of the Potts, there are so many of them?

2076. William Potts.—I cannot say to speak the truth.

2077. Can you give us any other name?—I cannot.

2078. Those are all you can remember?—They are.

2079. What was said at the council with reference to this affair of Simpson's?—At that council meeting there was very little said beyond that it was to be done, the thing was to be done and it generally settles in that way when there is a council meeting for that night.

2080. That is all that is said?—There is some discourse takes place.

2081. Some discourse as to who is to do it?—It very seldom comes to that.

2082. It does not come so close as that?—No, not as to who is to do it.

2083. How is it settled?—Generally two or three belonging to the council agree to do that when they get outside.

2084. You knew who agreed to do it in this case?—I did not know in Simpson's job.

2085. At the council meeting in which Simpson's job was spoken of was anything said about money?—It was settled how much it was to be.

2086. What was said about money?—I believe there was 15*l.* granted for that job to be done.

2087. How long after this council meeting was the job done?—It would be some weeks after no doubt; it was some weeks after.

2088. Some weeks is rather a long time?—It was some weeks after; the time was not specified when it must be done.

2089. So we have been told, but how long after?—It might be three, four, or five weeks, it was some time after I know.

2090. Had you anything to do with the doing of the job?—I had not.

2091. You were not there?—No.

2092. Nor near it?—Nor near it.

2093. Were you in your own house when it was done?—I believe I was, I must be; I was not there nor did not know when it was to take place.

2094. You did not know when it was to take place before it was done?—No.

2095. Then before it was done you did not know that that job was going to be done?—I did not.

2096. Upon your oath, were you in Simpson's brickcroft on the night when that job was done?—Upon my solemn oath I was not.

2097. Were you anywhere in the neighbourhood?—I was not.

2098. Were you on the look-out at all for the parties who were to do it?—No.

2099. Were you doing anything to create a diversion for them in any other place?—I was not.

2100. Did you know at the time it was done that it was being done?—I did not.

2101. You knew, however, after it was done?—Yes.

2102. How soon after?—The day following.

2103. How did you come to know it?—By hearing it discussed from one brickmaker to another in Turn Croft Lane.

2104. Do you remember where you were on the night that that was done at Simpson's?—I do not know the time it was done; if it was late I should be in bed.

2105. You have spoken to us about the day after?—Yes.

2106. Where were you that night when it was done?—I should be in bed.

2107. You swear to us that you were in bed?—I swear upon my oath that I was neither near nor encouraged it. At that time I did not know that it was going to be done.

2108. That is not my question. You say you were not there; I ask where you were?—I should be in bed at home.

2109. Were you at home in bed?—Yes.

2110. You say you "should be;" were you?—I was in bed at home.

2111. Was anything said to you about the payment of money for this job at Simpson's after it was done?—No, nothing.

2112. Nothing?—Not a single word.

2113. And you had nothing to do about paying the men after it was done?—No.

2114. Do you know how that money was paid?—No.

2115. Had you no control over the funds of the union?—No.

2116. At that time you had not?—At that time I had not.

2117. Was your consent necessary for the payment of any money from the union box?—At the council meeting before this job happened?

2118. Your consent for the money being paid was necessary?—Yes.

2119. But no one applied to you for payment?—No one applied to me for payment.

2120. You know as a matter of business from the union who would make the payment?—The treasurer would have to make the payment.

2121. Who was the treasurer at that time?—I believe William Slater was the treasurer.

2122. Now we will come to this affair of Wild's. You were in the chair when it was agreed that Wild should be beaten?—I was.

2123. Who were present at that meeting?—I was present.

2124. What members of the council were present at the meeting at which it was determined that Wild should be beaten?—There would be me for one, William Slater was the other, and I believe William Singleton was another, and Joseph Brown was another.

2125. Do you remember any others?—Thomas Holland.

2126. And yourself, five?—Yes.

2127. Was that all?—I believe George Hulme was one.

2128. It that all? Was not there a man named George Bailey there?—There was.

2129. Anyone else?—I cannot say whether there were any of the Potts there or not.

2130. But these names you have given us you are sure of?—Yes.

2131. You are positive that Slater, Singleton, Holland, Brown, Hulme, and Bailey were there?—Yes, I am.

2132. Why did you determine to beat Wild?—I believe it was because he returned to work previous to the union men at the time that they were on turn-out pay.

2133. Was it settled at the meeting who was to beat him?—It was not.

2134. Was nothing arranged about it?—No, no more than what was to be granted for the job.

2135. We have heard that it was 10*l.*; is that the amount?—I was going to say I would not be sure whether it was 10*l.* or 12*l.*

2136. (*Chairman.*) Or 14*l.*?—No, I would say that it was not more than 12*l.*, but I should not have said, to be certain, whether it was 10*l.* or 12*l.*

2137. (*Mr. Barstow.*) You are aware that some other men were working with Wild?—Yes.

2138. Why was Wild fixed upon to be beaten rather than the others?—I do not think he was fixed upon singly.

2139. Were they all to be beaten?—No, I believe there was two of them to be beaten.

2140. Which were the two?—Humphrey Child and Wild.

2141. Those were the only two men of those three whose business it was to be up at night?—I was not aware that it was Child's business to be up at night. I was aware that it was Wild's business to be up sometimes, but I was not aware that Child was up.

2142. Are you aware whether any warning was given to Child?—I am not.

2143. Did you know at any time beforehand when this beating was to take place?—The same day.

2144. On the same day that it took place you knew that it was to take place?—I did.

2145. How did you know that?—About half-past 2 in the afternoon on the 2nd of August William Slater came to me and asked me whether I knew where James Kay lived. I says, "Yes; it was but the other "day that he was at our house. He left me his direc- "tion, and he has invited me to go over."

2146. Who invited you to go over?—James Kay invited me and my wife to go over some Sunday to tea. Slater says, "You must tell me where he lives."

2147. What had Kay to do with this business of Wild's?—He says, "Wild is going to be up to-night "to burn some bricks; it has been agreed to-day that "he is to be beaten." I did not live 200 yards from where I was working. We went together as far as the house, and I left him the direction, and then I returned to my work.

2148. Who is Kay?—I believe he is a gauger or delegate from Manchester.

2149. A delegate for what?—He is chiefly gauger to go round gauging the moulds.

2150. What is he a delegate for?—To stop Manchester being infringed on in any way in what he sees going wrong. He goes up and down Manchester, and anything he sees wrong taking place against their rules he tries to stop.

2151. Against whose rules?—Against the Manchester Brickmakers' Association's rules.

2152. There was a quarrel at this time between the Manchester and the Stockport brickmakers?—I cannot say.

2153. You are aware that there was a quarrel between them?—I cannot say at that time whether there was.

2154. Not at that time?—I cannot say.

2155. How came Kay to come to your house?—Because he was a gauger to go round the Manchester brickyards.

2156. You are not in the Manchester district?—I live on the border of it. He had to pass our house, and he called one night when I was in at my tea, and he invited me and my wife over to Manchester some Sunday, and he left his direction; that is how I came to know him.

2157. Had you seen him before?—Yes, many a time.

2158. He was a friend of yours?—Yes, I saw him occasionally; I knew him.

2159. You knew that Wild was to be beaten the night that he was beaten?—The same day.

2160. That same afternoon?—Yes, it was on the 2nd of August.

2161. He was beaten on the 2nd of August, and at half-past 2 in the afternoon you knew that he was to be beaten?—That was the time, as far as I can recollect.

2162. And you assisted Slater to arrange for him being beaten?—Slater wanted Kay's direction, and I gave it to him. I never heard anything more about it until the 3rd of August.

2163. Did he tell you for what purpose he wanted his direction?—He said Thomas Wild was to be beaten, and he was to go to Kay to find some persons to beat him.

(*Mr. Ernest Jones.*) I would ask whether he knows that of his own knowledge.

(*Chairman.*) No; it is what passed between him and Slater.

2164. (*Mr. Barstow to the witness.*) Did you know that he was beaten that night?—I knew the next day.

2165. Upon your oath were not you one of the persons who beat him?—I was not.

2166. That you solemnly swear?—Yes, I solemnly swear it, if it is the last word I speak.

2167. Are you aware that Wild has sworn that you were there?—Yes, but he has sworn false.

2168. He says you struck him first?—I am aware he swore that, but he is wrong. I never heard any more about it till the next day after me and Slater went into the yard where I was working. I never saw nor heard anything about it till the next day when I was told.

2169. Where were you on that night?—The same night that he was beaten?

2170. Yes.—I was at home, and in bed.

2171. Who were in your house that night?—There was no one in my house at that time.

2172. Are you married?—Yes, my wife was in.

2173. No one except your wife?—No. I was seen, too, but I was not aware I was seen at the times I was on that night; it would be a quarter to half-past 9 when I left work on the 2nd of August. It was a quarter to 10 when I went into the house. I lived in a garden at that time at Stone Barnage Lane that night. I was talking to Mathew Jackson and another man. It was a quarter to 10 when I shook hands with Mathew Jackson, and went into my house at 10 minutes past 10. I had my jacket and waistcoat off, and I had just smoked a pipe of tobacco. I turned myself round to look at the clock. I said, "We will be in bed at half-past 10." That was to my wife at the same time. I did not know Miss Bradshaw was passing the window and saw me, but the next night she told my wife that she had seen me. I turned my head, and she thought I was looking at her, at the same time I was looking at the clock.

2174. Was this evidence given before the magistrates?—It was.

2175. Was Miss Bradshaw called before the magistrates?—In this court she was called, in the assize court.

2176. You were arrested on the Monday?—Yes.

2177. And the next day you were before the magistrates?—I was.

2178. Did not Miss Bradshaw come forward to say that she had seen you that very night?—No, her brother said that he had seen me come through the brickyard at the time. She was a very nervous young woman, and I had very hard work to get her to come after she had stated that she had seen me. It was very hard work to get her up. I had to subpœna her.

2179. Are these the only two outrages that you have any knowledge of, Simpson's and Wild's?—No.

2180. Do you know of others?—Yes.

2181. Tell us of those?—It was one that was concerned in an outrage at Thornley's.

2182. Thornley is a master brickmaker?—Yes.

2183. Where did he then carry on business?—In Heaton, I believe.

2184. Is that Heaton-on-Mersey?—It is through Burnage.

2185. There is Heaton Norris and Heaton Chapel. Which Heaton is this?—It would be Heaton Mersey, I suppose.

2186. Is Heaton Mersey in the Stockport brickmakers' district?—Yes.

2187. What was the cause of the outrage upon Mr. Thornley?—I believe it was in consequence of him not employing union men.

2188. I just ask you what year was this?—It would be in 1864, I believe. I do not know whether it was a week or a fortnight before Thomas Wild's case took place.

2189. It was at the time you were president of this union?—I believe it was.

2190. Was Thornley's case brought before the council?—I cannot say whether it was brought in my presence or not, not to speak true.

2191. You cannot tell whether it was brought in your presence, but are you aware whether it was brought before the council at all?—I believe it was

SECOND DAY.

H. Cheetham.

5 Sept. 1867.

brought before a meeting. I recollect now it was brought before a meeting.

2192. Were you present or not present?—I was present.

2193. What was said about Thornley at the meeting?—He was to have some damage done to him.

2194. Why?—In consequence of not employing union men.

2195. That is what was said at the meeting?—Yes.

2196. I suppose this council was a council of the usual character, was it not?—Yes.

2197. About the same number of persons as on these other occasions that you have spoken of?—Yes.

2198. And the same people I suppose?—The same council would be on then as was on for Wild's case.

2199. I will read the names. Do you remember who were at the meeting on this occasion. Was Slater there?—I cannot say to be certain.

2200. Was Brown there?—Brown would be there.

2201. Was Singleton there?—I believe he was.

2202. Was Holland there?—I cannot say.

2203. Was George Bailey there?—I cannot say that.

2204. Was George Hulme there?—Yes, George Hulme was there.

2205. Then you are only sure of Singleton, Brown, and Hulme?—I am not sure of any more.

2206. Those are the only men that you are sure of?—They are.

2207. Was anything said about who was to commit the outrage?—There was not.

2208. I suppose there was something said about the sum to be paid?—I am not sure whether it was 10*l.* or 12*l.*

2209. 10*l.* or 12*l.* Was that the amount fixed upon to be paid?—Yes.

2210. The time that Thornley's job was to be done was not fixed at that meeting?—No, sir. Well I will not say to be certain whether it was fixed or not.

2211. At some subsequent meeting the time was settled, both the time and who were to do it?—Yes, it was.

2212. When was that?—It would be between a week and a fortnight before I was taken, I know.

2213. A week or a fortnight?—Yes, it was.

2214. Just tell us how that meeting came about?—It was one that met. There was me and William Slater, George Hulme, David Potts, and James Kay.

2215. That is the man that you have spoken of as a Manchester delegate?—Yes. We met at a public-house on Heaton Norris. I do not know the sign; close by Heaton Norris church. They met there and then they proceeded to the place.

2216. And you went together from there?—Yes, we did; we all went together.

2217. How far was that from Thornley's brickyard?—Three or four miles.

2218. Did you go armed with anything?—No.

2219. None of you had sticks?—No.

2220. No guns?—No, not that I am aware of, with the exception of what they call a screw wrench; that is all I saw.

2221. (*Chairman.*) You say not that you are aware of?—That is all that I saw; a screw wrench.

2222. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Did you yourself carry anything?—No, I did not. Yes, I believe I carried a staff.

2223. What sort of a staff?—Made of wood.

2224. What sort of a staff?—About that length (*explaining the same*).

2225. Like a policeman's staff?—Yes, something similar.

2226. You have been a policeman, have you not?—I have.

2227. And you know how to use a staff?—I do not know that I ever used one often.

2228. You know how to use it?—We all know how to use it occasionally, I dare say.

2229. You did not see an axe, or a saw, or anything of that sort?—I did not. Yes, I beg pardon, I saw a little bill about that length (*describing the same*).

2230. Who had it?—Kay had it; it was a kind of axe.

2231. What time did you get to Thornley's?—Between 11 and 12 o'clock, I daresay.

2232. What did you do when you got there?—We spoilt what bricks we could on the flat.

2233. Had all of you your shoes on?—Yes.

2234. Were they covered with anything?—They were not; I can answer for my own; mine were not.

2235. Was there any watchman?—Not that I am aware of.

2236. Was there a dog?—Yes, I saw a dog; but I did not think it belonged to the yard.

2237. Was it in the yard?—Yes, it was loose.

2238. Did it bark?—No, sir.

2239. Did it fly at any of you?—No, it did not.

2240. Do you know how many bricks were destroyed?—No, I do not. I heard afterwards that there was about 40,000.

2241. Do you know about what the value of that would be?—Not just now.

2242. You are a brickmaker; can you give us a rough guess what the value of the 40,000 bricks in the flat would be?—Perhaps between 15*l.* and 20*l.* I daresay.

2243. You destroyed them by trampling on them?—Yes.

2244. And you met with no opposition?—No.

2245. And came away?—And came away.

2246. And no one has ever been punished for it?—I believe not.

2247. And no one apprehended?—Not that I am aware of.

2248. There were how many of you, five, I think?—That would be about the number.

2249. You get this sum of money which was voted paid among you?—Yes.

2250. Who did you get it from?—I will not be certain whether we got it from Joseph Brown or not now.

2251. I should think you remember whom you got the money from?—I cannot say to speak the truth. I know we did get it. I think it was Joseph Brown that had to pay the money at the time, but I am not certain.

2252. Was it the treasurer of the union, whoever he was?—I do not think it was the treasurer who paid us the money.

2253. Your present opinion is that it was Joseph Brown?—I will not be certain whether it was the treasurer or secretary now, not to speak the truth.

2254. You do not remember?—I do not.

2255. Do you remember whether you were paid?—I do not know whether I was paid that night.

2256. Were you paid that night?—I cannot say that.

2257. You neither know who paid you or whether you were paid?—Not now; I know that I did get it.

2258. It is a matter of three years ago?—It is turned three years, I believe. I have no recollection whether I was paid or who gave it to me.

2259. Is that the only answer we are to take, that you do not remember who paid you?—I cannot tell, not to speak the truth.

2260. What is your belief about it?—I did get the money.

2261. What is your belief about who paid you?—It would either be the treasurer or secretary, and whether it was Joseph Brown or Slater that paid us I cannot say.

2262. It would be either Slater or Joseph Brown?—Yes.

2263. And you never used your staff?—No, I did not.

2264. Was the bill used at all?—No, I believe not.

2265. Were some barrows chopped up?—Not that I am aware of.

2266. You never heard of that before?—No.

2267. What did Kay carry a bill for, do you know?—I do not know.

2268. It is not a thing in use in the brickmakers' trade?—It is not.

SECOND DAY.

H. Cheetham.

5 Sept. 1867.

2269. What do you now suppose that he carried it for?—To do what damage he could.

2270. What damage would you do with a bill?—I do not think he came across anything that he could do damage to; it was a very small bill.

2271. What would a man, going on such an errand, use a bill for?—He would break what barrows he could.

2272. In brickmaking they use benches?—Yes; what we call tables.

2273. Would a bill destroy those?—Not that bill that he carried that night.

2274. It is was not large enough?—No.

2275. Are you aware whether Mr. Thornley's sheds were set on fire that night?—They were; the reason I do not know that there was any barrows broke or anything of that sort is, that we got separated in the yard some short time.

2276. You no doubt talked over this matter with others of the party?—Yes, afterwards.

2277. But afterwards on your way home, had you no conversation as to what was done?—Not particularly.

2278. You surely had some?—I think the men were getting too fresh in liquor to say much; I know I was myself.

2279. You walked back together?—Yes.

2280. And had you no conversation as to what was done?—Yes, they said they had done him a good 'un.

2281. Was there any conversation about setting the sheds on fire?—Yes, there was.

2282. Do you know who set the sheds on fire?—I believe it was Kay.

2283. Why do you believe it was Kay?—Because I saw him.

2284. How did he set them on fire?—By putting small pieces of timber and lighting a match and setting fire to them under the boards in the shed.

2285. Had he matches with him?—Yes.

2286. Do you know whether much damage was done by the fire?—I do not; I never saw it afterwards.

2287. You did not hear whether much damage was done or not?—I heard that there was not much done by the fire.

2288. Have you told us all that you know about the damage done at Thornley's?—I have.

2289. You do not know whether anyone took chips with him?—I cannot say; I believe there were chips taken.

2290. Who took the chips?—I cannot say; I believe there were chips taken.

2291. Did Kay take the chips?—I cannot swear who took them.

2292. Did you see him use his bill to chop wood in the yard?—No, I did not.

2293. But I understand that some of the party took chips with them?—There were some chips taken.

2294. You say that you have told us all that you know about the affair at Thornley's?—Yes.

2295. Is there any other business in which you have been concerned?—No, there is not.

2296. Is there any other of which you have heard when you were a member of the union?—Not to my recollection.

2297. Was there any other but these three, Wild's, Thornley's, and Simpson's, discussed at any meetings that you have been present at?—Not to my knowledge.

2298. On your oath you do not remember any other?—Upon my oath I do not.

2299. Were you in the union in 1862?—I believe that was the year I entered; the latter end of the summer.

2300. Had you been a brickmaker before you entered the union?—Yes.

2301. Do you know a man named Renshaw, a brickmaker?—No.

2302. You do not know anything about him?—I do not.

2303. You swear that these three cases that you have just now told us of are the only cases of outrage that have been discussed in the council in your presence?—They are to my knowledge.

2304. You swear that?—I will.

2305. These are all matters resulting in outrage; have you decided in your council to use any threat towards either masters or men who have infringed the laws of your union?—Not in my presence.

2306. You do not know of that being done?—I do not.

2307. Kay came from Manchester to assist in carrying out the decrees of your union; are you aware whether the Stockport men ever go to Manchester to assist Kay in carrying out the decrees of the Manchester society?—I do not know.

2308. You do not know of such a thing being done?—I do not.

2309. Have you told us all that you know about trades outrages in the brick trade?—To the best of my knowledge, I have.

2310. Then you have nothing more to tell us?—I have not.

2311. (*Mr. Chance.*) How much did you get as your share of the money in Thornley's case?—I believe it was 2*l.*

2312. That was your share?—Yes.

2313. You did not tell us what was the cause of your doing injury to Mr. Simpson's property?—No, I do not know what was the cause of that.

2314. But you were present at the meeting when it was discussed?—Yes, but was not present at the time it was decided how it must be done.

2315. Was not the cause spoken of afterwards?—No, no further than employing non-union men.

2316. That was the cause?—Yes.

2317. You heard that spoken of afterwards?—It was spoken of many a time at the council meeting.

2318. At the meeting?—Yes.

2319. Was that to the best of your knowledge the only cause why the injury was done to Mr. Simpson's property?—There was not any other that I know of.

2320. Are there any other brickmakers' unions in Stockport besides that to which you belong?—No.

2321. Is yours the only one?—Yes.

2322. What number of members are there in the union?—Perhaps 200, there might be a few over, I will not swear to a few.

2323. (*Mr. Barstow.*) If I understand you, Mr. Simpson would not employ union men at all?—I never asked him.

2324. Do you know whether that is so or not?—I do not know whether he would or would not.

The witness withdrew.

J. Brown.

Joseph Brown sworn and examined.

2325. (*Mr. Chance.*) Are you a brickmaker?—Yes.

2326. At Stockport?—Yes.

2327. You are a member of the Stockport brickmakers' union?—Yes.

2328. How long have you been a member of that union?—14 years.

2329. And at different times have you held office in that union?—Yes.

2330. What offices have you held?—Nearly all at different times.

2331. President?—Yes.

2332. Secretary?—Yes.

2333. Treasurer?—I have never been treasurer.

2334. You have been president and secretary?—Yes, at different times.

2335. And you held office in that union in the year 1864?—Yes.

2336. What office did you hold in that year?—Secretary.

2337. Do you remember there being a dispute

SECOND DAY.

J. Brown.

5 Sept. 1867.

between the Stockport union and Mr. Simpson?—His yard was not in the union; there was no dispute that I know of.

2338. His yard was not in the union?—No.

2339. Was there any cause of quarrel in any way between Simpson and the Stockport union?—Not that I know of.

2340. Was there any determination of the union in the year 1864 to do any injury to Mr. Simpson's property?—Not that I know of, though there was some done.

2341. Do you know that some injury was done to his property?—Yes.

2342. When was it?—Three or four years since.

2343. Was it in 1864?—Very likely it might be.

2344. Do you remember, before any injury was done to his property, the subject being discussed at one of their meetings?—No.

2345. Just think?—I do not remember anything of that discussion.

2346, Do not you remember the subject being discussed at any meeting at which you were present?—No.

2347. Do you remember being present at the time with Slater and Holland and Robert Bailey and George Hulme and George Bailey who were present?—No, not about that.

2348. Were you a member of the council in 1864?—Yes, those that are in office are on the council.

2349. Were you in office at that time?—Yes, in 1864.

2350. Did you, as a member of the council, and being in office, attend the meetings of the council?—Yes, but one cannot attend to all.

2351. Just recall Simpson's matter to your mind and tell me whether some two or three weeks before the injury was done to Simpson's property you were not present at a meeting at which the subject was discussed?—I was not; I do not remember any discussion about it.

2352. Did you never hear anything at all about the injury being done to his property?—I think there was some done.

2353. Did not you hear that there was some to be done?—No.

2354. Are you sure of that?—Yes.

2355. Because we have heard that you were present at a meeting at which it was discussed?—I was not present at a meeting and did not hear it discussed: I knew it afterwards.

2356. When was the first time that you heard it?—Immediately after it was done.

2357. Do I understand you to say that you did not hear anything of it before it was done?—Yes.

2358. Is it likely that something of that kind would be discussed and that you would not hear of it?—Yes, it might be discussed and I not be there.

2359. But supposing that it was not discussed at one meeting at which you were present, would not you be told of it at the next meeting?—I might be, if it was brought on the carpet at the next meeting.

2360. How many meetings of the council were held about that time?—I cannot tell; we have a great many foolish meetings, very often.

2361. After the injury was done to Simpson's property, what did you hear about it?—I had to book the amount for doing it.

2362. How much was it?—I have forgotten now, something like 5*l*. I will not be certain; I cannot give exactly the sum.

2363. Was not it 10*l*. or 12*l*.?—No; I cannot be certain of the amount exactly.

2364. Did you hear at the time who the men were that had done it?—No, all that I thought was that Slater knew something about it.

2365. When you say you thought that Slater knew something about it, I do not understand you?—I say that I thought Slater knew something about it.

2366. Did not you hear anybody say who had done it?—No, only that Slater knew something about it; he was the man that had paid for it; he told me to book it.

2367. Who told you to book it?—Slater.

2368. Were you secretary at that time?—Yes.

2369. Would it be your duty to put in a book the money that was paid?—Yes.

2370. Did you put it in a book?—I do not know whether it was put down as sundry expenses or omitted being put down at all, though we had to give an account of it to the auditing man.

2371. Was it put down?—I believe it was.

2372. You were secretary, and it was your duty to put it down?—Yes.

2373. Did you put it down?—I do not know. I put down so many sundry expenses that I cannot say whether it was put down as sundry expenses or was put down at all.

2374. Have you got your books?—I have got some of the books here.

2375. Have you got the book in which that ought to appear?—No.

2376. Where is it?—In the box.

2377. (*Chairman.*) Where is the box; it shall be produced?—At the club house at Stockport.

2378. Were not you summoned to come here?—I was not at home when the summons was sent.

2379. (*Mr. Chance.*) Have you a book containing entries in 1864?—No, not here.

2380. Why did not you ask for those books?—I was away from home when I was ordered to come here.

2381. I suppose it will appear in those books whether an entry is made or not?—It might appear as sundry expenses.

2382. I want to know whether it does appear?—I cannot say; certain things we do not write down and some we do.

2383. Did you write that down there?—I cannot say. I said that it is put down as sundry expenses or else it was omitted entirely to be put down. I cannot remember.

2384. Have you auditors of your books?—Yes.

2385. How are they appointed?—They are appointed by the body.

2386. How often?—Every three months.

2387. You cannot tell me whether you put it down at all, or whether you put it down as sundry expenses?—I cannot.

2388. I suppose we shall have your books to-morrow?—I cannot get at them, because I do not hold the key now.

2389. When you had to put down the sum of 5*l*. did not it strike you as being a strange thing?—Yes.

2390. Did you make any representation of it to the union?—I have done frequently.

2391. Did you at that time?—Yes.

2392. What did you say?—I said it was a wrong thing.

2393. To whom did you say that?—To the whole body.

2394. Not at a meeting of the council?—At a general meeting.

2395. At what general meeting did you say that?—I have said it at different general meetings.

2396. Did you say it at the general meeting immediately after the outrage upon Simpson's property?—I have almost spoken of it at every general meeting we have against such like proceedings.

2397. You say you spoke of it at the general meeting; was the outrage to be done upon Simpson's property brought before the general meeting?—The amounts were read up.

2398. Was the outrage upon Simpson's property brought before the general meeting?—No, I have spoken against such like proceedings at general meetings.

2399. Did you speak about the outrage upon Simpson's property at the general meeting?—No, no particular outrage as outrages generally are spoken of.

2400. Have you ever spoken about outrages generally?—At nearly all the general meetings.

2401. Are there many outrages of which you have spoken against at general meetings?—There have been down the country.

2402. I am speaking now of your own union?—There have been two or three.

2403. You say you have spoken at a general meeting against the payment of this 5*l.*?—Not exactly against the payment of the 5*l.*, but against outrages generally.

2404. I asked you about the 5*l.*; you say you were acquainted with the fact after the outrage had been done upon Simpson's property?—Yes.

2405. And that you spoke against it at a public meeting?—No, I did not speak against it, but against the thing generally.

2406. I want to know what you did when you found money paid for that outrage?—I said it was wrong.

2407. Why did you say so?—I cannot say just at present.

2408. Did not you bring it before the council or the general meeting?—Not that particularly, I did not.

2409. Why did not you?—Because I spoke of the thing generally.

2410. Were not you, being secretary, astonished that 5*l.* had been given for the outrage upon Simpson's property?—I was.

2411. Did not you mention that at the council or the general meeting?—Not exactly that particular one.

2412. Was not it your duty to do so?—I do not know exactly; you cannot do everything that we know is our duty.

2413. When you found that this 5*l.* had been so paid you did not complain to the general meeting or the council?—No, not of that particularly.

2414. Do you remember in the same year a dispute with Mr. Meadows?—Yes.

2415. Was that dispute with reference to having 10*d.* a thousand saved in making bricks?—Yes.

2416. Did they turn out in consequence?—Yes.

2417. Wild, Child, and Fallowes, we understand went back again to work for Mr. Meadows?—Yes.

2418. Upon that was there any council held of your union?—Not about that exactly, not that I know of.

2419. Just think?—It was not exactly a council meeting.

2420. Was there a meeting?—Yes.

2421. And in reference to that dispute with Mr. Meadows?—Yes.

2422. Who were present at that meeting?—There was myself, James Ludlow, William Slater, George Bailey, Thomas Holland, William Singleton. I do not know of any more.

2423. Were they members of what you call the council?—Yes.

2424. Did you discuss the terms that you had arranged with Mr. Meadows there?—It was discussed, though I did not hear it, and I was present too.

2425. You were present and it was discussed, and you did not hear it?—Yes.

2426. How was that?—Because they came to a resolution what to do.

2427. Is that the reason you did not hear it, because they came to a resolution?—The reason I did not hear it was because I sat on one side.

2428. Why did you sit on one side?—Because I did not want to hear it.

2429. You did not want to hear it?—No.

2430. Why did you not want to hear it?—Because I did not take interest in it.

2431. But you were secretary of the union at that time?—Yes.

2432. Why should not you take any interest about that measure being discussed?—Because I thought it was wrong.

2433. What was wrong?—The discussion that they had on.

2434. You say you did not hear it?—No, I did not hear it, but I knew the resolution though.

2435. How did you know it was wrong if you did not hear it?—I heard part of it at the beginning, I knew what they had to meet about.

2436. But you took no part in it?—No, only by being near to it.

2437. Do you mean to say you did not know what the resolution was?—I did know it after.

2438. Did you not, upon your oath, take part in that resolution and agree to it?—No.

2439. Let me warn you, we have information, and you stand in a perilous position; if you tell the truth you will be protected?—I tell you I did not hear it.

2440. If you tell the truth you will have protection from any proceedings that may be taken against you, if you do not tell the truth you stand in peril?—I do not wish to tell a lie, that is the reason I have been thinking.

2441. At that meeting you say you were present and the question was discussed and a resolution passed?—Yes.

2442. Do you adhere to your answer that you did not know what that resolution was?—I must have known it after.

2443. Did you not take part in that discussion?—I tell you, No.

2444. Did you not take part in that discussion?—No.

2445. On your oath did you not?—I did not.

2446. If you did not take part in the discussion, knowing what it was, did you remonstrate against that resolution being passed?—I did not.

2447. Then you allowed it to be?—I could not help myself.

2448. Have you not a vote?—I have a vote, but I did not vote.

2449. Why did you not vote?—Because it was foolishness voting against so many.

2450. Was that your reason for not voting, because it was foolishness voting against so many?—Yes, it was.

2451. Did not you even express your opinion against the resolution?—No.

2452. Then as you were present I suppose it was thought you concurred in the resolution?—Yes.

2453. And you did concur in it?—I do not know what you mean by concurring in it.

2454. And you agreed with it?—I was like to be, I could not stop the proceedings.

2455. You told me just now that you did not agree to it?—I did not in my own mind.

2456. What was the resolution?—That measures were to be taken to give Thomas Wild a good thrashing.

2457. That was the resolution that was passed?—Yes, for receiving turn-out pay, and working in opposition both at once.

2458. When the resolution was passed that Thomas Wild was to have a good beating, you objected to it, but did not raise your voice against it?—I did not hear it while it was passing.

2459. You told me just now that you did hear it?—You misunderstood me or else I misunderstood you.

2460. You told us you knew what the object was, but you took no part in it?—Yes.

2461. Now I ask you, knowing what the object of the resolution was, do you mean to say that you did not lift up your voice against it?—I did not.

2462. You stood silent?—Yes.

2463. How long was it before Wild was beaten that that meeting took place?—It would be about a day before.

2464. Where was this meeting held?—In Ludlow's brickyard, the Croft Lane.

2465. Who asked you to attend the meeting?—I cannot say exactly, there were two yards close together, and they got together the men.

2466. Some one came to ask you to attend the meeting?—Yes, I believe it was George Bailey, I will not be certain.

2467. Did he tell you what you were to attend the meeting for?—Yes, to discuss about what must be done with Thomas Wild.

SECOND DAY.

J. Brown.

5 Sept. 1867.

2468. What was the nature of the resolution about beating Thomas Wild, what was to be done?—That somebody was to be appointed to give him a good thrashing.

2469. Who was to be appointed?—Slater undertook to find somebody for it.

2470. Did he say whom he was to find, or did he say he would find someone?—Jim Kay was mentioned.

2471. Was anything said about the money to be paid for it?—Not then.

2472. Had anything been said about the money to be paid for it before that time?—No.

2473. Was no mention made at any time of the money to be paid?—I believe Slater made some arrangement with Kay about some money.

2474. I do not speak about the arrangement with Kay, but at the meeting was anything said about the amount of money to be paid?—No.

2475. Are you sure of that?—Yes.

2476. Was nothing said at all at that meeting about money being paid?—I did not hear of any.

2477. You were present?—I never heard of any money, no amount, not then.

2478. Were you secretary at that time?—Yes.

2479. After the beating of Wild took place, was any money paid?—Yes.

2480. How much?—I believe it was 14*l.*

2481. Who paid it?—I paid the money.

2482. To whom did you pay it?—James Kay.

2483. How came you to pay that money to James Kay?—Because Slater should have paid him, but he was taken into custody before he had the chance to pay him.

2484. Why did you pay him?—Because I and George Hulme were appointed by the same two yards the next night to go to Mr. Roberts, of Manchester.

2485. You said just now that you disapproved of the resolution?—Yes, I disapproved of the resolution.

2486. How was it if you disapproved of this resolution that you paid the money?—I was telling you, but I cannot get to it yet. I and George Hulme were appointed to see Mr. Roberts and we had power to get 10*l.* from the landlord of the club to pay him with, and when we got to the club there was a lot of men who wanted to see William Slater, those who hurt Wild, I expect, and they saw George and me with plain clothes, and they thought we were two brickmakers, and they asked us who we were, and we told them, and through my name being mentioned, I being secretary, they knew me, though I did not know them, and they told us they wanted this money they agreed for with Slater.

2487. Who were these men, what were their names?—I did not know any except Kay; so we asked them what the amount was, and they said 14*l.* There were seven of them, 2*l.* a head, when we got it we paid it them.

2488. You got it?—Yes, from the landlord of the clubhouse.

2489. Who is he?—John Taylor, of the "Pack Horse."

2490. Do I understand you that he lent you the money?—Yes, on the society's account. On a note from the secretary he will lend any amount.

2491. Did you give him that note?—Yes.

2492. I suppose he has the note that you gave him?—Yes, but every time we pay the money back again he delivers the note to us.

2493. Did you pay the money back to him?—Yes.

2494. What did you do with the note?—Burned it, I expect.

2495. If you disapproved of this resolution how was it that you paid this money?—Because I was appointed to pay it.

2496. You were appointed to pay the money?—I was appointed to go to Mr. Roberts, and these men asked for their money. I knew Slater was in custody and could not give it them.

2497. If you disapproved of the payment of the money why did not you remonstrate and refuse to pay the money?—It was no good refusing.

2498. Do you mean if authority is given by your society to do a bad action that you immediately submit to it?—I did then.

2499. Do you mean to tell us that you paid this money and yet objected to the resolution?—Yes.

2500. Did you make any remonstrance on that occasion?—No.

2501. On no one occasion?—Not of any one thing in particular, but as a general thing.

2502. You paid this money without making any remonstrance to either the council or the general meeting?—Yes.

2503. You paid it perfectly voluntarily?—Yes.

2504. Did you make an entry of it in your book?—Yes.

2505. Under what head did you enter it?—"Sundry expenses."

2506. Will it appear in your book under the head of "Sundry expenses"?—Yes.

2507. Have you many entries of that kind?—Yes; but not of that description, only headed similar to that.

2508. Do you remember injury being done to the property of Mr. Thornley?—I remember the time.

2509. Was it after Wild's?—Before Wild's. I do not know exactly the time, but I remember the circumstance.

2510. That was at Heaton Mersey, was it not?—Yes.

2511. Before the injury was done to Thornley's property, was there any meeting called in reference to that affair?—I do not know. I was not on at that time.

2512. You were not on the council?—No; not at that time.

2513. What time are you speaking of?—The time of it being done at Thornley's.

2514. Wild was injured on the 2nd of August?—Yes.

2515. Was Thornley's before that time?—Yes.

2516. Was it before Simpson's?—I cannot be certain.

2517. Are you sure you were not secretary at that time?—At the time Thornley was done I was not.

2518. Had you ceased to be secretary then?—Yes; I was not on at that time, we are only appointed for six months as secretary.

2519. When in 1864 were you appointed?—In March.

2520. Then you would be secretary for six months from March?—Yes.

2521. Then you must have been secretary at that time?—Yes.

2522. In Thornley's time?—No; not in Thornley's time.

2523. But if you were secretary in March you would be secretary up to September?—Yes.

2524. You remember Simpson's property being injured?—Yes.

2525. The injury upon Thornley's property took place in July; you say that you were elected secretary in March, and that you were elected for six months, therefore you must have been secretary in July?—Yes; I must have been.

2526. (*Mr. Barstow.*) You know very well that you were?—What I mean is this. I do not know anything concerning Thornley's job.

2527. (*Mr. Chance.*) That is not my question. You told me just now that you were not secretary at the time Thornley's outrage took place?—I say it was in the same year. I was secretary in 1864 for six months.

2528. Before Thornley's outrage took place was there any meeting called in reference to Thornley?—Not that I know of.

2529. Was not there a meeting at which Joseph Brown (that is yourself), Singleton, and George Hulme were present?—No; not about Thornley's job.

2530. If Cheetham says that you were there he is not speaking the truth?—He is not speaking the truth when he says I was there. I have no recollection of it at any rate.

2531. You were secretary then. Does not the

secretary attend all these meetings of the council?—No; sometimes he might be out of town.

2532. Do not you remember anything being said on any occasion about the outrage upon Thornley?—No.

2533. Upon your oath?—Upon my oath, no.

2534. When did you first hear of it?—I saw some placards up in the streets.

2535. Might it not be possible that you might be there at the time Thornley's case was mentioned?—I might have been present, but I have no recollection.

2536. Is it your habit not to pay attention to discussions and resolutions that are passed?—I give very little attention to those things.

2537. Then Cheetham may be quite correct?—I may have been there; I have no recollection of it.

2538. You cannot forget a thing of this kind?—I cannot recollect it, therefore I say I cannot have been there.

2539. You say you might have been?—I might have been, but I have no recollection of it.

2540. Do not you recollect a meeting taking place at which the outrage upon Thornley was talked of?—No, I do not.

2541. Did you know that there was any dispute about Thornley?—Yes.

2542. You did know that?—Yes.

2543. Was anything ever said about taking any measure in consequence of that dispute?—Not that I know of.

2544. Did you take any interest in the matter when you heard that there was something amiss between the union and Thornley. What did you hear?—I did not hear anything.

2545. You said just now that you did?—I think it was done. Afterwards I saw it in the papers.

2546. I ask you whether you heard that there was a dispute with Thornley?—I heard that he had been employing non-union men.

2547. Then there was a dispute?—If you call that a dispute there was.

2548. You heard that before the outrage took place?—Yes.

2549. Was not it brought before the union?—I do not know that it was.

2550. How did you hear of it?—I saw it in the placards.

2551. You did not see in the placards that he employed non-union men?—No.

2552. When did you first hear that Thornley only employed non-union men?—It was regularly so.

2553. Was it brought up before the meetings of the union?—If it was, it was brought up at some council meeting when I was not present.

2554. Do you mean to say upon your oath that you were not present when the matter was discussed?—I mean to say this, that I have no recollection of it.

2555. Do you know who did the injury to Thornley?—I do not.

2556. Have you never heard?—No.

2557. Did you never hear who injured Thornley?—No.

2558. Do you know now?—No.

2559. Was any money paid to anyone for the injury done to Thornley?—There might be; I do not know.

2560. You were secretary at the time?—I did not write everything down. Sometimes I am out of town, and there is a man in my place.

2561. Were you out of town then?—I cannot say. I have no recollection about it. I am very often out of town.

2562. If it was put down, it will appear in your books?—Yes.

2563. You do not know whether you put it down or not?—No.

2564. You do not know whether any money was paid?—I do not.

2565. (*Chairman.*) You are not in office at this moment?—No.

2566. When did you cease to be in office?—Upon Tuesday last.

2567. What was the office you filled on Tuesday last, when you resigned?—I was secretary.

2568. How long had you been secretary?—Six months.

2569. And before that time how long had you been in the union?—14 years.

2570. And you filled nearly every office?—Yes, except the treasurer's, at different times.

2571. And how many times have you been secretary?—Five or six times.

2572. Have you had many occasions to make an entry of "sundry expenses?"—Yes.

2573. Had you any notion what they were for?—Yes.

2574. Have those entries of sundry expenses always been for matters of this sort that you have been describing? Take care how you answer these questions.—We booked "sundry expenses" to the money paid to these two men's wives when they were in prison.

2575. I am not asking you about that. You say that when you have been secretary you have had several times occasion to enter the expression "Sundry expenses." I ask you, were all those entries made for matters of the description you have been speaking of?—They were entered as sundry expenses if they were entered; sometimes they were omitted altogether.

2576. That is not the question. You say that you have made an entry, "Sundry expenses," several times: when you have made that entry has it invariably been for matters of this sort that you have been describing?—No, there are other matters which we put "sundry expenses" for.

2577. What?—The money paid to these women while the two men were in prison.

2578. What was that for?—To keep them.

2579. What for; what had their husbands done?—It was for Slater and Cheetham's wives.

2580. That I understand. What other reason is there for putting "sundry expenses" besides these matters which you say you disapproved of?—I do not know what the reason was for writing it, but I believe the secretary before me wrote it.

2581. What was the reason you wrote it that way?—Because the other secretary had done so.

2582. Now, I ask you again, when you wrote "Sundry expenses," was it for matters of this description that you have been describing?—For matters of this description it was written down "sundry expenses" when it was written down.

3583. All the amounts you wrote, ——, "sundry expenses," for, with the exception of money paid to these men's wives, were for matters of this description that we have been talking of?—No, money paid to the lawyer was put down as sundry expenses.

2584. Why was it put down as sundry expenses and not law expenses?—Because we are not proficient in book-keeping.

2585. Could not you write the words "law expenses" as easy as "sundry expenses?"—Yes.

2586. I ask you now whether these entries of sundry expenses have been for matters of outrages?—They are put down as sundry expenses.

2587. All matters relating to outrages were put down as sundry expenses?—Yes, when it was written down.

2588. And you wrote it down several times while you were secretary?—Yes.

2589. When you were secretary you wrote it down several times?—Yes.

2590. Have you ever filled the office of walking delegate?—No.

2591. What are the duties of a walking delegate?—Our walking delegate was a gauger.

2592. What are the duties of a gauger?—To gauge the moulds and see that they are all of one size.

2593. Is it part of their duty to see whether your union men obtain what you think the right wages, or that non-union men are not employed?—No, it is their duty to gauge the moulds and to warn meetings.

SECOND DAY.

J. Brown.

5 Sept. 1867.

2594. That is to summons the members to attend?—Yes.

2595. Is it part of their duty also to see what men the brickmakers are employing?—No.

2596. It is not?—No.

2597. Whom do you employ for that purpose?—No one.

2598. Are there not persons in certain districts to see whether union men are employed or whether non-union men are employed?—No, every moulder sees that the men who are with them are union men.

2599. Whose duty is it in your society to keep the books?—The secretary's.

2600. Who is the present secretary?—Samuel Moss.

2601. Has he the custody of the books of the society of 1864?—He has the key belonging to the box, they are in the box.

2602. Where is the box kept?—At the "Pack Horse."

2603. And the secretary keeps the key?—He has one.

2604. And who has the other?—The president and the treasurer.

2605. How many boxes have you containing books?—There is only one box and a little cash-box.

2606. Where are the books in which the entries are made for the year 1864 when you were secretary?—They are in the box.

2607. They ought to be there?—Yes.

2608. And the secretary ought to have the key?—Yes.

2609. When did you see them last?—Last club-night but one.

2610. When was that?—A fortnight since last Saturday night.

2611. Did you see your old book in which you had made these entries in the year 1864?—I cannot say whether I saw it or not.

2612. But it would have been there?—Yes.

2613. Are you now one of the members of the council?—No, there is no council now.

2614. But were you a member of the council at the time of Wild's business?—Yes, by virtue of being secretary I became one of the council.

2615. You told my learned friend that you and George Hulme were appointed to see Roberts?—Yes.

2616. What is Roberts?—A solicitor.

2617. What did you go to see him for?—To defend these men.

2618. That was before the trial?—Yes.

2619. You had power to get 10*l.* for him?—Yes.

2620. You say that you went to the landlord of the public-house and you there saw about seven men altogether including Kay, and that you believed that they were the men who had beaten Wild?—Yes.

2621. You got the money?—Yes.

2622. Did you pay to each of those seven men a proportionate part of that sum?—No, we gave it to Kay.

2623. Did you take any money to Roberts?—Yes.

2624. What did you take?—I took that 10*l.*

2625. Did you take any more?—Yes, at different times.

2626. How much did you take altogether?—I cannot tell, nearly all that we had.

2627. But you must have some notion about how much?—Something like 100*l.*

2628. That is an answer. It was before you saw Roberts, I understand you, that you went to Taylor's public-house to get money to pay these men, was it not?—Yes, I don't understand you.

2629. When you went to the "Pack Horse" to get money to pay these men?—Yes.

2630. That was before?—Yes.

2631. When was it that you went there?—The day after the outrage.

2632. That is to say on the 3rd of August?—Yes.

2633. Then you say you found Kay there with six men?—Yes.

2634. And did you give the lump sum to Kay for him to distribute?—Yes.

2635. You did not know any of the men, did you?—No, they were all strangers except Kay.

2636. Which was the day that you saw Roberts to give him the 10*l.*?—On the 3rd.

2637. Then was it after you had seen Roberts that you went to the "Pack Horse" to pay the men?—No, I paid the men before I saw Roberts.

2638. What time of the day was it when you paid the men?—It might be about 3 or 4 o'clock.

2639. On the 3rd of August?—Yes.

2640. And what time was it when you saw Roberts?—About 9 at night.

2641. Had you ever seen any of those men before?—No, only Kay.

2642. Had you seen him before on any transactions of this sort?—Yes, he has been busy in a transaction of that sort before.

2643. And you were secretary and would, of course, naturally have to do with him?—At that time.

2644. I mean at that time. While you were secretary had you ever paid Kay money before?—No, I had never paid any money before that.

2645. Had you given him an order for any money?—No.

2646. What are the transactions to which you allude, which you say you have had with Kay before that?—He had been over to our society at different times as a delegate.

2647. What had you to do with it. Had you any money to pay to him for transactions of this sort before?—Not that I had paid him.

2648. You say you often paid money which you entered in your book as "Sundry expenses"?—I never paid any money, only that.

2649. But you have told me on your oath that you have several times made entries of "Sundry expenses" and on one occasion you mentioned that that money had been paid for similar doings?—It had been paid, but not by me.

2650. When have you known it to be paid?—At different times.

2651. At whose request or suggestion did you make the entry of "Sundry expenses"?—Slater's.

5652. Did Slater tell you at the time you had to make the entry what it was for?—Yes.

2653. Tell me what was told you at the time when you made the entry for "Sundry expenses"?—He told me what it was for.

2654. I have not the slightest doubt he did. I insist upon your telling me what he told you. What did he tell you it was for?—That so much money had been expended for these jobs.

2655. For which job?—For the job you are talking about.

2656. This job we understand, but I am talking of other jobs. We understand that for Wild's job 14*l.* was paid?—Yes.

2657. That was not told you by Slater. Slater was in custody, was he not?—I wrote that by my own instigation.

2658. Then I suppose you gave the 14*l.* at your own suggestion did you?—No, Slater made an engagement with them, but I did not know what it was at that time.

2659. When did you know that the 14*l.* was to be given?—On the 3rd.

2660. Who told you it was 14*l.*?—Kay.

2661. Had you known before by any meeting or resolution what was the amount of money to be given?—No.

2662. Then did you take Kay's word for it?—Yes.

2663. Will you swear that the amount of money to be given was not mentioned at the meeting when it was resolved that Wild should be beaten?—I will swear I never heard any.

2664. Were you there?—Yes, I was near to.

2665. What sized room is it?—It was a field.

2666. But was there any meeting in a room at which it was discussed how much money was to be

given for beating Wild ?—I never heard of any discussion in any room.

2667. Now I ask you whether you were not present at any meeting in a room (I will come to the field presently) at which there was a discussion and a resolution passed that Wild was to be beaten ?—I never heard of any.

2668. That is ambiguous. Do you mean to say that you were present and knew it was going on ; but shut your ears that you should not hear it ?—That was in the field. I never heard of it in any room.

2669. Will you swear you were not present at any meeting in a room at which a resolution was come to that Wild was to be beaten ?—Yes, I will swear it.

2670. Are resolutions usually put from the chair at those meetings ?—Yes.

2671. The president puts it, and those who are of one opinion say one thing, and the others the other ?—Yes.

2672. Is that resolution usually put by a show of hands ?—Yes.

2673. Were you ever in a room at which a resolution was come to about Wild being beaten ?—I never was.

2674. Nor the subject discussed ?—No.

2675. Nor anything about Wild ?—Not about his being thrashed.

2676. Was there any discussion at all in a room about any matter relating to Wild's working at Meadows' ?—Yes ; about his working.

2677. When was that ?—I cannot tell exactly ; it was some time at the latter end of July.

2678. That you heard ?—Yes ; that he was working and receiving turn-out pay at the same time.

2679. You heard that discussion ?—Yes, I heard that part discussed.

2680. Was nothing said about the punishment of this man ?—No, not in the room.

2681. Did you slip on one side when that came to be talked about ?—I did not hear.

2682. You will swear you did not hear ?—Yes.

2683. And that there was merely a discussion in the room about Wild having done that, and nothing was said about his deserving to be punished for an infraction of your rules ?—I never heard of any.

2684. That you will swear will you ?—Yes.

2685. Then when that discussion took place, or when a discussion took place about the punishment of Wild, it was in a field you say ?—Yes.

2686. Was that on the morning he was beaten, on the 2nd of August ?—No, the day before.

2687. How came you to be there ?—Because I was working close to.

2688. Who else were there ?—George Hulme, George Bailey, and William Slater.

2689. Were you sent for ?—Yes.

2690. Who came for you ?—George Bailey.

2691. And George Bailey having come for you I suppose you were told the purpose which you were sent for ?—He said he wanted us to get together to discourse about Wild.

2692. Now having got together for this very purpose, what was discussed ?—The resolution was come to. That must be what was discussed.

2693. Of course ; and what was the resolution ?—To give him a good thrashing.

2694. And you were present at the time ?—Yes.

2695. And you heard it ?—I did not hear it.

2696. You slipped on one side when they came to that resolution ; is that what you mean to swear ?—I mean to say I was on one side nearly all the time.

2697. Which side were you on ? Were you for the beating or not ?—Not on the side of the beating. I was a little away.

2698. Do you mean to tell me that when you were summoned for the express purpose of considering whether Wild was to be beaten or not, you came there and slipped on one side so as not to hear what passed ?—That is it.

2699. You did not hear anything at all ?—No.

2700. What made you go to the meeting then ?—Because I was warned.

2701. But if you went for that purpose do you mean to say that you were allowed to be on one side, and not to take part in it, and not to listen ?—Yes.

2702. How far were you off ? — Maybe about eight yards ; I cannot tell exactly.

2703. Were you quite separate from the others ?—No.

2704. Who was with you ?—James Ludlow.

2705. He did not hear of course ?—No.

2706. Was there anybody else who did not hear ?—I do not know ; there were only him and me talking together.

2707. Did you hear the resolution put ?—No, I did not hear it put.

2708. But you heard it discussed ?—No.

2709. Not in a field ?—No.

2710. That you swear ?—Yes.

2711. Then you went to the meeting and stood about eight yards off, and heard nothing. Is that what you want us to believe ?—Yes, that is it.

2712. And that you swear, will you ?—Yes.

2713. And you never knew anything of it till afterwards ?—No.

2714. You have told us already that you never were present at any meeting when Simpson's matter was discussed ?—Yes, I was.

2715. Was it discussed in your presence ?—Yes.

2716. In a room ?—Yes.

2717. Did you hear it ?—Yes.

2718. What was the resolution come to then ?—That means must be taken to destroy his bricks.

2718*a*. You heard that ?—Yes.

2719. Was somebody appointed at the meeting to see that it was carried out ?—Yes.

2720. Who was it ? — I believe it was William Slater.

2721. Was the amount of money to be given for the job mentioned ?—Well, I cannot be certain.

2722. Will you swear that 15*l*. was not mentioned as the sum to be given for it ?—Well, I do not know how much it was exactly.

2723. But you will swear something was said ? — Yes.

2724. Now what other occasions were there for you to make that entry of "sundry expenses ?" — No other.

2725. How many times did you make the entry of "sundry expenses ?"—Nearly every fortnight.

2726. It came as a regular thing to make an entry of "sundry expenses" when you were secretary, did it ?—Yes, concerning those women.

2727. But besides the money paid to those women you say you repeatedly made an entry of "sundry expenses." I ask you did you make the entry of sundry expenses respecting the 15*l*. ?—Yes, if it was 15*l*.

2728. Did you make the entry for that 14*l*. as "sundry expenses ?"—Yes.

2729. Did you make the entry for the money paid in Thornley's case as "sundry expenses ?"—I do not know that.

2730. You were secretary at the time, in 1864, were you not ?—Yes, but I am not always at the meetings.

3731. But it is your duty to make the entry, is it not, or to see it made ?—Yes, or the man that I put in my place when I am away.

2732. Your book ought to show, I suppose, whether it is in your handwriting or not ?—Yes.

2733. If it is entered it would be entered as "sundry expenses" I suppose ?—Yes.

2734. On what other occasions have you entered "sundry expenses" except in those cases that you have mentioned ?—None that I know of.

2735. Then I suppose you know your book of 1864 well ; we shall have it produced afterwards ?—I should think so.

SECOND DAY.

J. Brown.

5 Sept. 1867.

2736. Can you tell me now without seeing the book whether there is any other entry in the year 1864 which is in your handwriting?—You know if a man was in my place it would be in his handwriting though I should be secretary at the time if he sat for me.

2737. Can you tell me now without seeing the book whether that happened, or whether all the entries to the best of your belief are in your handwriting for the year 1864?—To the best of my belief they are not.

2738. That we will see. You recollect the conviction of Cheetham and Slater, do you not?—Yes.

2739. Did you take an active part in getting up the petition for the commutation of the sentence?—Yes.

2740. Were you present when any money was offered to Wild for signing the petition to get a commutation of the sentence?—Yes.

2741. I believe the money was offered by George Hulme was it not?—No; Humphrey Hulme.

2742. How much was it, was it 20*l.*?—5*l.*

2743. Were you present when any larger sum was offered, such as 20*l.*?—No, I was not.

2744. Then 5*l.* was the utmost of the money offered whilst you were present, was it?—Yes.

2745. That was to make him sign the petition, was it not?—Yes.

2746. Where was he when you asked him?—He was in a public-house in Manchester.

2747. What is the name of it?—I have forgotten, the "Swan" I think.

2748. Had you given him something to drink before you asked him?—No, not before; he had some after.

2749. Did he sign it or did he not?—He put a cross to it.

2750. Had you asked him often before?—I had not. I believe he had been asked to.

2751. But you yourself had not asked him?—Not before that.

2752. Never?—No, not before that.

2753. Had you been for the purpose of endeavouring to see him to ask him?—Only that time.

2754. Your memory seems to have been a little refreshed in the course of the examination. Do you remember being present at any meeting when the injury to Thornley's property was discussed?—No.

2755. Just recollect then; it was in 1864?—I cannot recollect it,

2756. Then you may have been present, but have forgotten it?—Yes.

2757. Am I to understand from you that you were present at so many meetings where discussions of this sort took place that you cannot remember one more than the other; is that so?—No, not exactly that.

2758. Then was it so uncommon a thing?—To the best of my opinion I was not there, but I cannot say positively you know.

2759. Is it a usual or an unusual thing to have matters of this sort brought before your meetings, and for discussions to take place as to whether persons' property ought to be injured or not for having broken your rules?—No, it is not a common thing.

2760. Then would you not recollect it in this particular case?—I might do so, but I have no recollection of it.

2761. That you swear?—Yes.

2762. I will try you. Do you remember Singleton and Hulme being present when any discussion took place about Thornley's matters?—No.

2763. You heard of the injury to Thornley's property?—Yes, I heard of it afterwards.

2764. How soon after it had taken place did you hear of it?—I cannot tell, a day or two after.

2765. You paid the money for it, I suppose?—No, I did not.

2766. How came that, you were secretary?—The secretary does not pay all moneys.

2767. Did you make any entries about it?—I do not know that I ever did.

2768. We will see your book. Was it in the natural course of business that you, the secretary, should make those entries if any moneys had been paid for the injury of the property?—Yes.

2769. Do you remember William Slater, or George Hulme, or David Potts, or James Kay, asking you for 10*l.* or 12*l.* for doing that injury?—They never asked me for it.

2770. That you will swear, will you?—Yes.

2771. Do you remember any sum being paid for the injury to Thornley's property?—No, I do not.

2772. Have you ever on any other occasion besides the one you have mentioned paid James Kay money?—No.

2773. That you will swear, will you?—Yes.

2774. To how many persons do you think you have paid money while you have been secretary for matters of this sort?—Only that once to Kay.

2775. In Simpson's case you say you did not pay the money?—Yes.

2776. That you can swear?—Yes.

2777. Slater you say paid the money?—Yes.

2778. In Thornley's case you do not know who paid?—I do not know,

2779. But in the natural course of things it was your duty to make the entry provided the money was paid?—Yes.

2780. How many offices have you served since 1864?—Only one. I have been secretary twice, I believe, since then.

2781. Is that the only office you have served since 1864?—I have been a district man once for three months, I believe that is all.

2782. While you were district man did you report any cases of master manufacturers employing non-union men?—No.

2783. None at all?—No.

2784. Or underpaying the union men?—No.

2785. You will swear that, will you?—Yes.

2785. What was your district?—Brinnington.

2787. How long were you a district man?—Three months.

2788. (*Mr. Barstow.*) What sort of box is it that your books are kept in?—A big box, like a clothes box.

2789. Is it a safe?—No.

2790. What size is it?—It is about three feet long and two feet broad.

2791. Of what is it made?—Deal I think, it is wood.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to to-morrow at 11 o'clock.

THIRD DAY.

Assize Courts, Manchester, Friday, 6th September 1867.

PRESENT:

PERCIVAL ANDREE PICKERING, Esq., Q.C. | GEORGE CHANCE, Esq.
THOMAS IRWIN BARSTOW, Esq. | JAMES SHEIL, Esq., Secretary.

PERCIVAL ANDREE PICKERING, Esq., Q.C., IN THE CHAIR.

GEORGE HULME sworn and examined.

2792. (*Chairman.*) What are you?—A brickmaker.

2793. How long have you been so?—All my life.

2794. How old are you?—I am 33.

2795. Where do you live?—Higher Hillgate, Stockport.

2796. Are you working for anybody now?—Yes.

2797. For whom are you working?—Mr. Charles Marhew.

2798. How long have you been working for him?—Six years.

2799. Are you a member of the Stockport brickmakers' union?—Yes.

2800. How long have you been a member of that union?—14 years.

2801. Do you fill any office at this moment?—No.

2802. Have you ever filled any office in the union?—Well it is years back; I once was treasurer.

2803. When was that?—I cannot speak to that, it is seven or eight years since, I think.

2804. Do you remember who was president when you were treasurer?—I cannot tell you now.

2805. Were you treasurer more than once?—No.

2806. That was for three months I suppose?—Yes.

2807. Had you to pay much money during that time?—No.

2808. Used you to pay what money was wanted?—Yes.

2809. We understand that there was a council. Were you a member of the council in the year 1864?—Yes, I believe I was.

2810. We understand that there were 13 of you, is that so?—Yes.

2811. And you were one, were you?—Yes.

2812. Do you remember at any meeting of the council a talk about Simpson's case?—Yes.

2813. Was that sometime in June or July 1864?—I do not know what month it was.

2814. It was in the summer, was it?—Yes.

2815. Where was the meeting; was it at the "Pack Horse"?—Yes.

2816. A meeting of the council?—Yes.

2817. And you were there, and was Thomas Holland there?—Yes.

2818. And was Joseph Brown there?—Yes.

2819. And Potts?—Yes.

2820. And Holland Cheetham?—Yes.

2821. And George Bailey?—Yes.

2822. And William Singleton?—This is a council meeting you are talking about?

2823. Yes.—I think he was there.

2824. And Slater?—Yes.

2825. And you had a talk about Simpson's case?—Yes.

2826. What had Simpson been doing that made you talk about the case?—He employed no union men.

2827. Then that being the subject what was the resolution to which you came?—That there must be summat done.

2828. I suppose to destroy his property?—Yes.

2829. Then was Slater the person to carry that out?—Yes.

2830. And how much did you vote for the job; was it about 15*l.*?—Something of that sort it was.

2831. Then Slater was the person to carry it out; and did you agree to go with him?—Yes.

2832. Do you remember who else?—Yes, there was James Garner, Slater, and Thomas Holland.

2833. Jackson?—No.

2834. How many were there of you altogether do you think?—Five or six, I am not sure.

2835. You know Slater would be one, and you would be two, Thomas Holland would be three, and Garner would be four. Now do you remember any others?—A chap of the name of Jackson, I never knowed him much.

2836. Do you remember the other?—No I could not say.

2837. Then you went. Was it as much as three weeks before you did anything after the resolution?—Yes, I think it was about that time.

2838. Had you to wait your opportunity?—Yes.

2839. Had you tried once to do it, do you remember, before you did do it?—Not to my recollection.

2840. But, however, you were watching your opportunity for three weeks?—Yes.

2841. Then you started at night; do you remember what time it was?—It would be about half-past 11 or 12 o'clock.

2842. Had Holland a gun?—Yes, Holland had.

2843. Was it a double-barrelled gun?—A single barrel.

2844. Had Garner a gun?—Yes.

2845. Was it a double-barrelled or a single-barrelled gun?—Single.

2846. Were they their own guns, or did you find them?—They were their own guns.

2847. We are told that somebody carried some naphtha. Who carried that?—I think it was me.

2848. In what sized bottle was it?—About three quarts.

2849. And you carried that?—Yes.

2850. That makes three of you then. Had the other two any sticks or anything of that sort?—Not that I am aware of.

2851. Then you got there, and then you went into the yard. There was a watchman there of the name of Platt, was there not?—Yes.

2852. Was he in a little cabin which they called the watchman's cabin?—Yes.

2853. Had you begun to do any damage before he shouted out?—No.

2854. Then he shouted out?—Yes.

2855. Did the two fellows with the guns go up to the cabin?—Yes.

2856. Did they threaten him?—Yes they threatened him.

2857. They threatened him if he came out?—Yes, there were those dogs.

2858. There was only one dog, was there?—Yes, we saw two.

2859. Did they keep out of your way by keeping in the kennel?—No, we turned one wrong side upwards.

2860. You turned the kennel wrong side upwards?—Yes.

2861. And the dog was inside at the time, so that you kept him safe?—Yes.

THIRD DAY.

G. Hulme.

6 Sept. 1867.

2862. Then there was one dog left, what did you do with him? I understood you to say that there were two dogs there?—Yes, there were two, and one was in the cabin, and the other was in the kennel.

2863. Did the two men with the guns stand by the cabin and threaten the watchman if he came out?—Not that I am aware of.

2864. I understood you to say that the two men with the guns went towards the watchman's cabin?—Yes.

2865. Then what did you do, because you had no gun?—I stood watching them.

2866. Watching the men with the guns?—Yes.

2867. Did the watchman shout out?—Yes.

2868. What did he shout?—He kept shouting out.

2869. Then you shouted out too, I suppose?—No.

2870. Not you, but the men with the guns?—Not that I am aware of.

2871. But I understood you to say that they threatened if he came out to fire at him?—No.

2872. What did they do with the guns; did they say nothing?—I never heard them speak.

2873. After watching them some time, what did you do?—I went down the lane.

2874. But what was done to the bricks or the clay?—There was nothing done to the clay.

2875. Was there anything done to the bricks?—There was about a thousand knocked off the walls.

2876. Did you help to do that?—Yes.

2877. Then there was your naphtha; what did you do with that?—We went and threw it on the shed.

2878. Then you had matches with you to light it?—Yes.

2879. And some chips?—No, not that I am aware of.

2880. Then which of you lighted it?—I do not know who lighted it.

2881. But you saw it lighted?—I saw them throw it on.

2882. Did you hear any shots fired?—Yes.

2883. Did you hear any shots fired by your men with the guns?—No.

2884. Did the shots you heard come from the direction where those men were standing near the watchman's cabin?—Yes.

2885. And have you any doubt that your men fired?—No.

2886. You believe they did?—No, I believe they did not.

2887. Do I understand you to say that they never fired at all?—They never fired at all.

2888. Neither Holland nor Garner?—No.

2889. Who did fire then?—This watchman.

2890. How many times did he fire?—I am sure I cannot tell you; seven or eight times.

2891. Could you tell from the report whether it was the report of a gun being fired or of a revolver?—A revolver.

2892. All the shots?—Yes.

2893. Will you swear you did not hear the report of a gun or guns while you were there?—Yes.

2894. Will you swear that your men Holland or Garner did not fire?—I will.

2895. Then if Slater has told us that you did, you think it is not true?—Yes, I do.

2896. What did you take the guns for?—To shoot the dogs.

2897. And that you will swear, will you?—Yes.

2898. Then did they stand by the watchman's cabin and threaten to do to him if he came out?—I do not know that they ever did threaten him.

2899. I understood you to say just now most distinctly that they did threaten the watchman if he came out?—No I did not, you have mistaken me.

2900. But they stood near the cabin?—Yes, but the dogs were close against the cabin.

2901. What made you come away so soon?—Because he was getting outside.

2902. And that made you go off did it?—Yes.

2903. Then you meant to have done more damage?—No.

2904. Do you mean to say you had done all you intended?—Only setting the shed on fire.

2905. And destroying some bricks?—There was but about a thousand spoiled in the whole.

2906. But still you spoiled them?—Yes.

2907. Was it a dark night?—Yes.

2908. How far were the walls of the bricks which you helped to spoil from the watchman's cabin?—40 or 50 yards I daresay.

2909. Then when you were standing and spoiling the walls of bricks you could not see the men at the watchman's cabin?—No.

2910. Then was it while you were spoiling the walls of bricks that you heard the six or seven shots?—No, we had got to the bottom of the shed then.

2911. How far is the shed from the watchman's cabin?—One part of it very nearly comes up to it.

2912. But could you on a dark night, while you were at the shed with the naphtha, see the watchman's cabin?—No.

2913. Then you have sworn to having heard six or seven shots fired?—Yes.

2914. Then is it because you imagine or think that those reports were the reports of a revolver that you say your men did not fire?—Yes.

2915. That is the reason, is it. Did you see the revolver?—No.

2916. Then all you say is that having heard the reports you think they were the sound of the report of a revolver, and not the sound of the report of a gun?—Yes.

2917. And is that your reason for saying that neither of the two men that were with you fired?—Yes.

2918. You could not see them, you say, and it is because you believe that the reports you heard were the reports of a revolver being fired, that you say you believe the guns were not fired, is that your reason?—No.

2919. What is your reason?—He did fire.

2920. Who did fire?—This watchman.

2921. What is your reason for saying that you believed the watchman fired all these six or seven shots?—Because one of those men was with me with the gun.

2922. But you said they were standing near the watchman's cabin, and while you were spoiling the walls of bricks or setting fire to the shed you could not see the men with the gun?—No, we were all together then.

2923. Where was the watchman then?—He was outside the cabin.

2924. But did the men with the guns leave the watchman's cabin and come to you?—Yes, one of them. We never saw the other after; Holland did.

2925. You did not see Garner after?—No.

2926. Then the last time you saw Garner was when he was near the watchman's cabin?—Yes.

2927. And what became of him then, you do not know?—No.

2928. Then whether he fired or not——? He never fired.

2929. So you say; but whether he fired or not your reason for saying so is because you think the reports you heard were the reports of the revolver?—Yes.

2930. But he was out of sight at the time you heard the firings?—Yes.

2931. Was Holland in sight during the time that you heard all the firing?—Yes.

2932. Had you ever at any time the guns in your own hand?—No.

2933. Neither of them?—No.

2934. Then you never had either gun in your hand at all?—No.

2935. You have mentioned five names, and Garner you say you never saw afterwards. Did you four go home together?—No.

2936. Which way did you go ?—Through the fields.

2937. Alone ?—No, Holland was with me.

2938. The man with the gun ?—Yes.

2939. And the others went home, you do not know how ?—No.

2940. Did you get your share of the 15*l.* for this job ?—Yes.

2941. How much did you get ?—I am sure I cannot tell you. It was 2*l.*, or something like that.

2942. Then it was divided between you all ?—Yes.

2943. And your share came to 2*l.* ?—I might have had 2*s.* or 3*s.* more.

2944. Was the naphtha paid for out of the money first ?—No, it was bought about a fortnight.

2945. Who bought the naphtha. It was you who carried it ?—I bought it.

2946. What did you give for it ?—16*d.* I think.

2947. Were you repaid the 16*d.* for the naphtha ?—No.

2948. Then did you pay it out of the money that you got paid for the job ?—Yes.

2949. Did you carry the naphtha all the way ?—I am sure I cannot tell you whether I carried it all the way or not.

2950. Do you remember Wild's case shortly afterwards ?—Yes.

2951. Was there a meeting of the council about that ?—No, not a council meeting.

2952. Was there a meeting at the "Pack Horse" about it ?—No, not that I am aware of.

2953. Were you present at any meeting at which any resolution was come to, first of all at the "Pack Horse," about it ?—No, not at the "Pack Horse."

2954. Were you present at a meeting in the fields on the 2nd of August ?—Yes, in the brickyard.

2955. Down Croft Lane ?—Yes.

2956. Who summoned you to the meeting ?—George Bailey came to our house.

2957. That was in the middle of the day, was it not ?—Yes.

2958. You were summoned. When you got there whom did you find there. Did George Bailey go with you ?—Yes.

2959. And was Thomas Holland there ?—Yes, he was working at the same yard.

2960. Was he present ?—Yes.

2961. And Joseph Brown ?—Yes.

2962. And William Singleton ?—Yes.

2963. And Slater ?—Yes.

2964. Then you were council men at that time, were you not ?—I think we were.

2965. Did you come to a resolution that Wild was to be beaten ?—Yes.

2966. You all came to that resolution together ?—Yes.

2967. Were you all together at the time ?—Yes.

2968. There were not some apart from you at all; you were all together ?—No, there were two or three of them. Bailey went away.

2969. That was afterwards, but you were all together when you came to the resolution that Wild was to be beaten ?—Yes.

2970. Although you are a little deaf you heard all that passed ?—Yes.

2971. And all present must have heard too, if you heard, I should think ?—Yes, all the rest that were there heard.

2972. Then was Slater the man to carry it out ?—Yes.

2973. Did you come to an agreement how much money was to be given for the purpose ?—Yes.

2974. Was it 10*l.* or 12*l.*, or 14*l.* ?—14*l.*

2975. And Slater went off to carry it out ?—Yes.

2976. Do you know James Kay ?—Yes.

2977. Have you had anything to do with him yourself ?—Well, I have once.

2978. You did not go to Wild's, did you ?—No.

2979. You were not one of the party ?—No.

2980. Do you know the men who did it ?—No.

2981. Excepting Kay ?—No.

2982. You say that you once had to do with Kay, tell us what that was. Remember you are bound to speak the truth or else you may be punished very heavily for it, and if you have had anything to do with any of these outrages we can give you an indemnity, provided you will tell the truth. Now tell us what you had to do with Kay ?—Why it was over that job of Thornley's.

2983. Now you remember that job of Thornley's ?—Yes.

2984. That was brought before the meeting I suppose before it was resolved upon; you settled that Thornley's bricks should be destroyed, did you not ?—Yes.

2985. Who were present at the meeting when you settled that ?—I am sure I cannot tell you.

2986. Was Slater there ?—Yes.

2987. Was Singleton there ?—I think he went away.

2988. But he was there part of the time ?—I think he was.

2989. And Joseph Brown ?—Yes.

2990. And Holland Cheetham ?—Yes.

2991. You then came to a resolution that Thornley's bricks were to be destroyed ?—Yes.

2992. Were you treasurer then ?—No.

2993. What was it to be given for that job, 10*l.* or 12*l.* ?—Yes.

2994. Which was it ?—I am sure I cannot speak to it which it was now.

2995. You went and took part in that job, I understand ?—Yes.

2996. You and Slater ?—Yes.

2997. Did David Potts go ?—Yes.

2998. And James Kay ?—Yes.

2999. Did you go at night ?—Yes.

3000. And you destroyed some bricks, did you not ?—Yes.

3001. Do you remember how many you destroyed ?—No.

3002. You destroyed all that you could, perhaps ?—Yes.

3003. Then had you your share of the money for that ?—Yes.

3004. Who paid you ?—Slater, I think.

3005. What was Slater then, was he president or treasurer ?—I think he was treasurer then.

3006. But he paid you your share ?—Yes.

3007. Now you have had to do with James Kay on other occasions, have you not ?—No, no others.

3008. No others at all ?—No.

3009. What other jobs of this sort have you done; you had better speak the truth ?—I know no other jobs.

3010. Do you mean to tell me that you have never been concerned in any attempt to injure or any injury to property besides those that you have mentioned ?—No.

3011. Any thrashing of men ?—No.

3012. Needles ?—No.

3013. Nothing of the sort ?—No.

3014. That you will swear, will you ?—Yes.

3015. Now just think; you had better be careful. You have been a union man for 14 years, you say ?—Yes.

3016. You have known other cases brought before the union, I suppose ?—No, I do not.

3017. Do you mean to tell me that they do not constantly bring before the unions cases where the masters have been taking non-union men, or refusing to take union men; that is a very common thing, is it not ?—Yes.

3018. How do you generally punish the men who will not take your union men ?—As I stated to you.

3019. As you did in Simpson's case ?—Yes.

3020. Then you have known that done before ?—Simpson's case ?

THIRD DAY.

G. Hulme.

6 Sept. 1867.

3021. The same sort of thing as was done in Simpson's case?—No.

3022. But you say that you have known cases of that sort brought before the union where men had refused to take your union men to work, and then it is brought before the union at a meeting of course?—I do not know that.

3023. But you have heard it done, have you not?—I have heard what I have been speaking about.

3024. But have you not heard other cases brought before the union?—No.

3025. Do you mean to tell me that these are the only cases that you have known brought before the union?—Yes.

3026. That you swear, will you?—Yes.

3027. You have never heard of any other cases at all brought before the union?—Not that I can remember.

3028. But try; your memory will get better as you go on. You must have known cases in such an active union as yours of some master refusing to take your union men. Surely you must have known cases of that sort brought before the meetings?—I cannot speak to it as I know of.

3029. Now come, you must know some cases?—I do not.

3030. Do you mean to tell me that you have never known another case brought before a meeting except those cases that you have mentioned, Simpson's case, Wild's case, and Thornley's case?—Yes.

3031. Are those the only cases?—Those are all the cases I know aught about.

3032. Have you ever heard them talked about?—No.

3033. Never at all?—No.

3034. What do you do at these meetings?—Well, it is not only over these cases, you know.

3035. I do not suppose it is, but if there is a case of this sort, of a master refusing to take union men, surely you have it brought before your meeting and discuss it?—Of course that is right enough.

3036. If it is right enough, by which I suppose you mean that it is reasonable, you must remember some other cases being brought before the meetings besides these three. I see you are thinking; just try and remember. Was there any case at Didsbury, for instance?—No.

3037. At Levenshulme?—No.

3038. Was there any other case at Heaton Mersey besides Thornley's?—No.

3039. You must have known cases of that sort?—I cannot tell you aught. It will be a lie.

3040. I am sure I should be very sorry if you told me anything but the truth; I do not wish you to do anything but speak the truth?—That is all I know.

3041. When you were treasurer had you ever to pay any money for these things?—No.

3042. It is the duty of a treasurer to pay, is it not?—Yes, of course.

3043. The treasurer paid you your share in Simpson's case, and did he also pay you your share in Thornley's case?—No, Slater took that, and Slater paid us; we had nought about the treasurer.

3044. I have already warned you that if you have not told the whole truth you will not be entitled to a certificate of indemnity; if you tell the whole truth it will be given to you at once. There are other witnesses coming. I just give you that warning before putting another question to you. I ask you now if you know of any other outrage which has been sanctioned at a meeting at which you have been present, and if so I ask you to tell us about it?—I do not know.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. J. Simpson.

Mr. JOHN SIMPSON sworn and examined.

3045. (*Mr. Barstow.*) You are a brickmaker, I believe, in Stockport Moor?—Yes.

3046. How long have you made bricks there?—Four years.

3047. Have you ever in any manner contributed to the brickmakers' union?—I used to employ union men.

3048. But have you yourself ever been a contributing member, as brickmakers sometimes are I believe?—I never was a brickmaker myself.

3049. You are a master brickmaker?—I am in another business. I am a master brickmaker and coal merchant.

3050. But master brickmakers do sometimes I believe contribute to the brickmakers' union?—Yes.

3051. You do not?—No.

3052. I believe that in the year 1864 you were in dispute with the brickmakers' union?—Yes.

3053. What was the reason of that?—I have had disputes previous to that.

3054. There was one in 1863, I think?—Yes, but the dispute commenced previous to that.

3055. I do not quite know what it is. Did that dispute result in an outrage of any kind?—No, it resulted in my having to pull down all my sheds, and everything. The men left me and I had just erected new sheds, and I had to pull them all down.

3056. (*Chairman.*) When was that?—That was in 1860. That was at another place altogether—that was at Heaton Moor.

3057. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Will you tell us what that dispute in 1860 was about?—The dispute originated in this way. I employed all union men and the burner's name was George Bailey, and he told me that he would destroy all my bricks that were in burning.

3058. Is George Bailey a member of the Stockport brickmakers' union?—Yes.

3059. Why should George Bailey tell you he would destroy all your bricks?—George Bailey at the time that I took this yard was recommended to me by the person that owned the land. I had only had it a few months before this person that owned the land gave me a reason to leave and set the brickmaking to George Bailey, and he wanted me to give the yard up to his next employer.

3060. George Bailey wanted you to give up the yard?—Yes.

3061. And you declined to do so?—Yes.

3062. And he said then that he would destroy your bricks?—Yes, and I had also complained about his not kilning the bricks when they were dry, and wanted to go into the kilns. There were several things of that sort.

3063. He was not a satisfactory servant?—No, he was not.

3064. What resulted upon that dispute between you and Bailey?—I tried to discharge him, and I called a meeting of the men about it in the yard, and they held a meeting in Parson's Lane; but then I was asked to attend a general meeting to be held at the "Pack Horse" in Stockport, and I did not hear what was said in the room. I was asked to retire every time that Bailey was to speak. But however the finish of it was that I was to take him back again, and that if he did destroy the bricks they would discharge him.

3065. Whom do you mean by "they"?—The union.

3066. How many were present at the meeting?—I should think there were 100.

3067. It was a general meeting then?—Yes.

3068. Did Bailey continue in your employ?—Yes.

3069. And how did he go on after this?—I had occasion to go to Liverpool to the assizes, and when I came back I could almost see over the top of the kiln. It should be about 12 feet high, but he had run it so low that I could almost see over the top. He burnt it too much.

3070. The long and the short of it is that he did not burn the bricks properly?—No.

3071. Then did you discharge him?—He went away then. I forget almost how he went, but, however, they sent me another man in his place.

3072. Who are "they"?—The union.

3073. You could not then take another man yourself?—Oh no.

3074. Did you try to do so?—Well, I tried to employ my own moulders at the commencement, but it was no use trying again. They told me there was only one burner out of employment, and that was a man they called Joseph Tomlinson, I believe his name is, and I had to take him.

3075. Did you look about yourself for another burner or did you go to the union for another burner?—The men that I had in my employ told me that there was only Tomlinson out, but I am not aware that I did look for anyone.

3076. You went directly to the union for a burner?—No I did not go directly to the union for a burner. I asked my own men that I employed who else I could have, and Tomlinson came to me, and said he was the only man out of employ, and I engaged him, but I knew before he came that he was the only one. It is always known who is out of employ and who is not.

3077. What happened after that?—After this, as I told you I had notice to leave this place, and I had a large quantity of clay cast, and I put up sheds to make this clay before I went away, but after working three weeks in these sheds they fined one of the moulders 5*l.* for having a boy carrying off and paying him 6*s.* a week. That was against the rules. They should pay them 9*d.* a thousand at that time, and because he would not pay they said I must pay it, or the yard should not go on.

3078. And you did not pay I suppose?—No.

3079. And then the men struck?—Yes,

3080. When the men struck did you try to get other hands?—I did not, I kept expecting them to come back.

3081. Why did you not try to get other hands?—I was daily expecting them to come back. They came back in about a fortnight and they demanded from 30*l.* to 40*l.* before I could have anyone back again to pay the wages and the fines.

3082. The men demanded the fine and their wages for the time they were out of work?—Yes.

3083. And you would not pay it?—No.

3084. That amounted to between 30*l.* and 40*l.*?—Yes.

3085. Did you then try to get other hands?—I tried to get men to burn the bricks that they had left. They left all the bricks that they had made unburned.

3086. What sort of men did you try to get?—Brickmakers.

3087. Union men?—No, I did not try to get union men.

3088. Did you try to get non-union men?—Yes.

3089. Did you succeed?—No.

3090. You could not get them?—No.

3091. How long did you try?—For eight or nine weeks.

3092. How was it that you did not succeed?—There was no one durst come near the place to burn.

3093. How do you know that?—Because I asked a brick burner that was breaking stones on the road. I do not know his name, but he was a stone-breaker in the neighbourhood of Heaton, and he was an old brick burner, but he durst not come he said. He would have got five or six times the wages that he was getting at his own work, but he dared not come.

3094. Do you remember trying anyone else?—I do not; I know I was endeavouring, but I cannot say that I asked anyone else; and I know I was listening out all the time, but the bricks were many of them kilned, and there was no fire put to them, and they were spoiling; at last I got the moulder who was fined and who continued in my employ to burn them. He was my foreman in the yard.

3095. Why could not you have done that at first?—He was the same as everyone else; he was afraid. I had to stop up with him then and get three or four men to be with him then all the time that he was burning.

3096. Then did you burn all the bricks you had kilned?—Yes.

3097. Had you any difficulty in disposing of them?—No; I used them myself for my own buildings.

3098. Did anything happen upon that between you and the union men?—No.

3099. Then is that the end of the story of 1860?—Yes, that is the origination of my dispute with the union men. I never had a dispute with them about the wages in any shape or form.

3100. You have always paid union prices?—Yes, I had never had any dispute with them about wages up to that time; I do not pay them now.

3101. That was at Heaton Moor, was it not?—Yes, near Heaton Chapel.

3102. Then you left Heaton Moor and came to Stockport?—Yes.

3103. In what year did you come to Stockport?—In 1863, in the beginning of January.

3104. You seemed to have been troubled by the union very soon after you came to Stockport?—Yes.

3105. How was that?—I and my father-in-law bought two fields, and we were told that we could not make bricks until we settled this claim of the union, so we sent the bricks to be made by a man of the name of Thomas Dunkley.

3106. Is Thomas Dunkley a member of the union?—No; I paid him the club price and 4*d.* per thousand for management over the club price.

3107. At this time did you employ union men as well as non-union men?—Not at the first. After they had been at work a few weeks, the union men had several meetings, and they consented to come to work with him. They worked with him a few days, and then left again. They promised at last to take Dunkley in, and I lent him money to enter the society, but when he got to the club room they would not admit him in nor have his money, and they sent him back.

3108. Was that the only cause of dispute between you and the union in 1863?—That was the only cause.

3109. I believe some injury was done to your property early in May 1863?—On the 8th of May 1863.

3110. Will you describe that?—Early on the 9th of May I was awakened and told that all the bricks in the yard were destroyed. That was on the morning of the 9th of May. I was knocked up.

3111. Did you go to the yard?—Yes.

3112. What did you find there?—We found about 25,000 bricks damaged and spoiled entirely. About 12,000 of them we made use of, which were only partly spoiled.

3113. What was the money value of those bricks?—Perhaps there was 12*l.* worth of damage done to the bricks and about 15*l.* worth of damage to materials. It is not altogether the damage to the bricks, but you have the labour of removing them and preparing your ground over again.

3114. Then you estimate the whole amount of damage done to you on that night at 27*l.*?—Yes, from that to 30*l.* At the same time they cut my barrows to pieces. I had six new barrows made, and they cut each strain in two, and the trundles were all cut, and the tables and tressels were cut with a saw. They were all cut, everything that we use.

3115. You gave information to the police, I suppose?—Yes.

3116. And was anyone apprehended?—No.

3117. You have no information as to who did it?—We had our suspicion.

3118. Had you your suspicion of any individual man?—We had suspicion of three or four men who have been up here, and we communicated our suspicion to the police at the same time.

3119. Then no one was apprehended?—No; we traced the men across the fields; at that time you know the grass is growing and anyone could trace

THIRD DAY.

Mr. J. Simpson.

6 Sept. 1867.

them through the grass. We traced them within 20 yards of where George Hulme and Slater lived.

3120. Did George Hulme and Slater live near together?—Yes.

3121. How many men had been engaged in this?—Well, there were footprints and different marks of I should think seven or eight of them. Their shoes were lapped with rags, and some were in their stockings, and some one way and some in another: and we found spade handles and things that they had carried for truncheons in the hedges in the neighbourhood of where George Hulme and Slater lived, not far from their houses.

3122. How many men do you think there were?—We thought at the time that there would be six or seven.

3123. That is all you can tell us about May the 8th 1863, is it?—Yes.

3124. The second outrage was on the 17th of June 1864, was it not?—Yes, it was either on the night of the 17th or the morning of the 18th.

3125. That we now know something about?—Yes.

3126. You had a watchman in your employment named Platt, had you not?—Yes.

3127. You had not a watchman in 1863?—No.

3128. When did you put a watchman on?—After the 1863 outrage I got a man to watch the place, and I have had one ever since; sometimes two and sometimes three.

3129. That is of course a very considerable expense to you?—Yes.

3130. What was the first you heard of the damage to your property in 1864?—Very early in the morning the watchman came and shouted out; I heard him before he got to the house shouting out.

3131. How far is your house from your brickyard?—About half a mile.

3132. Did you happen to hear any shots fired?—No.

3133. That watchman is here I believe to-day?—Yes.

3134. You went with him to your brickcroft?—I followed him; he went as hard as he could go back and I followed him. I was there nearly as soon as he was.

3135. Did you find that your sheds had been set on fire?—Yes.

3136. Did you find that any of your bricks had been destroyed?—Yes, very few. They had not destroyed very many.

3137. There was part of a wall thrown down, was there not?—Yes, that was a wall made of green bricks which had been made on the flats.

3138. Were there about a thousand bricks thrown down?—Perhaps about a thousand, not more.

3139. Did the watchman then give you an account of what had happened?—Yes.

3140. At the time?—Yes. I found the watchman's window blown out.

3141. Did you examine his cabin?—Yes; it is a sort of cabin with a fireplace in.

3142. In what state did you find it?—One of the panes of glass had a hole pushed through, and he said that a man stuck a gun and poked it through the place. He saw the gun barrel.

3143. Could you tell whether the window had been broken from the inside or the outside?—The police and myself found the glass inside.

3144. I suppose you can tell us about it without any detail. Could you see that it had been broken from the outside?—Yes, we could.

3145. Had any gun been discharged inside the cabin?—Yes.

3146. Were there marks of a discharge?—We found some small sparrow-shot and some burnt paper.

3147. But you know if a gun was poked through the window of the cabin and discharged in it, you would find a mark on the opposite wall?—Yes, it was very slightly marked just by the side of the chimney-piece; there was not much mark, but there was a slight one.

3148. What was the inside of this cabin, was it plaster or what?—No, it was only brick.

3149. And the bricks, you say, were slightly marked?—Yes.

3150. They were slightly marked on the wall opposite the window?—Yes, just at the angle; they were very slightly touched, and we found a few of the pellets on the mantelpiece.

3151. Were the marks on the wall such marks as small shot would have made?—They were.

3152. From what you say it seems to have been only very small shot?—Yes, it was only sparrow-shot.

3153. Your dogs were not shot, were they?—No. The watchman had just been out. He had a little cur dog, a very small one, and he had just been out, and he had a slip round his neck. There was a kennel round the door, and some one toppled the kennel over, so that it could not get at any one. That was the first alarm we heard. The dog could not get round to bite any one if he had tried. It is a dog that he walks round the yard with just to alarm people. We had a larger dog, but it was one that does not make any noise—one that would not bark at any one, but it would bite fast enough if it could get a chance.

3154. That dog was chained up was it?—Yes, it was chained all the time.

3155. You extinguished the fire at the sheds I suppose?—The man did. The man put the fire out the first thing he did.

3156. Before he came to you?—Yes. That was the reason the men had got away. I was expecting the shed to be fired. I had been waiting up for nearly three months previous to this myself, and I had not been for about two nights, and I told him if they ever fired the shed to put it out the first thing.

3157. Do you know whether you had been watched yourself at all?—Yes, I had been watched.

3158. Do you know who watched you?—I do not know his name. On the morning after we turned out of the house many of the neighbours got up and came out of their houses, and a man walked out of the hedge in front of our door. He would not make them any reply. They spoke to him many a time, but he would not answer.

3159. Did you see the man?—I did not.

3160. Then how do you know?—Because the next door neighbours saw him.

3161. Who lived in the next house to you?—Both in the next house and the next house but two they saw him. I just forget one man's name, but he was a stonemason, and he spoke to him repeatedly. They called out to him and wanted to know the reason of his being there and why he was there, but they durst not go near him to look in his face.

3162. Why dared they not go near him?—I do not know. I suppose they were afraid of being thrashed.

3163. Is that your only reason for saying that you were watched?—Yes, it is.

3164. I think you have told us all about your yard?—We found that our man had shot through the window. Directly the shot was fired he fired, and there was a bullet-hole in the glass. I found a large quantity of paper that they had had for the wadding of the gun which was inside the hut. That shows that the gun must have been close to or that wadding would not be in.

3165. If we suppose that the gun-barrel was really in at the window before it was fired of course the whole contents of the gun must have been inside the cabin?—Yes, we found the burnt paper.

3166. Is that all you can tell us about the yard?—That is all I can tell you about the outrage. Of course I cannot have my bricks used. I have a yard for the bricks and no one will set them.

3167. (*Chairman.*) At this moment?—Yes.

3168. (*Mr. Barstow.*) How do you mean?—The brickmakers pay the bricklayers their wages at any time not to set our bricks.

3169. You cannot sell your bricks?—No.

3170. Your trade is interrupted by the brickmakers?—Yes, it is.

3171. That continues at the present time, does it?—Yes, it is continued to a very great extent.

3172. Have they followed your carts?—Yes, they have followed my carts. I am building a building in Port Wood now, and they followed the carts and called the bricklayers off the job a few weeks since. That is a building for myself.

3173. That is to say, the brickmakers have done so?—Yes.

3174. And called the bricklayers off the job?—Yes; the bricklayers were working for another master, but it was my work. I had let the job to Mr. Henry Barlow.

3175. Is that the only outrage of which you can tell us?—That is the only outrage. I could mention scores of things in connexion with other things.

3176. In all probability they are not within the scope of our inquiry?—No. I may mention this, that Mr. Walford persevered in using our bricks, and they would not allow his carts either to go into the yard or to cart bricks for himself or anyone else. There are master brickmakers in Stockport that are bricklayers, and they sent them notices that if they used our bricks they should not allow them to have any more men. I made the best bricks and they made the commonest.

3177. The other brickmakers told a man who was building that if he used your bricks to front with, they should not have any more inferior bricks from them; is that so?—Yes.

3178. Have you ever been threatened?—No, I have not.

3179. Have you never received a threatening letter?—No. I once met three of the men in the lane and one of them as I passed put his hand on his breast, saying that he would stop my games.

3180. It was only just for you to see I suppose?—That was all.

3181. No names were mentioned?—No names were mentioned. They were looking straight at me all the time and sneering all the time of course. I have had to bring men from other places to do my brickwork. There is a letter I think in court that Joseph Brown sent to Manchester.

3182. To whom was this letter addressed?—I do not know to whom it was addressed. It has no name on, but it was brought to Manchester by two delegate brickmakers.

3183. (*Chairman.*) To you?—No; to men employed by me.

3184. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Did you see them?—I saw the men, but I did not see the letter before the men that were employed by me gave it to me. They took it from this man.

3185. This is only a copy apparently?—No, that is the original; that is Mr. Brown's writing.

3186. (*Chairman.*) Was this letter shown you by them?—Yes, they had gone from my building to a public-house, and one of those men happened to pull this letter out, and one of my men got hold of his arms and the other took it out of his hand, and they ran away and brought it to me. They did not know what it was.

3187. You had men in your employ to whom that letter was addressed?—No, that letter had been sent to some one in Manchester.

3188. (*Mr. Chance.*) Did you give any date upon which this last outrage outrage occurred?—The 17th of June 1864.

3189. Did I rightly understand you to say that you had been up for three months expecting that your shed would be set on fire?—I am not certain exactly how many months, but I had been there for a long time. I had been there somewhere approaching to three months, I know it was long enough before they commenced making bricks outside, because I had been stopping up previous to the summer season commencing.

3190. Are your brickworks going on now?—They are going on now.

3191. Are you employing non-union men there?—Yes, they have several times admitted my non-union men into the club to take my men from me.

3192. You mentioned that in the year 1860 your moulder was fined 5*l.*?—Yes.

3193. Did your men at that time know that you had nothing to do with it. They knew very well that I had nothing to do with it. They said I could make him pay if I thought proper. The reason was that he was my foreman, and since then we have been in other ways connected.

3194. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Then do I understand you that your non-union men had become union men and left your service?—Some of them.

3195. And you had had to get fresh hands?—Yes, and they have offered to take some of the men that I have now into the union.

3196. (*Chairman.*) How many hands do you employ?—I only employ seven or eight at the present time; but at the time of the outrage I employed perhaps 13 or 14; that is to say in brickmaking. I may mention that we found a two-gallon bottle about half full of naphtha after the 1864 outrage, and a large can which they had been throwing it on with, and a lot of gingerbeer bottles.

3197. Did you find any bottles?—Yes.

3198. Did you examine the contents of them?—Yes.

3199. What did they contain?—Naphtha, all the bottles had had naphtha in.

3200. How many bottles did you find altogether?—There would be nearly a gallon of naphtha left in the two-gallon bottle.

3201. How much was there in the other bottles?—The other bottles were all empty.

3202. How many were there of the other bottles?—I should think there would be half a dozen altogether.

3203. Half a dozen empty, and one you say half full?—Yes.

3204. Those you found you say the morning after the outrage?—Yes, the police took them all to the police office.

3205. (*Mr. Barstow.*) I suppose they had poured the naphtha out of the large can into those small bottles for the convenience of pouring the naphtha on the shed?—Yes, the man saw them pouring it out of bottles or a can on to the shed, and we found a large leather lace which they had used to sling it with.

3206. (*Mr. Chance.*) Those bottles had not been left by your men on the premises?—No, the two-gallon bottle had the name on of "Baker, spirit merchant, Stockport," and "two gallons" it said on the bottle. The men that retreated in 1864 went exactly the same way that the men in 1863 did. We traced them all the way, both I and the police. It is impossible for a stranger to have gone up those roads, because it was a bye road, a near cut to the top of Hillgate, in which anyone unacquainted with it would have been quite lost.

3207. (*Mr. Barstow.*) George Hulme told us that he lived at the top of Hillgate?—George Hulme, and Slater, and 20 others I could name live in that direction.

3208. (*Chairman.*) Have you ever on any other occasion had an attempt to set your buildings on fire?—We have never had them set on fire.

The witness withdrew.

PETER PLATT sworn and examined.

3209. (*Mr. Chance.*) Are you a brickmaker?—Yes.

3210. Are you in the employment of Mr. John Simpson of Stockport Moor?—Yes.

3211. Were you in his employ at Botchton in the year 1864?—That was when they first commenced.

3212. Were you a watchman in his employment in the month of June 1864?—Yes.

3213. Did you live in the brickyard?—Yes.

3214. Was there a sort of cabin in the brickyard?—Yes.

THIRD DAY.
P. Platt.
6 Sept. 1867.

3215. Did you live there by yourself?—No, my son was with me.

3216. What is the age of your son?—He is 17 years of age.

3217. Do you remember the outrage upon Mr. Simpson's property upon the night of the 17th of June?—Yes.

3218. Was your son in the cabin with you at that time?—Yes.

3219. On the night of the 17th of June did anything disturb you?—Yes.

3220. What was it that disturbed you?—It was the dog that first disturbed me.

3221. One dog?—Yes.

3222. (*Chairman.*) Is that your cur?—It was one that I had at the door.

3223. A little dog?—Yes.

3224. (*Mr. Chance.*) How many dogs had you on the premises?—Two.

3225. Where was the other dog?—We had three dogs.

3226. Where were the other two dogs?—There was one at the end of the shed and the other at the back side of the shed.

3227. Were those other two dogs in kennels?—Yes.

3228. Both of them?—Yes.

3229. About what time of night was it that you were disturbed?—I cannot positively say what time it was. We had no clock in the place.

3230. Was it late at night?—It was late at night; whether it was turned 12 or not I could not say.

3231. Was it dark?—It was very dark; it had been moonlight, but the moon had got overcast.

3232. Were you in bed at the time?—No, I was sitting by the fireside at the time.

3233. Had you any arms with you?—Yes.

3234. What had you?—A revolver and a gun.

3235. Were they loaded?—Yes.

3236. Had you them in the room with you?—Yes, close by me.

3237. How many rooms has the cabin?—Only one.

3238. And how many barrels had the revolver?—Six.

3239. Were they all loaded?—Yes.

3240. With ball?—Yes.

3241. And what was the gun loaded with?—With pillets.

3242. Does "pillets" mean shots?—Yes.

3243. When you were disturbed by the dog, what did you do?—When I was disturbed by the dog I got up and opened the door to see what was the matter. When I opened the door there was a man came and struck at me with a thing which appeared to be about a yard long and bade me go in again.

3244. (*Chairman.*) Was it a stick?—Something like a stick.

3245. (*Mr. Chance.*) Did you see whether there was more than one man there?—Yes, I could see the shadow of two men.

3246. Upon his telling you that what did you do?—Then there was one man made his way up to the window.

3247. You say they told you to go in, did you go in?—Yes, I backed forward into the place then.

3248. And did you shut the door?—I closed the door.

3249. Had you your revolver with you?—Yes.

3250. Then what took place?—Then one of those two played to the window, popped his gun barrel through the glass, and fired inside the place.

3251. At the time that the gun was put into the window, where were you?—I was just at the back side of the door.

3252. But you were in the room?—Yes.

3253. The door opens into the room, does it?—Yes.

3254. What took place after that?—When he fired inside the room I had the revolver placed on a dresser close to, and I picked up the revolver and fired back through the window at them. Then I fired back again at them. Then they took themselves back to the place where they upset the dog's kennel, and they stood outside there; as soon as they stood there I got outside as soon as I could and I fired again at them there.

3255. With what?—With the revolver. As soon as I fired out again at them there, they then played off through the fence and down the broad road for taking their way off.

3256. When you went out and fired at them, did you see more than two men?—No; when I went out and fired at them, I fired at them there, and they then took their way off towards the broad road and went through the fence there and down the broad road; then I turned my head again and I saw two men knocking the green walls down. I played off towards them. They were knocking the green walls down, and as soon as I thought I was within shot of them I fired at those two, but they ducked under the green walls and went off as hard as they could drive. I then turned my head again, and cast the shadow of three men in the shade of the fire at the bottom end. I then called to this boy of mine, and said "Jonathan, bring that gun out." He ran out with the gun, but just as he got out he tumbled over a lump of coals with the gun and the gun got lost, and I could not find the gun for some time. He lost the gun out of his hand, and I could not find it for a minute or two. Then I played out of the shed again and as soon as I thought I was within shot again I fired there again, and as soon as I fired there those three played off altogether.

3257. Where were those three?—They were at the bottom end of the shed, setting in the shade of the fire. (I could see the shadow of them) with a degging-can pouring out the naphtha, the naphtha being all on fire. So soon as they did that I played off then to the dog kennels, and I loosed all the dogs. Then I made my way into the broad road and looked round awhile to see whether things were settled, and as soon as I thought things were settled I pulled my shoes off and then I ran to the master's house as hard as I could run.

3258. Then you went to your master and told your master what had happened?—I went and knocked at the door as hard as I could knock. I did not stop to tell him what had happened, but I made my way back again as hard as I could, and he came running after me in the course of a short time.

3259. Then you succeeded in putting out the fire?—Yes.

3260. Do you know how many men there were altogether there that night. How many did you see?—I saw the shadow of seven of them; there was two at the door, two knocking the green walls down, and three at the shed.

3261. Are you sure you were not mistaken about that, could you be deceived by the shadows?—No; I am almost positive that there were seven of them.

3262. Did you know any of them?—No, I did not, not to swear to them.

3263. Then did you look after them to see what there was; did you find any vessels of any kind in the shed afterwards?—We found some bottles and things that they had had their naphtha in.

3264. What was it that they had their naphtha in?—They had half-a-gallon bottle for one, and two or three small bottles. It was a half-gallon or gallon bottle.

3265. Was there naphtha in the gallon bottle?—Yes, in the large bottle.

3266. Did you find any matches there?—No.

3267. Do you know how many times you fired the revolver altogether?—Yes.

3268. How many times did you fire the revolver altogether?—Three times.

3269. And how many times did you fire your gun?—Once.

3270. And there were four shots fired by you altogether ?—Yes.

3271. You are sure of that ?—Yes.

3272. How many times was the gun fired by the men who came upon the premises ?—Only once ; only that time as they put it through the glass.

3273. We have been told that there were slight marks of shots upon the wall of the room ; was that so ?—Yes, there were, such as sparrow-shot would make.

3274. Did you notice what had been done to the kennels where the other two dogs were ?—There was nothing done to the dogs.

3275. Or to the kennels ?—Nor to the kennels ; only that dog kennel that was at the house ; they up-ended that dog's kennel.

3276. But how was it the other two dogs did not give any warning ?—There was one dog, it is not a one for to make alarm ; it is more for taking hold. If he gets hold he will stick there.

3277. (*Chairman.*) Did the other dog bark ?—No, the other dog was inside the end of the shed.

3278. Was he a dog that barks ?—There was only this dog that made any alarm at the door ; the others were at the far off end about 50 yards off.

3279. (*Mr. Chance.*) When they fired the gun through the window you must have been in the room ?—Yes.

3280. That was the only place that you could be in when they fired the gun ?—Yes.

3281. After you went back after their threats did you try to come out again ?—Yes.

3282. Did you try to force the door open ?—Yes.

3283. Was it held by some man on the other side ?—It was held for a small time, just while he shot through the window, and then they made their way off.

3284. It was after you tried to get out and to force your way through that the shot was fired through the window ?—Yes.

3285. Were you in Simpson's employ when the bricks were destroyed in the year 1863 ?—No ; I was put on at the time after it was done.

3286. How long have you been in his employ altogether ?—About four years.

3287. (*Chairman.*) You say you saw one man who was near the cabin with the gun. Did you see more than one of them ?—I saw the shadow of two men.

3288. With guns ?—No, not with guns.

3289. One of them fired through the window ?—Yes.

3290. Did you see any of the other men with the gun ?—No.

3291. It was very dark, was it ?—Yes, at that time it was. They had picked their opportunity when the moon was just gone overcast.

3292. Had you been aware of any attempt being made before that ?—No, I was not aware of anything occurring of the sort.

3293. Have you been a watchman there long ?—About four years.

3294. And are you in the habit of having your revolver loaded every night ?—Yes.

3295. And a gun besides ?—And a gun besides.

3296. Was it a single-barrelled gun ?—It was a single-barrelled gun.

3297. What makes you keep them loaded ; is it for fear of outrages ?—Yes.

3298. And how long have you been in that fear of outrages ?—Ever since I was put on. I was put on after the first damage was done.

3299. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Have you ever been disturbed except this time ?—No.

3300. Did you show the inside of the cabin to the police ?—Yes.

3301. To what policemen ?—Fosbrooke was one, and George Marshall another.

The witness withdrew.

WILLIAM SLATER recalled and further examined.

3302. (*Chairman.*) Did you go last evening to the "Pack Horse ?"—Yes.

3303. You told us that you are president of the Stockport union, and as president have you the key of the box containing the books of the society ?—Yes.

3304. And the secretary possesses the other ?—No, the treasurer, Singleton.

3305. Singleton the treasurer has the other key ?—Yes.

3306. Whom did you go with ?—With Detective Sudley.

3307. You went to the "Pack Horse ?"—Yes.

3308. Did you bring the box ?—We helped him with it to the cab.

3309. That is the box, is it ?—Yes.

3310. Ought that box to have contained all the books of your club ?—Yes.

3311. And you brought it here ?—No, I did not bring it here.

3312. You gave it to him to bring in the cab ?—Yes.

3313. You did not see it opened ?—Yes, I saw it opened.

3314. Here ?—No, not here.

3315. Where ?—At the "Pack Horse."

3316. Before it was brought to-day ?—Yes.

3317. At the time it was opened was that book in it ?—No.

3318. It ought to have been there ?—It was taken out on Wednesday morning.

3319. By whom ?—Me and the other officer, Singleton.

3320. Why did you take it out ?—We gave it to another man to take care of.

3321. What was the name of the other man ?—Matthew Ainsworth.

3322. Why did you do that ?—We did not want to bring it here.

3323. Did you take out any other book ?—Yes.

3324. What book ?—A small minute book.

3325. This book (*showing the same*) ?—No, I believe that it has been made away with.

3326. You have not seen it since ?—Not since Wednesday morning.

3327. You took out that book also ?—Yes.

3328. To whom did you give it, to the same man ?—Yes.

3329. Who is he ?—A brickmaker.

3330. A member of your union ?—Yes.

3331. Where does he live ?—In Heaton Norris.

3332. How many books did you give him ?—Two.

3333. This one and the other minute book ?—Yes.

3334. Does that minute book contain the entries of the meetings that were held of your club ?—Yes.

3335. Is it a minute book of the meetings ?—Of the resolutions passed by the body.

3336. How many years did it go back ?—I cannot say.

3337. Can you give me any idea ; did it go back as far as 1860 ?—I daresay it did.

3338. Little more ?—I am not sure.

3339. Would it go back as far as 1857 ?—I cannot say.

3340. It might ?—I had nothing to do with it in 1861.

3341. No, but you knew the book ?—Yes.

3342. Did you never have the curiosity to look at it to see where it began ?—No.

3343. You think that it would go back as far as 1860 ?—Yes.

3344. That would contain an account of all the meetings and resolutions passed ?—Yes.

3345. The council meetings as well as the regular meetings ?—No, not every resolution of the council meetings.

THIRD DAY.

W. Slater.

6 Sept. 1867.

3346. But the quarterly and fortnightly meetings?—The quarterly meetings.

3347. Would it contain the fortnightly meetings?—No.

3348. What book would contain the council meetings?—That book would contain part.

3349. If you had a council meeting in a field and not at the "Pack Horse," would that book contain it?—No.

3350. Was it not the duty of anyone to enter it after it took place?—I never knew it to be entered.

3351. If any council meeting happened at the "Pack Horse," it would be the duty of some one to enter it there?—Some meetings, not all.

3352. You say it would be the duty of some one to enter the fact of a council meeting and the resolutions that took place at the "Pack Horse?"—Not every resolution.

3353. What difference did you make?—There were some resolutions which did not matter anything.

3354. Which were unimportant?—Yes.

3355. But such a resolution as to do the things which we have been talking of in Wild's case or Simpson's case would naturally appear there?—No.

3356. Is that of no importance?—Yes; but we only put regular minutes to go by for the future.

3357. What was the object you had in taking away a minute book of that sort, unless it contained something you did not wish to bring here. Now, I ask you what it did contain, you must know?—It contained a deal of things.

3358. There were some things in it, that you did not wish us to see or the world to know of, as the book was taken away. What is the nature of things that it contained which you did not want the world to know of, and for which you took it away. You must know, and you must answer that question, everybody will have an opinion about it and you had better answer it at once?—I cannot answer.

3359. You can surely, you and Singleton did not want that book to be brought here, and did not want us to see the nature of the resolutions passed at your meetings. Now I ask what was the nature of the resolutions which you did not want us to see?—By referring to the cash-book it would tell you.

3360. Is there any doubt whatever that resolutions in reference to any outrage would appear in that book?—I never saw one in.

3361. What was it you wanted to conceal?—We might have had some bother with the masters not allowing the men to go to work again.

3362. Would those appear in the book?—Yes.

3363. If you came to a resolution which you did at regular meetings of that sort, that Simpson's property was to be injured or Wild thrashed, did not you put it down?—No.

3364. There was no allusion to the name of Simpson or Wild in that book?—Yes; but not as to destroying his bricks.

3365. It would appear in the book as some resolution with respect to Simpson and Wild, but what was to be done did not quite appear, is that so?—There was a resolution passed that the men should not work for Mr. Simpson till he had paid the fine that was put on to him, but there was nothing about his property being destroyed.

3366. Supposing there had been a resolution that his property was to be destroyed would nothing appear at all of it?—No.

3367. Nothing at all?—No.

3368. What was your reason for wishing us not to see it?—It was not my objection personally.

3369. You had a strong desire if you helped to take it away. You must know what was the desire operating in your own mind that made you help to take it away. You must be consistent and tell the truth. It is obvious that you had some reason?—That was all the reason, because there were some things in it against the masters which we did not wish to be seen.

3370. There were resolutions against the masters which you did not wish to be seen?—Yes.

3371. Whenever there was any resolution for any outrage it would not appear?—No.

3372. Would a resolution appear for the payment of money for an outrage?—No.

3373. You came to a resolution that 15*l.* should be given in the case of Simpson?—Yes.

3374. Would nothing appear at all in the book about the resolution as to that amount of money?—No, there would not.

3375. Nor in any of the cases?—No, there would not.

3376. You have been secretary?—Yes.

3377. In what year?—In 1861 I believe I was; I am not sure.

3378. You were secretary in 1861?—Yes.

3379. This book begins in 1862. Where is the book of the disbursements of 1861; is it here?—I do not know.

3380. It ought to be in the box?—Not that I am aware of. It may have been done away with while I was away.

3381. What I ask you is this. Ought there not to be a book containing those entries of payments in 1861?—Yes, there ought.

3382. There are some entries before 1862; but I do not see myself the date of 1861. It is fairer to you to ask you to look at it and see if I am right. There are some entries previous to 1862 without a date?—(*The Chairman handed the book to the witness.*)

3383. Is there any part of that which you are now looking at in your handwriting. Look at the beginning because that is nearer to 1861. What year are you in now?—In 1867.

3384. Did you write anything in 1867?—Yes, there are some few items here in my writing.

3385. There is no entry there of yours in 1861, is there?—No, I cannot see one.

3386 The first date written is 1862?—Yes.

3387. Why were you afraid of this book being seen?—There was a deal of money paid that we could not explain what it was paid for.

3388. There was a deal of money that may not have an explanation on the face of it as to why it was paid, but is there anything which appears in the book that you are afraid of being seen; you must know?—Not that I am aware of.

3389. What made you take the book away; you were expecting this inquiry to take place. You went to the box with this other man, Singleton having the key of the box, and you took out two books and no more?—Yes.

3390. You told me why you took away the minute book; now I ask you why you took away this book. You must know; you had better tell at once?—There are things in it we did not wish anyone to see.

3391. Now as you say there are things in the book you do not wish anyone to see, and the book being here I ask you to point them out. (*The Chairman handed the book to the witness.*)

3392. Are they in your handwriting?—No, there are none in my handwriting, it was whilst I was in prison.

3393. Are those the only entries you did not wish to be seen?—Yes, it was not me personally who did not wish them to be seen.

3394. You helped to take it away. Who did not wish them particularly to be seen, Singleton?—I cannot say Singleton particularly. On Wednesday everybody met.

3395. Who met?—Every one summoned here met on Wednesday morning.

3396. You being one?—Yes.

3397. Was Singleton one of them?—Yes.

3398. Was Joseph Hulme one of them?—No, he was out of town at the time.

3399. Was Bailey one of them?—Yes, George Bailey.

3400. Was Holland?—Yes.

3401. And Holland Cheetham?—Yes.

3402. And you met on Wednesday morning?—Yes.

3403. Previous to coming here?—Yes.

3404. Was Robert Bailey there?—Yes.

3405. And you then discussed as to what books you would leave in the box and what you would take away?—Yes.

3406. And you settled that these two books should be taken away?—Yes.

3407. And you were not the person who particularly wished to take them away. Who proposed that the books should be taken away?—I cannot say.

3408. Was it the general feeling, did all of you agree?—Yes.

3409. What was the reason, you had better tell us; some of the others will tell us, if you do not tell us the truth?—There were some of the entries of sundry expenses which we could not explain.

3410. Somebody said there were so many items about sundry expenses?—Yes.

3411. Who do you think said that?—I cannot say.

3412. Yes you can, somebody we have no doubt heard it?—I do not know whether there was anyone there who should hear it.

3413. There were several items of sundry expenses which you did not wish to be seen?—Yes.

3414. We were told yesterday by Joseph Brown that when money was paid for an outrage, such as Simpson's case, it was put down under the head of "sundry expenses," that is so, is it not?—I do not know.

3415. Do not you know that it was? Was it known only to Joseph Brown, who told us yesterday that when payments were made for outrages such as in Wild's, Simpson's, and Thornley's cases, they were put in the book under the head of "sundry expenses"?—I have never seen it in this book.

3416. But you have seen it in a book?—No, I never have.

3417. Your only reason is what was given at the meeting of you all that this book should be taken away because there were entries in that book of sundry expenses that you did not wish the world to know?—It might have been since those three outrages that I had anything to do with.

3418. You told me that in the meeting on Wednesday last it was stated that that was the reason why the book should be taken out of the box, because there were entries of sundry expenses in it that you did not wish the world to see. That you have told us?—Yes.

3419. Have you any doubt of the sundry expenses being what Joseph Brown told us they were yesterday?—No.

3420. Have you looked through that book?—Yes.

3421. Can you now point out the entries of the sundry expenses in the book?—Yes.

3422. Show me one?—(*Here the witness handed the book to the Court.*)

3423. "Sundry expenses 2*l.*" Whose handwriting is that in?—Joseph Brown's, as near as I can tell.

3424. And "sundry expenses" on the opposite side of the page "4*l.*" that is in his handwriting?—Yes.

3425. "Sundry expenses" a little lower down "2*l.*," now this is July 29th, 1865. Sundry expenses I see on the page before 3*l.* 15*s.*, is that all the same handwriting, it looks to me the same?—I believe it is.

3426. "Sundry expenses 1*l.* 15*s.*, Sundry expenses 1*l.* 15*s.*, Sundry expenses 1*l.* 15*s.*," all those that are put down under that head relate to outrages you tell me?—No, I will not say that.

3427. You just said so?—I will not say it was every one.

3428. You have been both secretary and treasurer?—Yes; there was never any sundry expenses booked when I was secretary.

3429. You never made any entry of this sort of thing?—No, there has been money paid to mine and Cheetham's wives while we were in prison.

3430. That I am aware of. "Sundry expenses 1*l.* 15*s.* Sundry expenses 3*l.* 15*s.*, 1*l.* 15*s.*," and so on. Besides payment to your wife while you were in prison you have told me the sundry expenses you understood had been money paid for outrages. You told me so just now?—It perhaps might have been booked in that way.

3431. Have you any doubt about it?—I cannot be sure that it is so.

3432. Have you any doubt about it?—Yes, I must have a doubt about it.

3433. If the money was merely money paid to your wife for her support while you were suffering imprisonment that would not be the reason for taking away the book and preventing the world seeing it. Was that the reason alleged, that it contained these heads of sundry expenses which were money paid for outrages?—I daresay it is.

3434. Were not you treasurer in August 1864?—Yes.

3435. You were apprehended on the 3d of August. Supposing there was an item of 50*l.* drawn from the bank at any time, ought it to appear in that book?—I believe it ought.

3436. You were apprehended at the time and probably you would know, but if on the 5th of August 1864, you being apprehended on the 3rd, 50*l.* was drawn from the bank, that ought to appear in this book?—Yes.

3437. Whose duty would it be to enter it?—The secretary's.

3438. Who was the secretary at that time?—Joseph Brown.

3439. If on the 18th of August another 50*l.* was drawn, that ought to appear in the book?—Yes.

3440. In fact, whatever sum of money was drawn from the bankers ought to appear on this side as a receipt in the book?—Yes.

3441. If money was paid for an outrage, as far as you know, it must appear in some form or other to make the balance right before the auditor would allow it?—It ought to do.

3442. So I should have imagined. Now, as to the meeting on Wednesday, what time did you meet in the evening?—In the morning, previous to coming here.

3443. What else took place at that meeting besides the arrangement to take away two of the books?—Receiving money to defray the expenses for coming here.

3444. What else? Did you discuss the evidence you were to give?—No, I believe that was never mentioned.

3445. Are you quite sure?—I cannot swear to it.

3446. You were all of you union men who were acquainted with some of these outrages which have been mentioned; do you mean to say that you did not discuss them?—I believe not; me and Cheetham discussed them between us two selves.

3447. When did you do that?—On Wednesday.

3448. At this general meeting where you were all present, and agreed to take away two of the books, do you mean to say it was not there mentioned about the outrages that you would be called to speak upon?—No.

3449. There was nothing said?—Not that I can think of.

3450. Think again?—Not as to giving any evidence.

3451. There was some little discussion about the thing, no doubt; never mind the evidence, but there was some discussion about Simpson's case?—No, there was not.

3452. Wild's case of course you talked about?—No.

3453. Did you talk about Thornley's case?—No.

3454. Or any other?—No.

3455. Was the sole discussion then as to what books you should leave in the box, and what books should be taken away?—Yes, and receiving of money.

3456. From whom?—From the treasurer.

3457. Do you mean to say you have been paid by your treasurer?—Yes; we drew the money to defray our expenses here.

3458. You drew money from the treasurer of the union to defray your expenses here?—Yes.

THIRD DAY.
W. Slater.
6 Sept. 1867.

3459. How much ?—*5l.*

3460. Was that the sole discussion that took place, namely, the amount of money you were to draw from the union for coming here, and what books you were to take away ?—Yes.

3461. How long were you about it ? — Perhaps half-an-hour.

3462. You say that you had some conversation with Cheetham about the evidence you were to give here ?—Yes.

3463. Had you conversation with anybody else ?—I believe not.

3464. Will you swear you had not ?—I cannot swear, perhaps somebody overheard me.

3465. Have you since you have given evidence had some conversation with people about the evidence you have given ?—Yes.

3466. Have you seen Singleton since, and told him what you said ?—Yes; he saw it in the paper what I said.

3467. Never mind what he saw in the paper; have you yourself told him what you said ?—Yes.

3468. Have you told Joseph Brown ?—Yes.

3469. Whom else have you told ?—I believe I have told them all.

3470. Then you have had a meeting ?—No; we have all gone off together at night.

3471. And you told them what you said ?—Yes.

3472. You had this talk with Cheetham as to what you should say ?—Yes.

3473. You were examined the other day about Thornley's case ?—Yes.

3474. I think you stated at that time that you were present at the meeting before the injury took place ?—Yes.

3475. You, and Brown, and Singleton, and Hulme ?—I believe it was. I am not sure whether Singleton was there or not; I believe he was.

3476. Just remember yourself. We understand that you and George Hulme, and David Potts, and James Kay, were at a public-house at Heaton Norris ?—Yes.

3477. And you went together to the place ?—Yes.

3478. That was about three or four miles off ?—Yes.

3479. You were present when those bricks were destroyed ?—Yes.

3480. It is true that George Hulme, and David Potts, and James Kay were also present ?—Yes.

3481. I asked you about Simpson's case. I am not going to examine upon it again, because you told us in detail about it, but were you concerned in any damage to Simpson's property in the year before in 1863 ?—You asked, and I told you I did not know.

3482. You were not concerned in it ?—No; I never heard of it.

3483. You were not present at any resolution that you remember that took place about it ?—No.

3484. Is Hyde in the Stockport union district ?—No; it is not.

3485. I ask you again, have you told us all the outrages in which you were concerned ?—Yes.

3486. And all the meetings that took place at which they were proposed ?—Yes.

3487. Were you in office in 1863 ?—No, I was not in office at all in 1863.

3488. Do you remember the council ?—I do not remember whether a council was formed in 1863.

3489. What is this book (*handing the same to the witness*) ?—It was first bought for the Amalgamation Society between Manchester, Oldham, and Stockport. That has been broken up some years.

3490. Was that book in the box; did you take it out ?—No.

3491. Was it kept in the box ?—Yes.

3492. What were those leaves torn out for ?—I do not know.

3493. Did you ever notice the leaves torn out before now ?—No, never.

3494. Did you ever hear of an outrage at Adswood ? It is near Stockport, is it not, on the property of a person named John Potts ?—Yes, long before I entered the society.

3495. I mean a more recent one; three or four years ago ?—No.

3496. When was that ?—It was 12 years since, I dare say.

3497. I do not want to go into that, but did you hear of one three or four years ago at Adswood ?—No.

3498. Did you hear of an outrage at Adswood while you were a member of the society ?—No.

3499. Will you swear that you do not recollect anything of the sort ?—I do not recollect it now.

3500. I mean three or four years ago ?—I do not.

3501. Do you remember whether John Potts had any property injured about that time ?—No, I believe not.

3502. (*Mr. Barstow.*) You say you never heard that any outrage was committed upon Mr. Simpson's property in 1863, until you heard of it here ?—No, never.

3503. Have you asked anything about it since you were examined here ?—Yes.

3504. Of whom have you asked anything about it ?—With any of these that were summonsed with me from Stockport.

3505. Have you heard anything about it ?—No.

3506. Does anyone know anything about it ?—No.

3507. You live in Upper Hillgate, do not you ?—Yes.

3508. You lived there in 1863 ?—Yes.

3509. And was no inquiry made of you at that time ?—No.

3510. You have not spoken to anyone who knows anything about it, since you were examined here ?—No.

3511. (*Mr. Chance.*) Are your books open to the inspection of any of the union men ?—Yes.

3512. Can they see them at any time they like ?—Yes.

3513. That is, by asking for the key ?—At any meeting they can.

3514. There is an item of 30*l.* to A. A. A. Do you know what that is for ?—No.

3515. There is another sum some time ago of 10 guineas to a certain party ?—I have seen both of them.

3516. Do you know what they are for ?—No.

3517. (*Chairman.*) Do you know whose handwriting they are in ?—No.

3518. Just look at them and see; that is that one "A. A. A." (*The book was handed to the witness.*) —No—"to a certain party."

3519. Whose handwriting is that ?—It is very much like John Jackson's.

3520. Is he a member of the union ?—Yes.

3521. Has he been secretary ?—Yes.

3522. What year is that entry made ?—1862.

3523. Was he secretary then ?—He followed me as secretary in 1861.

3524. You were secretary in 1861, and he was secretary in 1862 ?—Yes.

3525. Look at the one "A. A. A.," whose handwriting is that in ?—I believe it is the same.

3526. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Is that the same John Jackson who was concerned in Simpson's job ?—No, that was Joseph Jackson. I believe I heard yesterday that Joseph Jackson was dead.

3527. (*Chairman.*) John Jackson is alive ?—Yes.

3528. (*Mr. Chance.*) Is that in 1862 ?—Yes.

3529. Have you seen those items before ?—Yes, at the "Pack Horse."

3530. Have you ever asked any thing about them ?—Yes.

3531. Whom have you asked about them ?—Joseph Brown, the present secretary.

3532. What did Joseph Brown say they were for ?—He said he could not make out what they were for.

3533. When was the first time that you saw them ?—Since I came home this last four months.

3534. Do you mean to say that you never saw those items before you were convicted ?—No.

3535. That book, as I understand, was in your

possession as secretary?—No; I was secretary in 1861.

3536. Were not you secretary after 1861?—No, I was treasurer.

3537. Were you never secretary between 1861 and 1864?—No.

3538. You had that book as treasurer as well as secretary?—If I had wanted to see if there was anything in it I could have it.

3539. Did not you take the trouble as treasurer to see the items in the book?—No, not to look back at them.

3540. Do you mean that you never looked at the book to see what the items were?—No.

3541. Though you were treasurer?—No, I did not.

3542. Can you conceive what the 30*l.* could have been paid for?—No.

3543. Must it not have been paid for some outrage of some kind?—I do not remember any outrage being committed at the time.

3544. If paid for any proper object, the matter would have been put down for which it had been paid?—It ought to have been.

3545. Do not you believe that the 30*l.* must have been paid for some improper object?—It looks very much like it; I cannot say whether it was or not.

3546. As to the 10*l.* to a certain party, I suppose as a general rule the party's name is given to whom the money is paid?—Yes, it ought to be.

3547. Do not you believe that that money paid to a certain party was paid for some improper object?—Yes.

3548. That was in the year 1862?—Yes.

3549. Do not you know what it was paid for?—No, I do not.

3550. On your oath you do not?—No.

3551. Have you not had conversation with members of your union as to what the 30*l.* was paid for?—No.

3552. Have you never heard Joseph Brown, or any other man, say what it was paid for?—No.

3553. That you are certain is in Jackson's handwriting?—No, I am not certain, but it is very much like his handwriting.

3554. Are there any other items in the year 1862 in that book put down to names not mentioned, or for sundry expenses?—I do not know.

3555. How much has your wife received; how much did she receive a week while you were away?—12*s.* 6*d.* a week.

3556. And Cheetham's wife the same?—No; I believe Cheetham's was 7*s.* I had two children and he had none.

The witness withdrew.

JOSEPH BROWN recalled and further examined.

3557. (*Chairman.*) When were you secretary or treasurer?—Secretary I was.

3558. When?—The last six months.

3559. Have you been so before?—Twice before.

3560. What years were those?—In 1864 it was.

3561. Six months in 1864 you say?—Yes.

3562. What were the other times?—I forget the dates now.

3563. In 1864 were you present at a meeting of the council when it was agreed that two books should be taken out of the box?—No, I had been away from home all the week; but I want to correct one little error I made yesterday, as to that cash-book: the last time I saw it was on Saturday last the 1st of September; I said a fortnight before.

3564. You saw this book last on the 1st of September?—Yes.

3565. You were not there on the Wednesday when it was taken out?—I was not.

3566. There are entries here in 1864, when you were secretary. Look at that; here is January 1864 (*handing the book to the witness*). Is that your handwriting?—Yes.

3567. Turn over through 1864, page by page, as far as you have gone; is it all in your handwriting?—Yes, up to here.

3568. What date?—Some of this is mine and some is not.

3569. Up to what date is yours?—The 5th of June.

3570. Did not you go on afterwards in 1864?—This is my handwriting again.

3571. What is the date?—June 25th.

3572. Go on and look how long your handwriting goes on; does it go on through August?—Yes.

3573. July, August, and September, I suppose?—Yes.

3574. It does?—Yes.

3575. Was it the order of business while you were secretary that the treasurer should tell you the money that he had paid, and that you put it down?—Yes.

3576. Is there any entry there of the payment of the sum of 15*l.* in the month of July or August 1864?—How much money?

3577. I said 15*l.*—I do not see any.

3578. Supposing 15*l.* had been paid for Simpson's case as is proved to have been, how would it appear in that book; you were secretary and all those entries are in your handwriting?—If it had been in, it would have been in "sundry expenses."

3579. Is there any entry there of "sundry expenses" at that time?—No, I see none.

3580. Then how was the book managed so as to make the expenditure of 15*l.* not appear there?—Because everything was not put in.

3581. How did you manage the balance?—I do not know.

3582. You ought to know?—It was done so that it would not be seen.

3583. If it was done so that it would not be seen, you must know how it was done. I beg that you will tell me; you were secretary at the time?—It was done by the bringing an incorrect balance over.

3584. Do you mean by making 15*l.* short on the one side, so that 15*l.* was not wanted on the other side to balance; is that what you mean? Take care what your answer is. You must know how it was done?—I cannot tell. In the month of July or August do you mean?

3585. Supposing 15*l.* was paid for the outrage in Simpson's case, as has been proved to be done, I ask you, all those entries being your handwriting, how it would appear in that book? You say that you tried to make entries as sundry expenses?—If it had been in I should put it down as "sundry expenses."

3586. Did you put it down in a lump sum or in small items as they happened?—In a lump.

3587. Then how can you account for it not being there when the money has been proved to have been paid by the union?—I cannot tell.

3588. You must tell; you know all about it?—I know there was money paid for that job.

3589. You keeping the books and being secretary, and the whole of that being in your handwriting, I ask you if it appears in the books?—I cannot see any items in it.

3590. Nor can we, and I want you to point out how it is. It is quite true that you cannot see it, because it is not there?—It would not be put in, and there would be a false balance.

3591. Do I understand you that there was 15*l.* omitted from the receipts of your members, and that therefore there was not 15*l.* to be accounted for on the other side?—I expect that must have been the way.

3592. You expect; you must know how it was done. If 15*l.* was omitted from the receipt side, then 15*l.* was not wanted to make the balance on the payment side. Was that the way it was done?—That must have been the way, to the best of my knowledge.

THIRD DAY.

J. Brown.

6 Sept. 1867.

3593. You have more knowledge than anyone else about it. I ask you, was that the way it was done?—I can only say that I think so.

3594. You put down a false balance?—Yes.

3595. You were secretary all through August?—You must understand that the secretary was sick at one time, and I do not know whether it was at that time or not.

3596. I speak of that which is in your handwriting. If money was paid—10*l.*, 12*l.*, or 14*l.*—for the outrage upon Wild, was that concocted in the same way? I expect it was.

3597. If money was paid for Thornley's case, 10*l.* or 12*l.*, was that done in the same way?—It would be.

3598. If there were any other outrages committed you would take good care that the payment of them should not appear in that book?—Yes.

3599. When you receive money from the bankers is it your duty to enter it?—Yes, it is my duty to enter what is expended, not what we take from the bank.

3600. The entries on both sides are yours?—Yes.

3601. There is an entry on one side of the receipts. You enter them in the course of your duty?—Yes.

3602. Your duty was to enter both the receipts and the expenditure?—Yes.

3603. On the 5th of August 1864 I find in your banker's book 50*l.* was drawn. That is the banker's book of your society?—Yes.

3604. Who drew the 50*l.*?—Three of us.

3605. You being one?—Yes.

3606. Who were the other two?—At that time James Jackson and John Gordon.

3607. You being one of the three that drew it, you told me that that money ought to appear on the receipt side of that book. Does it appear? You may look a long time, I think?—I cannot say whether it is in or not.

3608. Yes you can?—It should be in.

3609. It should be on the receipt side if you had it before you entered what it was expended for. Should not it be put down there that you had got the money out of the bank and got it into your hands?—It is generally put down there.

3610. Does it appear at all in that book that you received 50*l.* from the bankers on the 5th of August 1864? Are you looking at the right place? Look at the 5th of August 1864 for the money that was taken to hand and received by you and was being drawn by you. Does that appear in the book?—I cannot see it.

3611. Have you any doubt that that money was received by you?—I have no doubt.

3612. None whatever?—No.

3613. Have you any doubt that that money went in the payment of these outrages?—I have no doubt but what some did go.

3614. If 15*l.* was paid for Simpson's case and 14*l.* for Wild's that is 29*l.*, and 10*l.* is 39*l.*, does the balance of 11*l.* appear as received at that time. Does any money appear in that book as being received by you from the bankers by check?—I do not know. I have always entered everything to the best of my abilities.

3615. Yes, we understand your ability. Does any part of that 50*l.* appear in that book?—It might further on.

3616. It might or might not. Look as far on as you like. You have looked pretty hard, have you found anything?—No.

3617. Now I find on the 18th of August another item of 50*l.* was paid. Does it appear in the books?—It does not appear as drawn.

3618. Were you one of those who drew it?—Yes.

3619. How is it that it does not appear in the book? Did that go in outrages?—It has gone in other ways.

3620. That is a payment. I ask about the receipt side. If you kept the book right there would be on the 18th of August "received 50*l.*" and the other side would show how the money was spent?—The way I have made these books was so as not to alter the balance of what money we drew from the bankers or put in the books; the expenditure and income all went as one.

3621. That book professes to contain on each side the money that you received and had in hand. If you drew from the bank on the 15th of August the sum of 50*l.*, ought not it to appear in the book? You say, in the other case on the 5th of August, it would, but you thought it was spent in outrages. Do not you think the same of the second 50*l.* as well as the first?—No; money drawn from the bankers is generally put at the end by itself.

3622. Take the beginning, the middle, or the end of the book. Does it appear there what money you received from the bankers?—At that time it appeared to me there were more leaves in.

3623. There have been some leaves taken out, have there?—There has been more writing than there is here.

3624. You did not notice that those leaves were out on Sunday last, when you first saw the book?—No, I did not. I have not had it in my possession lately.

3625. Do I understand you to say, that though that book professes to contain the receipts on one side and payments on the other, you actually would enter a sum of money like 50*l.* at the end of the book as having been received, and not in its proper place?—Yes.

3626. Just lend me the book; just let me understand. You know that on this side is your income?—Yes.

3627. The money you received?—Yes.

3628. And this side your disbursements?—Yes.

3629. If you had a certain amount of money received from the bank, surely it appears on that side. Here is September, received from Ashton, 10*l.*, and Manchester 25*l.*, from Sheffield 27*l.*; contributions so much, and the carriers' fund so much. All the moneys that you receive are put down on one side. Do not you put on this side the money that you draw from the bank?—I do not.

3630. Never?—I cannot say that I never did.

3631. How did it appear in this book which is to check the bankers' book; did you have any check at all in this book as to the money you received from the bank?—At the end.

3632. You say at the end there ought to have been entered what money you drew from the bankers?—Yes.

3633. The leaves have been torn out, you account for it in that way?—I thought there were more entries.

3634. I understand that leaves have been torn out, and that is the reason why we cannot find them?—I mean I thought there were more entries there than what I see.

3635. Have leaves been torn out?—Not that I know of.

3636. Then ought there to have been an entry made, if you had done it according to your usual plan, at one end of the book or the other of this 50*l.* which you drew out on the 5th of August, and of the 50*l.* that you drew out on the 18th of August?—Yes.

3637. Is it your belief that that second sum of 50*l.* was spent in unlawful purposes which you did not wish the public to know of?—It is my belief that it was not.

3638. You say your belief is that the other 50*l.* was?—I think it might have been, part of it.

3639. It has been proved and sworn to that a certain sum of money was paid for Wild's, Simpson's, and Thornley's outrages. I cannot find them in the book, nor do I find an entry that you had this in hand. I ask you if it is not your belief that that money went in payment of outrages?—It is my belief that some of the items were not put down.

3640. I know that, but I ask you why they were not put down. Is it your belief that why they were not put down is that they were paid in outrages?—Yes.

3641. 100*l.* appearing to have been drawn on the

15th and 18th of August, I ask you how it is that you account for the non-appearance of the whole 100*l.*?—Would it be the time that we engaged Mr. Roberts?

3642. It might be that some part of it was for the payment of Roberts?—Yes.

3643. I find the payment of Roberts appearing. There is no object in concealing that; I have found it somewhere. Here is the payment to Mr. Roberts on October the 25th, 1864, 21*l.* You see the entry there?—Yes.

3644. There would be no object in concealing that?—No, I do not wish to conceal anything.

3645. There would be no object in concealing it from the books. There is no reason if you paid Mr. Roberts money why you should not put it down?—No.

3646. That does not explain the absence of your putting down the receipt of this money. You told me yesterday, that instead of entering the word "law expenses" you entered "sundry expenses," and the reason of that was that you being no scholar made the entry of the law expenses as "sundry expenses?"—Yes.

3647. Is that so?—Yes.

3648. What greater difficulty have you in writing "law" and writing "sundry;" one is a little longer if anything than the other?—It was done to mix these outrages altogether so that no one would know.

3649. And you have done it effectually in that way?—Yes.

3650. So that we do not know, looking at the book, anything about it?—No.

3651. Having told us this clever mode, tell us how you did it. You separated the money and put it under different heads so that no one might know?—Yes.

3652. So that nobody can tell anything by looking at that book?—That is the way we did it.

3653. Then there may have been a good deal more money paid for these outrages that we cannot find out. I find now 100*l.* that is not accounted for; you may as well tell us about it?—Very probably Mr. Roberts can tell you; he has had more than 100*l.*

3654. Never mind Mr. Roberts.—He has had more than 100*l.*

3655. Can you, looking at your own handwriting, give us an account of about how much there is for outrages, which we do not understand?—Altogether?

3656. Yes.—It is a long time since; I cannot tell exactly.

3657. It would be done in that sort of way, so as to hide it?—Yes.

3658. But surely you can mention to me what other outrages there were if you choose?—I do not know of any.

3659. Yes you do?—I know there have been outrages done.

3660. So do we. Simpson's case, Wild's case, and Thornley's case have all been spoken of?—There were some more years back.

3661. I do not want to go back more than 10 years.—I do not know of any others.

3662. Do you know anything of Simpson's in 1863?—Yes.

3663. What was paid for that?—I have forgotten the dates.

3664. In 1863 what was paid; were you secretary then. Just see?—No, I was not then.

3665. Can you tell by looking at the entries of those sundry expenses, about May or June 1863, whose handwriting that is?—George Mycock's.

3666. Is that his handwriting?—Yes.

3667. Was he secretary then?—Yes.

3668. Look at May 1863?—May 1863 is in my handwriting.

3669. You are at home in that. Is there anything appearing there?—No, nothing.

3670. Nothing suspicious?—That is not my writing further on.

3671. Is there anything there which leads you to expect that there was some regular money paid in 1863; are there any sundries?—I see none here.

3672. Any payments to "certain parties;" do you see the payment to "A. A. A."?—No.

3673. Have you gone through 1863?—No, not yet.

3674. Have you got through the months of May and June?—I see none.

3675. Are there entries there in the regular course of business?—It is not my writing.

3676. But you can read?—Yes.

3677. Are there any sundry expenses?—I see none.

3678. And nothing of that sort?—No.

3679. (*Mr. Barstow.*) You see no irregular entries in the months of May and June; is that so?—I was just looking for any items I was asked about.

3680. You see no entries which are not in the regular course of business?—I do not see any.

3681. (*Chairman.*) Now look at that entry; whose handwriting is that; is that Jackson's?—Yes, John Jackson's.

3682. There is an entry there, "A. A. A. 30*l.*" Does not that look rather suspicious?—Yes.

3683. It is very suspicious?—Yes.

3684. Have you any doubt that it was paid for some outrage?—This is the month you were talking of.

3685. No, it is 1862?—It is John Jackson's writing.

3686. You have no doubt that that is a payment for an outrage?—I have no doubt but what it is something of that sort.

3687. Turn to a few pages on where the paper is put in, do you see a payment there to "a certain party?"—Yes, "10*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.*"

3688. Have you any notion who the certain party was?—No; that is Jackson's writing again.

3689. Have you any idea now?—Yes, it is for the same purpose in my opinion.

3690. It is for the same purpose you think?—Yes.

3691. Have you any idea who the certain party was?—No.

3692. That is 1862, is it not?—Yes.

3693. What month is it?—They have not put the day of the month, but it must be September, because October comes immediately after.

3694. When you became secretary you assumed a different plan; you did not put "payment to a certain party," but you did it in the way you mention?—Yes.

3695. (*Mr. Chance.*) To those two items there is a cross in blacklead pencil; did you put that there?—No.

3696. Who was treasurer at that time?—In 1862?

3697. Yes.—I cannot say, it is so long since. We change the treasurer every three months.

3698. Have you any document by which you can give us the names of the council at that time; were you a member of the council then?—There was a minute book that had the names in it.

3699. Were you a member of the council at that time?—I cannot say.

3700. How long have you been a member of the union?—About 14 years.

3701. Did you attend the meetings that took place in the year 1862 and 1863?—There are general meetings regularly in the summer season especially, and every general meeting we all have to attend.

3702. Did you ever see those books during 1862 or 1863?—Yes.

3703. You did?—Yes.

3704. You saw the items contained in those books?—Yes.

3705. Then you saw those items to which your attention has just been called?—Yes.

3706. Have you ever made any inquiry as to what those items were paid for?—I do not know that I have particularly.

3707. Did you do so not particularly?—I cannot say.

3708. 30*l.* is a large item to appear in that way?—Yes.

3709. Did not you make an inquiry as to what it was paid for?—I cannot say that I did.

THIRD DAY.

J. Brown.

6 Sept. 1867.

3710. Can you say that you did not?—I cannot say that I did not.

3711. You say that you noticed the amount, do not you know whether you asked what the items were paid for?—I should do if I were the president.

3712. You saw them although you were not the president?—I have seen these items many a time which you have in that book.

3713. Surely you have asked what the items were paid for?—I suppose for the purpose just mentioned.

3714. But if you supposed it was for the purpose you mentioned, why did not you inquire for what purpose it was? You saw them, as I understand, in the very year in which they were entered?—Yes.

3715. And you inquired for them in that year for which they were entered?—I did not say that.

3716. Did you not hear in 1862 of any outrages having been committed?—Where were they?

3717. I do not know. Did you not hear of any outrages committed in the year 1862 in connexion with your union?—Simpson's would be in 1863, I think.

3718. I speak of 1862?—There was one at Burchenall's.

3719. Where is that?—In Heaverly, Stockport.

3720. Was that about the year 1862?—I do not know whether it would not be longer since.

3721. Might it have been in 1861?—Yes, it might be.

3722. Do you know whether money was paid for that outrage?—Yes, I believe money was paid for that.

3723. Might that 30*l.* have been paid for that outrage?—It might.

3724. Then if that 30*l.* had been paid for that outrage, it would have been permitted by your union?—Yes.

3725. Did you never speak of that outrage to any person about that time?—No.

3726. Was that item of "A. A. A. 30*l.*" in 1861 or 1862?—1862.

3727. And 10 guineas to a "certain party" was in 1862, was it not?—Yes.

3728. The 30*l.* is before that?—Yes, it is before that; there is no month or date here.

3729. Yet do you imagine from that book that it would be in the year 1861, or in the same year 1862?—I cannot tell, there is no date; it is not my writing.

3730. I understand that the outrage you speak of did not take place then, but there must have been some outrage for which the 30*l.* was paid. Now what was that?—I cannot tell.

3731. Have you any notion of what the outrage was, for which the 10 guineas was paid?—I have no idea.

3732. Has your curiosity never induced you to ask who the "certain party" was?—No.

3733. Have you allowed yourself to remain in ignorance as to what it was paid for?—Yes.

3734. You have noticed the items several times?—Yes, I have seen the items.

3735. Have you ever asked what it was for?—I might have done, I know it is Jackson's writing.

3736. Can Jackson tell us?—He would be the likeliest man.

3737. (*Mr. Barstow.*) You say that you are aware that an outrage was committed at Simpson's in 1863?—Yes, I believe it was in 1863.

3738. Do you know that another outrage was committed at the same place in 1864?—Yes, I know there were two, I do not know the dates exactly.

3739. I am now on the outrage committed at Simpson's in 1863, the first?—Yes.

3740. Did you hear it at all talked of before it was committed?—Yes, I do not know whether it was in 1863, but that was the first one.

3741. Where did you hear it spoken of?—In the club room.

3742. Did you hear it concerted?—Yes.

3743. That was in the club room?—Yes.

3744. Was it then concerted who was to carry it out?—Yes.

3745. Was it then concerted what money was to be paid for it?—I believe it was, but I forget the amount.

3746. Who was to carry it out?—William Singleton.

3747. Was William Singleton there?—I do not know.

3748. I mean was William Singleton in the club-room when it was concerted that he was to cary it out?—Yes.

3749. Was any other name mentioned except William Singleton as the person who was to carry out that outrage?—No.

3750. No one?—No.

3751. I suppose it was left to him to get whomever he could or whomever he chose to go with him to do it?—Yes.

3752. You do not remember what sum was named?—No.

3753. But some sum was mentioned?—Yes.

3754. Could you say about what sum it was?—About 10*l.*

3755. Are you aware whether that sum was paid?—I believe it was.

3756. Do you know whether it was paid?—I do not know.

3757. You do not know anything about how it was paid or who paid it?—The treasurer would pay it to Singleton.

3758. Do you know who was the treasurer at the time?—In 1862?

3759. On the 8th of May 1863.—I cannot say now.

3760. Could you tell from the book?—No, I have no idea.

3761. (*Chairman.*) Just look at that letter (*handing the same to the witness*). Is that your handwriting?—Yes.

3762. Who was Schofield, the person mentioned in the letter?—I do not know.

3763. I think you said that it was your handwriting?—So it is.

3764. To whom is it written?—James Kay.

3765. What was your object in writing to him?—According to what that says.

3766. Who is Schofield, the person mentioned here?—I do not know him.

3767. How came you to write the letter?—I had instructions to write it.

3768. From whom?—I forget now.

3769. From the union?—Yes, either from the brick-makers or the bricklayers.

3770. It is 1863 or 1865, October 21st was the date of the letter?—Yes.

3771. Then you had instructions from the union to write this letter?—Yes.

3772. "I am informed that there is an execution "out against Schofield," what do you mean by that?

The letter is as follows:

"Stockport, Oct. 21st 1865. Sir—There is a man "in the name of Schofield with his two sons brick-"laying near the Stockport Railway Station, at a "place where there is a strike of our bricklayers on "acct. of the amalgamation between them and our "society, and I am informed that there is an execu-"tion out against Schofield. Please to enquire and "if so give information, it will be a means of taking "him away."

In the first place I ask you what was the information you had about the execution against Schofield?—He was out of the way for a debt.

3773. Who was Schofield?—I do not know.

3774. He was a bricklayer apparently from this letter?—Yes.

3775. "If so give information, it will be a means "of taking him away," where from?—His work.

3776. What work was he at?—He was using Simpson's bricks. I wish you to understand that the masters were continually upon us to see what means could be done to compel Simpson to pay as much for his bricks as they did.

3777. The masters were continually upon you to see if they could compel Simpson to pay as much for

his bricks as they did, is that what you say?—Yes, that was one cause of some of these outrages.

3778. How was Simpson not paying as much money as the others?—He did not pay as much for his labour.

3779. Then if Simpson was not paying as much for his labour as others, he employed non-union men?—Yes.

3780. And the other masters employed union men and paid more for their labour?—Yes.

3781. Was Schofield working for Simpson?—Yes.

3782. You were instructed to ask for information and wrote to James Kay for that purpose, that if he gave that information he would be the means of taking Schofield away from the work that was going on for Simpson; that is the meaning of the letter?—Yes.

3783. You tell me that you wrote this letter at the request of your society?—Yes.

3784. Had you a meeting for the purpose?—There must have been some kind of a meeting.

3785. Was it in consequence of some resolution of your own union meeting?—It would be a meeting of the bricklayers and brickmakers.

3786. It was a meeting of the two?—Yes, there must have been some conversation between the two.

3787. It says "at a place where there is a strike of our bricklayers on account of the amalgamation between them and our society?"—Yes.

3788. Do I understand you to say that there probably had been a joint meeting of the bricklayers and brickmakers, and that in consequence of that you wrote for information to James Kay with a view of getting Schofield away from Simpson?—I cannot say whether there was a joint meeting or not, but there must have been a kind of meeting.

3789. That is what you mean?—Yes.

3790. Did your union act of its own accord, or did it act according to the suggestion of any other union?—Yes.

3791. It was a suggestion of your own union?—Yes.

3792. It was because the masters who ought to have employed your union men paid higher wages than Simpson who employed the non-union men that you wanted to get Schofield away?—Yes.

3793. Your object was to stop Simpson having any labour?—Yes.

3794. (*Mr. Barstow.*) I understand you to say that this letter was written at the instigation of the masters?—No, not that letter.

3795. Then I am wrong, it is my mistake?—Yes.

3796. (*Mr. Chance.*) Do you know of a place called Port Wood?—Yes.

3797. Do you know a brickmaker of the name of Bromilow there?—Yes.

3798. Did you hear of an outrage being committed upon him?—Yes, sometime since.

3799. Do you remember about how long it is since it was committed?—Eight or nine years.

3800. Was that an outrage committed in connexion with your union?—I do not know.

3801. Do you know whether it was an outrage committed at the instigation of any union in Stockport?—I do not know.

3802. You know no particulars about it?—I do not.

3803. You do not know whether any money has ever been paid in respect of that outrage?—I do not.

3804. Have you heard it spoken about?—I have heard it spoken about that his shed was partly burnt.

3805. Then you have heard it spoken about?—Yes.

3806. Have you discussed it with other persons?—No.

3807. How long ago is it since you heard about it?—Eight or nine years since.

3808. Did you hear of it at the time it took place?—Soon after.

3809. Then your attention was called to it?—Yes, by talk.

3810. Can you remember whether it was talked of as being in connexion with your union?—I cannot tell.

3811. Just think?—I do not know.

3812. A thing of that kind would strike you when you heard of it?—Yes, it would strike me, but I know nothing about it.

3813. What is your belief? Do not you believe that it was in connexion with your society?—It is my opinion that it was.

3814. It is your opinion that it was in connexion with your union?—Yes, as far as I think.

3815. Do you know a place called Gatley?—Yes.

3816. Do you know a person named Thomas Clayton, a brickmaker?—Yes.

3817. Did you hear of any outrage being committed upon him?—Yes, there was one on him once.

3818. You have heard of more than one?—I cannot be certain whether there was more than one.

3819. There may have been more than one?—Yes.

3820. Within what period according to your own recollection did those occur?—Four or five years ago I cannot tell exactly.

3821. Can you speak of your own knowledge whether those were in connexion with your union?—To the best of my opinion they were.

3822. Do you know what those outrages were?—No.

3823. Do you know for what the injury was done?—No.

3824. Were you a member of the union at that time?—Yes.

3825. Were you in office at that time?—I cannot tell.

3826. Can you tell us who committed those outrages?—I cannot tell.

3827. Do you not know who was believed to have committed them?—No.

3828. Now think?—I cannot tell at all.

3829. But you believe that they were committed by members of your union?—Yes, I do believe so.

3830. Do you believe they were committed in consequence of some dispute of some kind with your union?—Yes.

3831. And that they were in fact union outrages?—I believe so.

3832. Do you know a place called Bradbury, near Stockport?—Yes.

3833. Do you know Samuel Wilkinson, a builder?—Yes.

3834. Have you heard of any outrages having been committed upon any property belonging to him?—Yes.

3835. How long ago were those committed?—I cannot tell.

3836. About how long?—Seven or eight years.

3837. Do you believe those to have been outrages in connection with your union?—I do.

3838. Can you tell us who the people were who committed those outrages?—No.

3839. Do you recollect whether more than one was committed?—I cannot now. I rather think there was more than one.

3840. Do you remember at all what the nature of the injury was that was committed?—Trampling bricks.

3841. Anything else?—I cannot remember now.

3842. Can you give us any notion as to who the people were who committed that outrage?—No.

3843. In that case you believed them to be in connexion with your union?—Yes.

3844. And that they were outrages committed for trade purposes?—Yes.

3845. I suppose in all these cases you had discussed and talked about them?—They have been discussed, no doubt.

3846. Can you tell us whether any money was paid for them by any members of your union, whom you know of or have heard of or have seen: I will take the cases at Bradbury?—I do not know, but I believe money was paid.

3847. Do you believe it from the probability that it was, or had you heard that it was?—From the probability.

3848. And it was money paid for the outrage at Gatley, near Cheedle?—Yes, I think so.

3849. Is that for the same reason, or have you any

THIRD DAY.

J. Brown.

6 Sept. 1867.

reason for knowing that money had been paid?—It is from the same reason.

3850. And you say the same for Bromilow and Port Wood?—Yes.

3851. And you believe that all these outrages were outrages in connexion with trades and with your union?—Yes.

3852. Can you give us no further particulars as to those outrages?—No.

3853. Can you give us the names of the members of your union who were in office at those times?—I cannot.

3854. Have you no means by which those names can be furnished to us?—There was a minute book in the box, and it had a list of the men's names when they were in office.

3855. To what time did that minute book extend?—Almost up to the present time.

3856. From what time?—I cannot say when they commenced.

3857. Did that go back so far as 10 years?—I think not.

3858. Did it go back as far as eight years?—Probably it might.

3859. Do you know where that minute book is?—I expect it is in the box.

3860. It is neither of the books we have here?—No.

3861. Is it a larger book than we have here?—Yes.

3862. A thicker book?—Yes, it is larger and thicker than the biggest.

3863. When did you last see that book?—Last Sunday.

3864. Was it in the bottom of the box?—Yes.

3865. When you went to look at the box, who was with you?—The officers and the auditors.

3866. Who took the book out of the box?—I cannot tell.

3867. If it is not in the box, it has been taken out since you saw it?—Yes.

3868. (*Chairman.*) Were you in office in July of this year?—Yes.

3869. Did you pay any money to a person named Edward Barrett?—There were two of us; the other man carried the money.

3870. Who was the other?—Thomas Holland.

3871. You and Holland paid some money to Barrett in July of this year?—Yes.

3872. How much?—20*l.*

3873. What for?—For recompense for the damage they had done.

3874. Barrett had received some damage?—Yes.

3875. What sort of damage; had his bricks been destroyed?—Yes.

3876. And you and Holland paid him some money out of the union fund?—Yes.

3877. How came you to pay him for that damage?—Because there was him and Mr. Bailey; they had two yards close to, and they said they would stop their jobs if they had not some recompense made. They did not like to go on with the work and run the risk of being spoiled, so we offered to make them this remuneration provided they let the men work.

3878. How is it they expected their work to be spoiled?—They expected retaliation from the Manchester brickmakers.

3879. They were in anticipation of the Manchester brickmakers spoiling their work?—Yes.

3880. Was that at Didsbury?—Yes.

3881. What was the reason of their expecting that the Manchester union men would destroy their works? Because we had taken a yard at Levenshulme which they would not work on, and we went to work on it, and the Manchester men did not like it, and we think that the Manchester men thought that they had done it for retaliation.

3882. Levenshulme is a middle place between you and the other union?—Yes.

3883. You dispute to which district it belongs?—It is the bricklayers' dispute.

3884. There is that dispute between you?—Yes.

3885. Barrett said that he would not stop to work there because if he did he expected the Manchester brickmakers would injure his work?—Yes.

3886. Therefore you went in to guarantee him that you would pay for any of his property that should be injured?—Yes.

3887. Had some property of his been injured when you paid him this money?—Yes.

3888. Therefore you paid him 20*l.*?—Yes.

3889. Did he employ any Stockport union men?—Yes.

3890. You, believing that the damage to his property had been done by the Manchester men, recompensed him to the extent of 20*l.*?—Yes.

3891. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Do you know whether Barrett or Bailey had sold bricks from the Stockport district into the Manchester district?—I believe Bailey had. There were bricks from that district going into the Manchester district, and the Manchester district did not like it.

3892. Is there a rule among the brickmakers that the brickmakers of one district may not sell their goods in the other?—It is in Manchester, not with us.

3893. Is it the case that a Manchester man may sell his bricks in Stockport, but a Stockport man may not sell his bricks in Manchester?—It is like two questions; I cannot answer them both together.

3894. You say there is such a rule in Manchester?—I think so.

3895. You think there is a rule in Manchester among the brickmakers that no man, not making his bricks in the Manchester district can sell his bricks in Manchester?—That bricks made out of the Manchester district are not allowed to come into Manchester to be sold.

3896. I understand you now to say that you have no such rule in Stockport?—No, we let them go anywhere.

3897. Consequently, bricks made in Manchester may be sold in Stockport?—Yes, sold and sent to Stockport.

3898. Do masters ever insure their brickyards in your union?—No.

3899. Do they make you any consideration for which you guarantee them from any damage done to their bricks?—We have guaranteed them now that if damage is done to yards at Levenshulme we will pay them two-thirds.

3900. They do not make you any payment?—No, we have asked them.

3901. You guarantee them without any payment being made?—Yes, it is only our society.

3902. (*Mr. Chance.*) Is it a general guarantee, or is it confined to Levenshulme?—Any outrage that might be done by the Manchester men on account of our infringement, we guarantee to pay two-thirds.

3903. Does it apply to other places besides Levenshulme?—Yes, to any master in our district.

3904. You say that this injury was done by the Manchester people; can you give us the names of any people who were likely to do it?—No, we only think that it is done.

3905. You do not know of any names of those whom you believe have done it?—No, only this Kay.

3906. Do you know who it was that did the injury to Bailey or Barrett?—No, I do not.

3907. (*Chairman.*) Do you know a place called Bramhall, near Stockport?—Yes.

3908. There is a Mr. Thornley living there, not the same Thornley who lives at Heaton Norris?—I know John Thornley who lives there.

3909. What is he, a brickmaker?—No, a publican.

3910. Is there any brick manufacturer there of that name?—No, there was a few years ago.

3911. He is a different man from the one who lives at Heaton?—Yes.

3912. Do you remember an outrage being committed there some years ago?—Yes.

3913. How many years ago?—10 or 11.

3914. Do you think it is more than 10?—Yes.

3915. Are you sure?—No, not quite sure.

3916. As you are not quite sure I may ask you what was the nature of that outrage; was it damage to bricks?—Yes.

3917. Were you a member of the union?—Yes.

3918. Do you remember any resolution about it?—No.

3918*a*. You do not know anyone who did it?—No.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to to-morrow at 11 o'clock.

FOURTH DAY.

Assize Courts, Manchester, Saturday, 7th September 1867.

PRESENT:

PERCIVAL ANDREE PICKERING, Esq., Q.C.
THOMAS IRWIN BARSTOW, Esq.
GEORGE CHANCE, Esq.
JAMES SHEIL, Esq., Secretary.

PERCIVAL ANDREE PICKERING, Esq., Q.C., IN THE CHAIR.

JOSEPH HIBBERT sworn and examined.

3919. (*Chairman.*) You understand what you have come here for?—I am aware of that.

3920. I want to tell you that if you speak the truth and make a full and free disclosure of all you know, you will be entitled to have, and we shall readily give you, an indemnity for any offences which you have committed; but if you tell what is false you are still liable to be not only prosecuted for perjury, but liable to be prosecuted for any of the offences to which you have been a party. Let me warn you as I have done at starting, and also warn you that we have some information that you are not aware of. What are you?—A brickmaker.

3921. How long have you been so?—I have been nearly 40 years in the brick business.

3922. You are a contractor?—I contracted for this job.

3923. You seem to have an acute notion of the job you are going to be asked about. I have not spoken of any job yet. Are you a member of the Manchester trade union?—Yes, and have been above 30 years.

3924. Do you fill any office there now?—No, and never did.

3925. Never in any way, have you?—No.

3926. Have you been in the habit of attending their meetings?—Yes.

3927. How often do they hold their meetings?—There is pay night in summer every Saturday night, and once a month in winter.

3928. And when you meet for your pay night is there a meeting in which you discuss these things?—No, there is not. It is a burial society that we pay money to.

3929. But in addition to money for that purpose which nobody finds fault with, is it also a society for the protection of your labour?—There is a general meeting.

3930. For that purpose?—Yes.

3931. How often do those meetings take place?—They take place the same as they might take place in this matter, when a man falls on edge with the master when the master engages men the same as I did in Levenshulme, that was on the 7th of May.

3932. Do not go into particulars. I ask about the general course of business, have you meetings in which you discuss all trade business?—Yes, and there was a meeting then.

3933. You have general meetings on trades business?—Yes.

3934. How often do you hold them?—When it is necessary.

3935. What do you mean by necessary. When you have heard of anything affecting your trade you call a meeting?—Yes, the parties who are disinterested.

3936. Disinterested?—Yes, there are parties that are interested and parties disinterested, and they meet together to consider what is to be done.

3937. Does it often take place?—When these things occur.

3938. Do these things occur often?—Not very often.

3939. Do they occur pretty often?—Yes.

3940. Have you any council?—I never saw any council myself.

3941. Having been a member of the union club for 30 years, do you mean to say that you do not know whether there is a council formed or not?—No, I have never heard of it.

3942. Have you heard of the committee?—It is a district man; there is what we call a key and a box, and there is a safe, and the safe is inside the box; there are six keys to the lock, and each man holds one key, and we call them so many committee men.

3943. Are there six committee men?—Yes.

3944. Are these six committee men in the habit of meeting?—They never met to my knowledge, except when they took money on Saturday night.

3945. Were you ever on a meeting?—No.

3946. When any person interested or disinterested wants to talk of the trade are you summoned to the meeting?—No, I think the whole body at large knows.

3947. You know from communication with each other?—Yes, one tells another.

3948. In order to meet you must agree upon a day to meet?—Yes.

3949. Who has the authority of fixing the day?—These committee men I suppose.

3950. If there is anything to be done of that sort, the whole body is called together by some member of the committee, and you meet and discuss the question?—Yes.

3951. Have you a book in which you enter the resolutions come to at those meetings?—I cannot say.

3952. Yes, you can. You must have seen the book?—I have not.

3953. You must have done so?—There is a book where the parties' names are in whom we pay our money to.

3954. What do you keep in the box for which there are six keys?—The whole of the money until we take it to the bank.

3955. Do you keep books?—Yes.

3956. What books have you got besides those with the names of the subscribers?—A ledger and cash-book.

3957. There is no minute book of these meetings?—No.

3958. You never heard it spoken of?—No.

3959. Have you a book in which payments are regularly entered?—Yes.

FOURTH DAY.

J. Hibbert.

7 Sept. 1867.

3960. Whose duty is it to keep it ?—The president and secretary.

3961. Who is president at the present moment ?—I could not tell that although I am a member.

3962. Have you ever known a single president whose name you remember ?—Yes, one.

3963. Who was the last president but one ?—I could not tell you his name, because from my being contracting I have not been there.

3964. When did you last attend a meeting of the club ?—This week.

3965. Who was in the chair ?—I could not tell you his name.

3966. How many attended would you say ?—I cannot tell, speaking correctly.

3967. When was that last meeting held which you attended ?—This week, on Thursday night.

3968. We are now on Saturday, so that it was two days ago ?—Wednesday or Thursday night ; it was Thursday, I think.

3969. And upon your oath you state that you do not know who was in the chair ?—No.

3970. How many were there ?—A great many.

3971. 100 ?—More.

3972. 200 ?—More.

3973. Did you discuss this inquiry that was coming on ; of course you did ?—There was something said about it ; it was more on my case.

3974. I suppose you made a speech ?—No.

3975. Did you say anything ?—No, I never spoke at all.

3976. Who did ?—Several parties.

3977. Tell me one ?—I could not mention their names.

3978. You can mention them ?—I could not.

3979. You do not mean to tell me that you have been 30 years a member of the club, and that a meeting having taken place on Wednesday or Thursday night last you cannot tell the names of the persons who were present ?—I could tell a good many.

3980. Was Kay there ?—No, he was not there. I had two sons there.

3981. Never mind your sons. You cannot say who was in the chair ?—No.

3982. Who is secretary ?—I cannot tell.

3983. You swear that you cannot ?—Yes.

3984. Have you a treasurer ?—There is a secretary and president and a sub-secretary.

3985. Where do you have your meetings ?—In our own place.

3986. Which is your own place ?—A small hall built in Lower Millgate ; it is a public-house.

3987. What is the name of the public-house ?—The "Crown and Cushion."

3988. Is the box kept there ?—Yes.

3989. Who is the landlord of the public-house ?—They call him Samuel Wood.

3990. And the box is regularly kept there is it ?—Yes.

3991. In your room where you meet ?—No, it is kept in another room ; we meet in our own place but we take the money there.

3992. When I asked you where you meet I understood you to say in the "Crown and Cushion," in Millgate ?—To take payments.

3993. Wait a moment ; is the "Crown and Cushion" in Millgate ?—Yes, it is.

3994. Is it the place where you take payments ?—Yes, it is.

3995. Is there any other place where you meet for any other purpose besides the "Crown and Cushion"? —Yes.

3996. Where ?—At the hall that we built.

3997. Where is that hall ?—A few yards from the "Crown and Cushion."

3998. Then the box is kept at the "Crown and Cushion" ?—Yes.

3999. Is it brought each night to the hall which you built ?—No, it is never brought ; not that I have seen.

4000. Can you tell me the name of any one man on the committee ?—No, I cannot ; I have been three or four years and have not been there at all.

4001. That is immaterial. I ask can you tell me the name of any man now on the committee ?—No, I cannot.

4002. What is Wood's christian name ?—Samuel, I believe ; that is the name over the door.

4003. You have not any meetings at the "Crown and Cushion," but your meetings are held in that hall ?—Yes. I have never been to a meeting since 20 years ago.

4004. You do not know the name of any man on the committee now ?—No.

4005. I ask you again to tell me the name of any one man who was there on Wednesday or Thursday night ?—There were a great many there that I know, and there were a great many there that I did not know. I can mention an odd one or two that were there ; there was John Saunders there.

4006. Did he speak ?—No, I never heard him speak.

4007. You mention the silent men ; cannot you mention those who spoke ?—There were a great many that I do not know.

4008. But there are many that you must know; being a member for 30 years and attending a meeting two or three nights ago, you mean to say that you cannot tell me who was there ? Your own case was discussed in which you took an interest ?—It was not discussed.

4009. You said it was mentioned ?—I went there on account of it and I could not get it on.

4010. They had other things on, they did not come to your case ?—No.

4011. What did they talk about ?—Many a thing, such as funerals, about a man being blind, that was struck blind by the thunderstorm.

4012. I daresay ?—It is a fact.

4013. I do not dispute it. What else did they talk about, you were not deaf on that night ?—No.

4014. You heard what took place ; do you mean to swear that nothing was said about the inquiry which was about to come on or which had come on, and nothing was said of any cases connected with your union ; take care what you are about, you must know. Your memory is very good as to something having been said about a funeral, but very deficient about anything else ?—The first Monday in September was our quarter day. I was not there, it was an adjourned meeting till last Thursday night there was ; very little business done then, only choosing officers ; it was adjourned till last Thursday night, and then adjourned again. It was not adjourned but it got to 12 o'clock, and they closed it. They only settled their business last Thursday night for quarter day.

4015. You mean to swear that nothing at all was said about your case or any case of that description ? —I did try to mention my case.

4016. What did you say ?—I will tell you the truth and nothing but the truth. I wanted my case brought on, it was on the 7th of May when I struck, and I wanted paying for my labour and my men wanted paying. Mr. Roberts is here : he has my contract.

4017. I am not asking you about that, I ask you about the Manchester Union Club, what it the name of your club ?—Sick and funeral society.

4018. The Manchester Sick and Funeral Society ? —Yes.

4019. I want the name right, is it the Manchester Sick and Funeral Society ?—"The Manchester Brickmakers' Burial Society," and then we have a sick fund in each district.

4020. Is the name "The Manchester Brickmakers' Burial Society" ?—Yes, but each district keeps its own secretary.

4021. Is that the whole name ?—Yes.

4022. What did you say about your own case there ?—I could not get it on. I only named it to certain parties.

4023. What did you say ?—I named that the strike being on the 7th of May I thought it was high time

that I was paid by these parties. That is Aitken Brothers.

4024. Was anything said about the evidence which you were to give here?—I was not aware that I was coming here.

4025. Have you a brother?—Yes.

4026. What is his christian name?—William.

4027. Is he a member of that club?—Yes, and he is a brickmaster.

4028. How long has he been a member of the club?—20 years or more.

4029. Was he ever on the committee?—No, he never was, not in our trade.

4030. This club I speak of?—Of this brickmakers' club?

4031. I speak of that.—My brother belongs to the Brickmakers' Protection Association as well.

4032. But he is a member also of this club?—Yes.

4033. Is he in any office in this club?—No.

4034. Or has he ever filled any?—No, he never has.

4035. You were employed, were you not, as contractor to make some bricks for Mr. Aitken?—Yes.

4036. When was it, in May of this year?—Yes, May, and April I commenced.

4037. It was in May this year when you began to make the bricks?—Yes, in April.

4038. Was this at Levenshulme?—Yes.

4039. Is there a dispute between your club and the Stockport club as to which district Levenshulme is in?—Yes, I believe there is.

4040. Has there been a dispute for some time?—I believe only last season, and that was the first I heard of it; I have made bricks there 500 yards further 20 years ago.

4041. Never mind that, answer my question. There has been a dispute between your club, the Manchester club, and the Stockport union as to whether Levenshulme is in the one district or the other?—Yes, I believe there was with the bricklayers.

4042. And with the brickmakers?—It was through the bricklayers that the brickmakers struck. This is the truth.

4043. It had better be the truth for your own sake; there has been a dispute between the two clubs as to which district it was in?—None till then.

4044. The first time you heard of the dispute was in April or May this year?—It was when I was connected with the town.

4045. I do not ask that, I ask was that the first time you heard of the dispute between the two clubs?—Yes, on the 7th of May.

4046. You never heard of it before?—Yes, I heard of it when a man named Cox——

4047. Never mind that; when did you first hear of the dispute between the two clubs about the Levenshulme district?—I took that job in January.

4048. It was in January that you first heard of it?—Yes, when I first took the job. I must tell the truth.

4049. You need not make such constant assertions about telling the truth, because if you do not you will be liable to punishment.—It was on the 26th of January 1867.

4050. That was the first time that you heard of the dispute between the Manchester and the Stockport clubs as to which district Levenshulme was in?—Yes; it was the time that Mr. Aitken objected to sign my paper which is here. I should like your honour to see it.

4051. It was in April that you began to make bricks for Aitken?—Yes.

4052. How long did you continue making bricks?—Till the 7th of May.

4053. How many weeks; two or three weeks?—Five or six I think it is, from the 6th of April to the 7th of May.

4054. What made you stop?—A bricklayers' delegate and a brickmakers' delegate came round and asked——

4055. Wait a moment. A bricklayers' delegate came round. Who is that?—I do not know him. I never saw him in my life.

4056. Who told you that a bricklayers' delegate had come round?—He came himself to me.

4057. You know him by sight?—I can tell him if I see him.

4058. You never saw him before or since?—No.

4059. What did he say to you?—He went to the bricklayers——

4060. Never mind that. What did he say when he came to you?—I went round with him after.

4061. Never mind that. I ask you what he said when he came to see you?. It is no use shuffling.—I am not shuffling. He would not say anything to me till he went round to the bricklayers. It was our delegate who spoke to me.

4062. Who is your delegate?—A man named Kay.

4063. What is his duty as a delegate?—To go round, I suppose, and look after business.

4064. What do you call business?—To see that things are conducted rightly.

4065. What do you call rightly?—Looking after a man getting paid, and that his wages are right.

4066. To see that the wages which you think right are paid?—Yes.

4067. Kay came to you?—Yes, and Lister too.

4068. Kay came to you?—Yes, and Lister.

4069. What is Lister?—It seems he is a bricklayers' delegate.

4070. Is he the man you spoke of, whom you said you did not know just now?—I know him no more than this, when our delegate told us his name was Lister——

4071. I asked the name just now, and you said you did not know, but that you should know the man if you saw him again.—Yes, I might know him again if I saw him.

4072. You just now mentioned his name. Is Lister the name of the man? You said just now that you did not know, though you might know him again.—This Kay told me.

4073. You might have mentioned that before.—I was not aware of it.

4074. You understood from Kay that Lister was the name of the bricklayers' delegate who came to you?—Yes.

4075. And Kay came to you?—Yes.

4076. What did he say to you?—He said we must stop work.

4077. How many men had you at work then?—I had two moulders and their gangs, and my men three in a gang, and a boy and a woman, at each job, and then I had two men and a boy at my own.

4078. Altogether how many were there?—Thirteen or 14.

4079. Kay told you that you must stop work?—Yes.

4080. Did he say why?—I said I would not.

4081. But he said why, did he not?—It was this Lister said that.

4082. What did Lister say?—Lister and me went to see this bricklayer.

4083. Did he say anything?—No, he said, "You come along with me."

4084. Did you know why Kay told you that you must stop work?—I did not at first.

4085. You had no notion why Kay told you you must stop work?—I do not know particularly.

4086. Without being particular, did you know it?—I had heard through Cox going away from this job, and Luke Robinson going too.

4087. What was the reason that Kay told you you must stop work?—On account of these men not drawing their card out of the Stockport club.

4088. The men you were employing?—No, the bricklayer's men.

4089. The bricklayer's men who were employed at this same job?—Yes, they were employed under the same firm.

4090. In consequence of the bricklayer's men not drawing their card out of the Stockport club?—Yes, and Lister went round and asked each man.

FOURTH DAY.

J. Hibbert.

7 Sept. 1867.

4091. Never mind that. I ask you the reason, what do you mean by drawing a card out of the Stockport union?—Drawing a card out of the Stockport union and throwing it into Manchester. The men had finished that job; they could draw it out of Manchester, and throw it into Stockport without any expense.

4092. The complaint was that the bricklayer's men had been drawing their card out of the Stockport club?—Yes.

4093. What does drawing a card out of the Stockport union mean?—It means that they were members of the Stockport union.

4094. These men were members of the Stockport union, and Kay came and recommended that you should not work with them?—Yes.

4095. Does drawing their card mean anything more than that they are members of the Stockport club?—No; we thought if we could compromise the matter about the strike we would see this Robinson.

4096. Never mind that; I want to know what passed?—We went to Robinson, and Lister asked each man.

4097. You, and Lister, and Kay went away together; where did you go to?—I have not done with that; because we went to Robinson; when we went to Robinson he flew up and said he would have nothing to do with it. He is a contractor for the bricklayers.

4098. Is he a Stockport union man or a Manchester union man?—The old man is no union man himself, though he had bricklayers of Stockport union working.

4099. Who spoke to him?—I did.

4100. You must remember what you said?—I said, Cannot we settle this matter? The clerk of the works was with me, and Robinson huffed up his leg and went away, and there was no more said.

4101. He did not give you any answer?—I do not think he spoke.

4102. What did Kay and Lister do upon that?—We struck work.

4103. You obeyed Kay's orders?—Yes.

4104. You and your 14 men struck work?—Yes.

4105. That was the reason why you struck?—Yes.

4106. Having struck work you did not take it up again at all?—I went to have my work measured up, they proffered to pay me, but we never came to any terms.

4107. Where are you working now?—Mr. Higgins's, at the back of the assize court.

4108. You do not know at all who were in office at any time while you were a member of that club?—I knew plenty, but there are many dead.

4109. Is nobody living?—Yes.

4110. You knew the dead ones and not the living ones?—Yes, I know one that is living.

4111. Out of the 200?—There are above 1,400.

4112. All you know is one living out of 1,400, besides Kay and your brother?—I know many of the members, of course.

4113. Have you ever heard this matter talked of at the meetings, about the Stockport men being employed at Higgins's works?—Yes.

4114. You have heard it talked of at a meeting of the Manchester club?—Yes, I was there myself; I have every right to be.

4115. You were there?—Yes.

4116. When did you hear it talked about?—Very soon after the strike we had a meeting.

4117. Was it before you struck work at Aitken's?—No, it was after.

4118. You never heard it talked of before?—No further than when Mr. Aitken signed that paper.

4119. When was that?—He signed it on the 26th of January.

4120. Did you hear it talked of then?—Mr. Aitken said he would sooner have Manchester men than Stockport men. He said it was rather strange that Manchester brickmakers should be making bricks in this field, and his works were only the width of the cart road off, and to be setting the bricks by Stockport bricklayers, and he wished the two unions to come to a decision which should have it, and he signed my document and I drew the money that day and they specified in the paper that if any strike should arise in the building trades that the said contractor should be paid. Mr. Aitken signed that; it is here, and you can look at it if you think proper.

4121. Then after you had struck work you remember a discussion being brought on at your club about it?—Yes, of course.

4122. You remember a discussion afterwards at the club about this strike?—Yes.

4123. How long after was that?—Soon after.

4124. The strike took place at what time?—On the 7th of May.

4125. And soon after that there was a meeting of the club?—Yes.

4126. Was it a large meeting?—There were not so many, there might be a couple of hundred.

4127. Did you speak there?—Yes, I called the meeting.

4128. What is the mode of calling a meeting?—I called it on my protection.

4129. Did you issue cards for it?—No; me and my two sons went round and called a meeting.

4130. Whom to?—We went to the men and warned them.

4131. To above 200 men?—Yes.

4132. Now you know who was the president?—No, not then; not his name.

4133. How long had you known his face?—I had known him long.

4134. 30 years?—No, there is a great many young ones got up since I entered it.

4135. Is the president a young man or an old man?—A young man.

4136. How long had you known him?—Not long.

4137. Five years?—I did not know him at all, not particularly, because I had not been to any meetings.

4138. You summoned him?—Warned him.

4139. Warning is summoning, surely; you must know his name, or did you only warn him because you knew his face; you had better be careful what you are about; you are trying to evade every question, and are giving a great deal of unnecessary trouble, and other persons will come and show the sort of character you are. You are now on your oath, and you tell me that you do not know who was in the chair that night, or who the president was, although you actually warned him to come to the meeting?—No, I did not know the man myself.

4140. Nevertheless you warned him to come?—No.

4141. You said so?—Perhaps I might warn him, and yet there might be another president, the man is ill and does not attend.

4142. Still the man who came there and sat in the chair that night was the man you yourself warned?—Yes, perhaps I might have warned him.

4143. Do you mean to tell everybody that you do not know what his name is?—No.

4144. Where does he work?—Yes, I know that.

4145. Where?—On Ashton Road.

4146. Was he there when you warned him?—No, he was drinking when I warned the job.

4147. Where was this man when you warned him who was in the chair that night, whose face you know, and whose name you say you do not know?—He might have been in some beerhouse.

4148. That is no answer. Where was he when you warned him?—I do not know; we warn one and the one warns the other.

4149. Did you or not warn the man that was in the chair?—We call it warning.

4150. Did you warn him or not?—I did not see him till I was down at the meeting, we call it warning a job, one man tells another.

4151. How many men did you warn yourself, leaving them to tell the others; there were 200 present?—There might be more.

4152. How many men did you yourself warn, 50?—I am bound I did.

4153. You do not know who was in the chair;

what did you say that night?—I told them how I was situated and about these parties striking, and I thought it very hard. I had a large family and I wanted some recompense, and I asked what way I had better act to get my money.

4154. What did they say?—They said I must leave it over.

4155. Did they agree to give you anything?—No, I never received a penny.

4156. You have been at meetings before when there has been a talk of about how much money a man was to have; you have been at meetings of the club when there has been a resolution passed about the men receiving some money?—No, not in my presence.

4157. That you swear?—Yes, I was never at a meeting in which there was anything of that sort.

4158. And never heard any outrage talked of?—No.

4159. Where you have been you never heard it?—I never was at any outrage.

4160. I did not ask you that, have you been there when some of the men have talked about it?—No.

4161. Did you ever hear of what was called the Rusholme outrage?—Yes.

4162. When was that?—A good many years ago.

4163. Can you give me any notion, is it about five years ago?—It will be more, near 1851, very likely.

4164. Do you remember anything of that sort in the year 1862?—No.

4165. Have you ever heard of any outrage or disturbance at Rusholme during the last 10 years?—I heard it reported that some men went into Mr. Smith's brickyard to spoil some bricks.

4166. Is that near to Rusholme?—Near it.

4167. When did you hear of it?—Lately, when it occurred.

4168. When did it occur?—About that time, in 1862. Mr. Smith was a brickmaker, in Rusholme.

4169. You remember hearing of that outrage?—Yes.

4170. How many bricks did you hear were destroyed?—There was none.

4171. Did not they attempt to do it?—No, it was not an attempt.

4172. Were some men apprehended?—I believe two or three at the "Red Gate" insulted the police.

4173. There were some apprehended?—There were some at Rusholme apprehended. I heard of that.

4174. You did a little more than hear of it?—No, I did not.

4175. Did not you try to bail them out?—No, my brother bailed them out.

4176. That was five years ago you think?—I believe it is.

4177. I believe Rigby succeeded you in your job, did not he?—Yes, I believe he did, Rigby and Hill.

4178. (*Mr. Barstow.*) In your club can anyone who likes call a meeting?—If they are members. Some men are in the habit of getting drunk, they spend the man's wages, and does not pay him, then we call a meeting and make him pay him.

4179. My question is, can any member of the club call a meeting when he likes?—Yes, if he has any grievance.

4180. Can he whether he has a grievance or not?—No, not that I am aware of. I only think not. If he has a grievance he calls a meeting.

4181. He calls a meeting if he wants a meeting?—Yes.

4182. How does he call a meeting?—He goes round and warns them of it as I have explained.

4183. That is all that is necessary to call a meeting, to go round and warn them of it?—Yes.

4184. Whom does he warn?—He warns those that are members.

4185. Does he warn all the members?—Sometimes they are out of a job, and he cannot warn them.

4186. How does he warn them?—He runs round warning them; perhaps it takes a day or two to warn them.

4187. 1,400?—There may be about that number.

4188. Has every member notice when a meeting of this kind is called?—If he lights on them at the work; sometimes they are at beerhouses drinking, and they do not know of the meetings.

4189. Then some know of the meetings, and some do not know?—Yes, they warn one another.

4190. It seems to me in practice that a man may summon to a meeting anyone he chooses to summon?—Yes; they should all come, but sometimes they do not all come; sometimes they are off drinking. There have been many meetings that I have not heard of; sometimes I have been four years and never heard of a meeting.

4191. (*Mr. Chance.*) You told us that you knew many men who are now dead who have been officers of your society?—Yes.

4192. You also said that you knew one living?—Yes.

4193. Who is the man living that you know?—I think Jonathan Lomas was one.

4194. What office did he hold?—I think he was president.

4195. (*Chairman.*) When?—It is sometime ago.

4196. (*Mr. Chance.*) How long ago was he president?—It will be a couple of years ago.

4197. Two years ago?—Yes.

4198. You know some others who were either president or secretary?—Yes; there is a party in Manchester, Samuel Owen, who was president; he is a blind man now.

4199. You remember them now very well?—There are others I do not know.

4200. When was he president?—I should say that is 10 or a dozen years since; he has been a publican since then; he is a living man now.

4201. You know who has been president?—No, I was away in South Wales four years, in Cardiff.

4202. How long ago is that?—About five years ago.

4203. You have been a member of the union for the last five years?—I was a member then all the time.

4204. You have attended meetings the last five years?—I was never out of being a member, or out of benefit for 32 years.

4205. Are you constantly seeing the workmen?—Yes.

4206. And working with them?—Yes.

4207. Do you know the names of the men whom you generally employ?—Yes.

4208. Have you ever seen any of the men whom you work with act as president of the society?—No.

4209. Is there any reason why they should not be president?—No, they get elected by a majority which shows who stands.

4210. When you go to the meetings, do you go there in good time before the meeting begins?—Nine o'clock is the opening time.

4211. What is the course of proceedings when the members meet together, is some one called to the chair?—The president takes the chair.

4212. Is his name called out, Mr. So-and-so shall take the chair?—No, I never heard the name; there are parties who go in there, and do not know who is president or secretary.

4213. Supposing the president is not there?—Another man takes it.

4214. Then his name is mentioned, is it not?—No; they never mention that, not whenever I have been.

4215. How is it said? A certain party is to take the chair, or how is it done?—There are three that sit together, the president, secretary, and sub-secretary, and perhaps a friend takes the chair.

4216. Was the president there on the 7th of May when you warned the people to attend?—Yes.

4217. Who was he?—I do not know.

4218. Had you ever seen him before?—Yes; I had seen him before, but not to know him personally.

4219. Have you ever spoken to him?—No; there are many hundreds in our concern that I do not know at all.

4220. At the meeting of the 7th of May you asked

FOURTH DAY.

J. Hibbert.

7 Sept. 1867.

what was to be done?—No; it was not the 7th of May; it was when we struck work, and our meeting would be sometime in June.

4221. When did your meeting take place after the striking?—It would be about the 15th of May or some days shortly after the strike.

4222. You said just now that it would be in June?—No, some malicious damage had been done on the 15th of June.

4223. When did the meeting take place the first time after you struck?—Shortly after.

4224. About the 7th of May?—It was not the same week, it was the week after we struck, and we struck on the 7th of May.

4225. And it was a meeting that you called together?—Yes.

4226. At that meeting which you called together you complained of the injury which had been done to you?—Yes.

4227. And you asked them what should be done, is that so?—Yes.

4228. Were any suggestions made as to what should be done?—No, they said I must abide by my own loss. I must stand it, and I said I would sue the parties for damages.

4229. Did any man suggest any other mode of procedure?—Yes, two or three, but it did not carry.

4230. What did the two or three say?—That I should be recompensed, and it passed off.

4231. I dare say the other members had some other proposition?—Yes, they said it was a hard thing that I should lose the summer's or year's work which I should have done. I should have had 120*l.* to have drawn, and I had nothing.

4232. There was no other suggestion?—No, I came out. I never went to a meeting till last Thursday night again.

4233. Were there any hard words said against the Stockport union?—The delegates, Kay and Lister, and some of them went over to Stockport at that time; I did not go with them.

4234. Did Kay and Lister go after the meeting?—They went to Stockport to have a meeting there.

4235. Did they go to Stockport after the meeting?—Yes, Lister and Kay, and the president of the bricklayers' association.

4236. Who is he?—I do not know.

4237. It was after the meeting which you warned?—Yes, they went to Stockport and had a meeting, and came back again; they had a council meeting in Stockport, the bricklayers altogether.

4238. Was any meeting called after the 14th or the middle of May about a dispute between the Stockport and the Manchester unions?—Not that I am aware of; there might be delegates attending backwards and forwards to Stockport. I never went to one.

4239. Was anything said at this meeting you speak of about doing anything to the Stockport men?—No, I never heard anything.

4240. On your oath?—On my oath I never did.

4241. Was there any proposition?—No propositions that I heard of when I was in, but Kay and these parties went to Stockport and they would not have me with them.

4242. You heard of the damage being done to the bricks?—Yes. Mr. Aitken sent me a letter.

4243. Do you know by whom it was done?—No.

4244. On your oath?—No, I wanted to draw my money, and Aitken said to me, What about the bricks? I said, What had I to do with the bricks, when I made the bricks for you they were counted on the flats.

4245. When was that?—After the 15th of January, when the first outrage was committed, and 4,500 bricks were damaged.

4246. (*Chairman.*) Where?—At Levenshulme. I went to him and he said, What about the bricks. I said What have I to do with the bricks; when I made the bricks you counted them on the flats, and it would be very likely some of the men did it. He offered to give me 13*l.* provided I signed a paper, and I would not do so.

4247. Did he accuse you of having damaged the bricks?—No.

4248. Do you know who did some of that damage?—No, I do not.

4249. On your oath were not you there yourself?—I do not know who did it; if the men had gone to do the damage they might have done 100 times more, but to go and spoil 4,600 bricks was another thing. There is no doubt that Mr. Aitken would have paid me that money that day if this damage had not been done.

4250. Was not that damage done in consequence of some dispute between the Manchester and the Stockport unions?—I really think that the Stockport union men did it themselves, though I cannot prove it; that is my opinion about the job.

4251. Are you a member of the Manchester union?—Yes.

4252. Why should the Stockport people have destroyed the bricks?—I cannot say; that is only my opinion. I cannot prove it.

4253. Is it often the case that bricks are destroyed without any reason?—No, I never did hear tell of any.

4254. What reason was there for the Stockport men destroying their bricks?—I think on account of them forcing themselves on. They came there after. Mr. Aitken engaged them.

4255. Why should the Stockport men destroy the bricks?—It is only my opinion; I only think it.

4256. You must have some reason; what is it?—Because they agreed to pay me, and that work was carried on for three weeks out of the Stockport club.

4257. That is no reason why they should destroy the bricks?—No, but to cause us ill-feeling.

4258. Have you not heard it spoken of among the men as to who destroyed the bricks?—No, I do not think they who destroyed the bricks would tell me, the contractor. They kept everything from me, I being the contractor.

4259. (*Chairman.*) I understand you to say that you attended a meeting which you called on the 15th of June 1867 about some malicious damage that was done?—No, it was on the 15th of June that it was done.

4260. Is that the damage of which you have been speaking?—Yes, the 4,600 bricks.

4261. Did you attend the meeting that took place afterwards?—It was before that that the meeting was which I attended.

4262. Was there any meeting afterwards?—No, not that I am aware of. I never attended any meeting till last Thursday night.

4263. You never attended any meeting in which anything of this sort was discussed?—No.

4264. Where did you live in the year 1862?—In the same place that I live in now, Saville Street, opposite the City Gaol.

4265. Where does your brother live?—I made a mistake. We lived opposite the City Gates, and we have shifted.

4266. Did your brother live at the same place as you in 1862?—No, he lived in Clew Street.

4267. Where you lived in 1862 was opposite the City Gates?—Yes.

4268. You lived there at that time?—Yes.

4269. You mentioned that your brother bailed the men who were apprehended?—Yes.

4270. Who were the men that were apprehended?—One of the name of Donnelly and Thornley.

4271. There were two?—I do not know of any other. It was for insulting the police.

4272. They were apprehended?—Yes, and a man named Ellis, he was apprehended in Rusholme.

4273. Where did these men, Donnelly and Thornley, live?—At Dalton Bridge.

4274. Near you?—Perhaps half a mile off.

4275. Where is Clew Street?—At West Gorton.

4276. Half a mile off you you say they lived; did

they all live in the same place ?—Donnelly and the others lived in Gorton Bridge.

4277. Was Peter Manning the man that was apprehended ?—He lived in Gorton Road.

4278. Was James Kelly apprehended ?—Yes.

4279. Did he live in Ardwick ?—Yes.

4280. Where did Donnelly live ?—At Gorton Bridge.

4281. Was a man named Comer apprehended ?—He was apprehended.

4282. Where did he live ?—In Ashton Road.

The witness withdrew.

JOSEPH RIGBY sworn and examined.

J. Rigby.

4283. (*Mr. Barstow.*) What are you ?—A brickmaker.

4284. Are you a member of any union ?—No.

4285. In June of this year were you employed to make bricks for Messrs. Aitken and others ?—Yes.

4286. At Levenshulme ?—Yes.

4287. Were Messrs. Aitken engaged in any building there ?—Yes, they were putting some buildings up yonder for printworks and dyeworks, I think.

4288. You contracted to make their bricks for them, did you not ?—Yes.

4289. How many men did you employ ?—Sixteen besides me and my partner.

4290. That is to say there were 18 altogether ?—Sixteen, lads and all.

4291. Do you know whether any of them were union men. You employed both union and non-union men, did you not ?—They all paid into the Stockport union at the time.

4292. They were all members of the Stockport union ?—Yes.

4293. Do you remember some bricks being destroyed ?—Yes.

4294. When was that ?—It was somewhere about the 15th of June, I think; somewhere there.

4295. When did you first hear of the bricks being destroyed ?—One Sunday morning.

4296. How soon after they were destroyed ?—The day but one after. I do not know whether they were destroyed on the Friday night or the Saturday morning; it was on Sunday morning that I heard of it.

4297. Did you go and see ?—I went to see them on Sunday morning.

4298. Could you tell how they had been destroyed ? They had been destroyed by trampling on them.

4299. How many people had been engaged in trampling upon them ?—There looked to be about five or six footmarks.

4300. How many bricks were destroyed ?—4,500.

4301. What was the value of them ? What amount of damage was done ? — They cost me 7*s.* 8*d.* per thousand, and it cost me 2*l.* to take them away again.

4302. 2*l.* of damage was done ?—Yes.

4303. Was any of your plant destroyed ?—No.

4304. At that time were you aware of any difficulty between the Stockport and Manchester union ?—There was a disagreement between the Stockport bricksetters and the Manchester brickmakers.

4305. Were those bricksetters in the employment of Messrs. Aitken ? — They were employed under Luke Robinson.

4306. They were building, however, for Messrs. Aitken ?—Yes.

4307. What was the dispute ?—The Manchester brickmakers and bricksetters wanted to take that place. They thought it belonged to their union, and the Stockport brickmakers thought it belonged to them.

4308. You used the word "bricksetters" just now; are they the same as the brickmakers ?—No; the brickmakers and the bricksetters are different.

4309. The bricksetters and the bricklayers are the same, are they not ?—Yes.

4310. Then both the Manchester brickmakers and the bricksetters thought that the work ought to be done by Manchester men ?—Yes.

4311. Do you know to what union the bricksetters belonged ?—Upon Messrs. Aitken's work ?

4312. Yes.—To Stockport.

4313. Both belonged to Stockport ?—The bricksetters did.

4314. Did the bricksetters and brickmakers both belong to Stockport at that time ?—Yes.

4315. Did the Manchester men make any attempt to get the work of making the bricks there ?—Not that I am aware of. They never attempted anything while I had been there.

4316. How do you know then that they claimed it ?—When first I went to it there was a strike, and the men came to me and wanted to know whether I would engage to make the bricks there.

4317. And who was the man that was there before you ?—Joseph Hibbert.

4318. Joseph Hibbert had been making bricks there for Messrs. Aitken ?—Yes.

4319. And his men were Manchester men ?—Yes.

4320. Then the Manchester men went away, and you came with the Stockport men ?—Yes.

4321. How long was that before those bricks were spoiled ?—Well, I am sure I cannot tell you. I think I started making bricks somewhere in May or the beginning of June. I believe it was in June when I first started making.

4322. Do you know a man named James Kay ?—Yes.

4323. Did you see him about this time ?—He has been into the yard several times.

4324. Had you any talk with him about this dispute ?—No, he never said anything to me all the time he came in.

4325. Did you ever hear him say anything ?—I did hear him say once that he could hang all the Stockport union for 100*l.*: that is all I ever heard him say.

4326. What did he mean by that ?—I cannot tell you any more; that is all that I heard him say.

4327. Was that an angry expression; had it any meaning ?—He turned himself round and walked away as soon as he said it. I cannot tell you any more.

4328. Did you hear him say anything about the Stockport Old Church ?—No.

4329. Have you had other bricks damaged ?—Yes, last Wednesday night but one, or else Thursday morning.

4330. What damage was done ?—19,920 bricks were damaged, but we saved what we could out of them.

4331. Have you any idea what that was for ?—I have no idea what it was for, except it is the same as the other was.

4332. Did you examine the spoiled bricks ?—Yes.

4333. I suppose they had been trampled on ?—Yes.

4334. What amount of damage in money was done ?—It cost me 7*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

4335. Did you give information to the police ?—Yes.

4336. Did they detect anyone ?—Not that I have heard of yet.

4337. How many people had been engaged in it ?—There was about six or seven different footmarks.

4338. Could you trace the people any way ?—We could trace the people going across the corner of the brickyard and crossing the Gorton Brook Road, just about 30 yards. We could not trace them further.

4339. Could you trace them all the way along the road to Gorton ?—No, we could not trace them any further.

4340. Did you trace them in the direction towards Gorton ?—Yes.

4341. Had you any quarrel with anyone ?—No.

4342. You are good friends with all your neighbours are you ?—Yes.

FOURTH DAY.

J. Rigby.

Sept. 1867.

4343. And you can give no reason for this damage being done to your property except on account of the dispute between the two unions?—No.

4344. Have you ever sold bricks out of the district?—Mr. Aitken has not that I am aware of.

4345. You do not sell bricks?—No.

4346. You do not know that Mr. Aitken has ever sold bricks out of the district?—No, not that I am aware of.

4347. Have you had any dispute with the Stockport men?—No.

4348. They are all working with you now?—Yes.

4349. (*Mr. Chance.*) Do you suppose that the damage done to the bricks was done by a member of the Stockport union?—I cannot say who it was done by.

4350. Was there any reason why the Stockport men should have done the damage?—No, not that I know of. There was no reason with me that I know of.

4351. There was no reason why the Stockport union should do the damage?—No.

4352. But was there any reason why the members of the Manchester union should do the damage?—There was no reason but this dispute between them.

4353. It was a dispute between the Manchester and Stockport unions?—Yes.

The witness withdrew.

P. Johnson.

PETER JOHNSON sworn and examined.

4354. (*Mr. Chance.*) Are you in Messrs. Aitken's service?—Yes.

4355. Are you working for Mr. Rigby?—I am working for Mr. Aitken.

4356. Mr. Rigby is the contractor for Mr. Aitken, is he not?—Yes.

4357. And you are working in Mr. Aitken's employ?—Yes, I work for Mr. Aitken.

4358. Were you working for Mr. Aitken in June of this year?—Yes. I was working for Messrs. Aitken in June and after Whitsun week when this first lot of bricks was spoiled. I engaged with Rigby as a night watchman to watch for about four or five hours a night, from 10 till 2, and when the nights got rather longer from 10 till 3 o'clock.

4359. Are you a Stockport man?—No, I am a Levenshulme man.

4360. Are you a member of any union?—No.

4361. Neither of brickmakers nor of bricklayers?—No.

4362. Do you remember some damage being done to Mr. Rigby's bricks?—Yes.

4363. That was on the night of the 14th of June, was it not?—It was from Whitsun Friday night to Saturday morning that the bricks were destroyed.

4364. Had you heard previously to that of any damage being likely to be done?—Well during the time that I was watching there was a watchman that Mr. Aitken employed to watch over the works.

4365. Who was that?—His name was Anderton, and he was along with me from 10 to 3 or from 10 till 2 in the morning, and he told me this after the first lot was spoiled. There is a cabin in the brickyard, and we were both standing by the cabin door.

4366. When was the first lot destroyed?—The first lot was destroyed on the 14th of June.

4367. But before that destruction had you heard anything about any damage being likely to be done?—No, not before the first lot was spoiled. It was after the first lot was spoiled that I engaged watching with Rigby.

4368. Then you had not been watching before the first lot was spoiled?—No, it was after.

4369. Had you been in Mr. Rigby's employ at all before the 14th of June?—Yes, I had worked there for a few months.

4370. But not as a watchman?—Not as a watchman.

4371. You are sure you heard nothing about it until the 14th of June?—Yes.

4372. You are quite certain about it?—Yes.

4373. What was the first time that you heard anything about this matter?—It was a fortnight after Whitsun Sunday when I started watching, and as we stood at the side of the cabin door, he said, he had had word sent him and we must be cautious and watchful for they would come again. Well, the first time he told me I took very little notice of it, and laughed it off, and then he told me again a day or two after that they would come, but he did not know when they would come, and with that I put it off with a laugh again, and at last I said, "Who told you?" and he told me that it was a man of the name of Cox, that had used to live in a house belonging to the works, besides Mr. Aitken's front gates; he was a contractor of bricksetting, and he contracted first in Aitken's business at Levenshulme.

4374. He said Cox told him?—Cox sent him word that he must be very careful and mind and keep his eyes open, for they would come again some night, but we did not know when.

4375. Did he say who they were that would come?—No, he never said who they were.

4376. Are you sure that this was after that lot had been destroyed on the 14th of June?—Yes.

4377. Did you tell this to anybody?—Yes, I told this to Rigby, and I told it to Hill.

4378. Who is Hill?—Hill works in the brickyard under Rigby.

4379. Is he a brickmaker?—He is a brickmaker; he works along with Rigby.

4380. Has not the name of any person been given to you as having given this notice?—No name was given to me, only Cox had sent him word that we must be very careful minding.

4381. Was Cox at that time in Aitken's employ or in Rigby's employ?—No, Cox never worked under Rigby; Cox is a man of himself; he is a bricksetter, and Rigby is a brickmaker.

4382. Cox is a bricklayer?—Cox is a bricklayer.

4383. For whom was Cox working?—I do not know for whom he was working when he sent word.

4384. Where was he working?—He was working somewhere about Manchester or Salford, but I do not know where.

4385. Is he a Manchester bricksetter?—Yes.

4386. He has nothing to do with Stockport, has he?—Not that I am aware of.

4387. Do you know Cox's christian name?—I think his name is Edward, Ned.

4388. Did you say "Anderson" or "Henderson"?—Anderton.

4389. Is Anderton any relation to Cox?—Not that I am aware of. He was a neighbour of Anderton's, the next-door neighbour.

4390. Who was?—Cox was, when he was working for Aitken.

4391. And you do not know whether he was any relation?—No, I do not know.

4392. You do not know whether he married Cox's daughter?—No; Anderton is a far older man than Cox.

4393. Did you give any information of this to Aitken or Rigby?—I mentioned it to Rigby.

4394. How long after you had mentioned it did it happen?—It might be a week; I did not tell him straight on there, and then because in fact I took very little notice of it; I took very little notice of it after the second time of his telling me, but I thought if they happened to come and lame one, and so on, I would tell him so that they might be aware and have somebody to fly to, but I never knew any further.

4395. And you have no further information to give us about that outrage?—I have not.

4396. There was another outrage after that on some of Rigby's bricks, was there not?—There was some bricks spoiled the other week; last week I think it was, a week on Thursday morning, it was last Thursday

week or Wednesday night week, between Wednesday night and Thursday morning.

4397. Who was acting as watchman for Mr. Rigby then?—I do not know that he had any watchman at that last time that the bricks were spoiled. It was the beginning of August when I gave over watching for Rigby.

4398. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Had you mentioned to Rigby this conversation between you and Anderton?—Yes, I mentioned it both to Rigby and to Robinson.

4399. To Luke Robinson?—Yes.

4400. Did they do any thing upon that?—Not that I am aware of.

4401. Do you happen to know Cox. Is he a neighbour of yours?—No, he is not a neighbour.

4402. How far does he live from you?—I live in Back Levenshulme, near the works.

4403. But what distance was there between your houses at that time?—I should say 250 yards, or from that to 300, where Cox was living when he was up at Levenshulme, when he was under Aitken.

4404. Do you know him at all?—Well, I have seen him, but he is a person that I have never had any conversation with, more than half a dozen words; I do not know that I have spoken more than half a dozen times to Cox altogether.

4405. Did you ever ask him where he got his information from?—No, I never mentioned it to Cox or Cox to me, because I never saw him before yesterday.

The witness withdrew.

EDWARD COX sworn and examined.

E. Cox.

4406. (*Chairman.*) What are you?—A bricksetter.

4407. How long have you been so?—Something like 25 or 26 years I suppose.

4408. Do you belong to any club?—Yes, I belong to the bricklayers.

4409. What is the name of it?—I am sure I do not know the name of it; it is off the Liverpool Road.

4410. Do you mean near here?—Yes, at Manchester.

4411. You must have some notion of the name surely?—I never took any notice of it. I have heard the name, but I have never taken any notice of it.

4412. Do you mean to swear you do not know the name of the club of which you are member?—I never go near it unless to take my money.

4413. Be careful! you must surely know the name of the club?—I am upon my oath, and I do not know the name of the club.

4414. I warn you to be careful! How long have you been a member of the club?—About 20 years.

4415. You mean to say you do not know the name of it?—I do not just this minute.

4416. Then you did the last minute?—I have not got it in my head.

4417. You must know the name of it?—I will tell you when I can think of it.

4418. I will give you a little time then. (*After a pause.*) For what purpose is the club?—It pays money for protection I suppose, and for accidents.

4419. And for protection. That is if men are out on strike you pay them, is that your notion of protection?—I do not pay anybody.

4420. I am not asking you that. Is that the object of the club? Is that what you mean by protection? Is it the protection of your trade?—Yes, we pay the hands who are out of work at lodge, and for accidents and funerals, and such like.

4421. And protection?—Yes, though we do not get it altogether.

4422. Do you attend the meetings often?—No.

4423. Have you ever been there lately?—Sometimes when I have been taking money, and sometimes I sent a message.

4424. Is it your duty to take the money?—You can either take it or send it.

4425. But are you in any office in the club?—No, nor never was.

4426. Have you a president?—We must have a president, or else we could not conduct the lodge, but I do not know his name.

4427. I asked you whether you had a president, your answer might have been "Yes." Who is the president now?—I do not know.

4428. When did you last attend a meeting?—I was there on Monday night.

4429. Who was in the chair?—I will swear I do not know his name.

4430. Have you known him for some time?—No.

4431. Is he a young man or an old man?—He is something about the same age as myself.

4432. You swear you do not know his name?—Yes.

4433. Have you any secretary?—Yes, I expect we have.

4434. Have you any doubt about it?—I do not know any of their names.

4435. I am not asking you the name, I asked if you had a secretary to the club?—Oh yes.

4436. Have you a treasurer?—Oh yes. I have been robbed many a time with them too.

4437. Who have been robbed?—The society.

4438. Robbed by whom?—The treasurer.

4439. Is that what you mean?—Yes.

4440. Who is the treasurer now?—I do not know. I am a very poor scholar, and I do not keep things in my head.

4441. But you know the man's name, surely?—There is a good deal of our trade going backwards and forwards, and we cannot pretend to know men that are coming in and out every day.

4442. But you might know a man's name?—Yes, if they are in the town I might know the name.

4443. Can you tell me the name of any man who during the last five years has been president, secretary, or treasurer of your club?—Yes, there is one named Brown.

4444. What is his christian name, because Brown is not an uncommon name you know?—I cannot tell you his christian name I am sure, I have worked with the gentleman, and we called him Brown, that is all I know of him.

4445. Is he a bricksetter?—Yes, I worked with him for Mr. Barker.

4446. Was he president?—I do not know whether he is not treasurer, he was president.

4447. Is he treasurer now?—I think he is.

4448. Now we are getting on. Where does Brown live?—I do not know.

4449. Where does he work now?—I do not know that, we work in one place one day and we are off another.

4450. Have you known any man who was secretary?—I am such a good scholar that I never take notice who is secretary or anything.

4451. Do you not remember anybody whoever was secretary?—No, I dare say Brown is; I do not know whether he is or not.

4452. But he would not be secretary and treasurer at the same time, would he?—He may be, but I am such a good scholar I do not know much about it.

4453. You do not know any other man do you?—No.

4454. Come, you know a man who has been president, do you not?—It is very seldom that I go there; I do not think I have been there four times these six years.

4455. When was the last time?—I was there on Monday night, and the man that I saw on Monday night I do not think that I ever saw but about twice or three times in my life before.

4456. And you do not know his name?—No.

4457. How many of you met on that night?—There would be a good many there, but I could not tell how many.

4458. 100?—I daresay there would. They were going in and out.

FOURTH DAY.

E. Cox.

7 Sept. 1867.

4459. Where did you meet?—I can tell you where the public-house is.

4460. Did you meet in the public-house?—Yes, our lodge is kept there at the public-house.

4461. What is the name of the public-house?—I am sure I cannot tell you.

4462. You are not scholar enough to know the name of the public-house?—No, and I do not take much notice of a public-house; I do not drink much. I have been six years and not taken any drink, and that makes me not take much notice of the names; they are bad places to go to.

4463. But do you mean to swear that you do not know the name of the public-house in which you had your meeting on Monday night?—I mean to swear that I do not know the name now; I took so little notice of it.

4464. You know the place?—I know the way to go to it.

4465. Which is the way?—Right up Gas House Street and across Liverpool Road.

4466. What is the name of the street?—I do not know the name of the street.

4467. Is it north, south, east, or west?—I do not understand north, south, east, and west; my father never taught me it.

4468. But you mean to swear you do not know the name of the street in which it is?—Yes, it leads out of the Liverpool Road.

4469. What does?—The street in which it is.

4470. As you get out of this street is the public-house on your right or your left, you know your right hand from your left, do you?—Yes, it is on the right hand coming from Deansgate, and on the left coming from Water Street.

4471. What did you discuss on Monday night—There were several things agreed.

4472. I daresay there were. What did you discuss?—I do not know, I could not tell you.

4473. Yes you do know; your memory cannot be so bad as all that, it is only five days ago and you are a sober man too?—Yes.

4474. You must remember surely what took place that Monday night?—I was in, I daresay, a couple of hours on Monday night.

4475. Did you talk about the inquiry that was going to come on here?—No, I never heard your name mentioned.

4476. I am not asking that; but did you never hear there was going to be an inquiry?—No, I never heard it mentioned, I went to pay my contribution, and I went down and came home again.

4477. Did you receive any information that some injury had been done to some bricks at Levenshulme a short time ago, last June?—No.

4478. Do you know John Henderson, the watchman, at Messrs. Aitken's?—Yes, I know him particular well; I know him as for this, going out to do a job for Mr. Aitken there.

4479. Did you send him any warning?—Oh no.

4480. Did you send him any communication at all?—No.

4481. That you will swear, will you?—Yes.

4482. Did you hear anything of an outrage going to be done before it was done?—No.

4483. You knew the bricks were destroyed afterwards?—I knew there had been some destroyed, but I never knew what day it had been done on or anything.

4484. You heard they had been destroyed?—Yes.

4485. But did you hear before they were destroyed that they were going to be destroyed?—No.

4486. You swear that?—Yes.

4487. And you never sent any warning to Henderson?—No. I have never been that road since.

4488. I am not asking that. You know you do not know the roads very well. Did you send anybody to go to give warning?—No.

4489. That you swear?—Yes.

4490. Did you tell your wife about it?—No.

4491. Did she tell you anything about it?—No.

4492. That you swear, do you?—Yes.

4493. Nothing of the sort took place?—No.

4494. Did you know that there was any quarrel between the Manchester and the Stockport unions?—No, not that I am aware of.

4495. Have you ever heard of it?—No.

4496. Where do you live yourself?—I live in Salford, at the side of Broughton Bridge.

4497. Did you work at Levenshulme last June?—I cannot tell you when I came away and when I went.

4498. Were you at work at Levenshulme last summer?—Yes, for a short time.

4499. Where were you working at Levenshulme last summer?—I was working for Mr. Aitken.

4500. How came you to leave?—I got sacked and it was time to leave when we got sacked.

4501. How do you mean "sacked"?—We got bagged at a minute's notice. We got the dirty kick out.

4502. You mean you were told to go?—Yes.

4503. Who told you to go?—The draughtsman.

4504. What is his name?—Johnson.

4505. Johnson told you to go, did he?—Yes.

4506. Was that last summer?—Yes.

4507. Was that Peter Johnson?—I do not know his other name.

4508. He told you to go?—Yes, he stopped all the men.

4509. How many men were stopped?—Three and myself.

4510. And he told you to go at once?—Yes.

4511. And off you went?—He said if they would not comply to his rules he had a note down that they were to be stopped. So I told the labourers to come out on Monday morning and pack the scaffolding up, but he said I had better stop another week and see whether Mr. Aitken would come to or not, and so I did. I thought I would not be as saucy as him, but he would not come to, so we gathered up our tools and flitted.

4512. What do you mean by Mr. Aitken "coming to"?—To see if he would either allow us walking time in the morning or pay lodgings.

4513. Was the complaint that he would not pay enough?—He would not either pay lodgings or allow walking time.

4514. And that according to your rules you ought to have been paid?—Yes, and I think it is a very good rule if a man has to walk six miles in the morning.

4515. And because he would not pay that you went off with your tools and went away?—Yes, he allowed me everything and I had got a load of coal and everything, and then he wanted us to do it without.

4516. And Johnson came and gave you the orders to be off, and you were off immediately?—No, I stopped a week there, but I was not that savage with them as they were with me. I stopped a week for his orders to see whether he would allow either lodgings money or walking time, and he would not.

4517. Is Johnson one of your delegates?—No, he is one of Aitken's delegates.

4518. But how is it that Johnson gave you the order to be off?—I suppose Mr. Aitken told him. He gave us orders to be sacked if we would not work their rules.

4519. Johnson did?—Mr. Aitken gave Johnson these orders to work on. According to what he told me he had a letter from Mr. Aitken that we were to work from 6 o'clock in the morning, and until 1 o'clock on Saturday, and 6 o'clock on other nights, otherwise they would get fresh men, and so we had to leave.

4520. Was Johnson in Aitken's employ?—He is in Aitken's employ. I suppose he is a draughtsman for Aitken. He draws plans out for machinery and such as that.

4521. Is he the foreman or what is he?—I do not know; he is the draughtsman and all I reckon. I was the foreman, but he took my stripes off me. He lost me about 60*l.* and it is not a bad stripe that, and he owes it me if he would pay me.

4522. Have you demanded either of Johnson or

Aitken to have this walking time or this lodging money ?—He gave it us. He knew our rules.

4523. How long had he been giving it you ?—I worked about a fortnight or three weeks until I got tired.

4524. How long had he been giving you either the walking time or the lodging money ?—About a fortnight.

4525. Then did he cease to give it you ?—Yes.

4526. And then after he had ceased giving it you you ceased working ?—Yes.

4527. Did he give you the option of going on at the time without the walking time or the lodging money ?—Yes, if I would take it on piecework, but I could not do it. I told him on the first onset before I went to the job that it could not be done by piecework at all, and therefore I said before I would take piecework that I would have nothing to do with it, because there was so much pulling down and building up that I could not take it. I said I might give a rambling statement but I would not take it on piecework, so I went up with him and looked at the job, and I saw that it could not be done without a deal of machinery shifting and a deal of pulling down and building up, and I said that it could not be taken as piecework, and I would not have anything to do with it as piecework, but I would do it as day work if he had a mind. He said, "Very well, get some men there the first thing on Monday morning." So I got the brickmakers out and a lot of labourers out, and got them there, and got them all agate at work. I walked out there every morning and he begged me to go out and live and I got my furniture down, and got a load of coal down, and as soon as I had got nicely settled they wanted to knock the walking time off.

4528. You refused piecework ?—Yes.

4529. You started receiving lodging money or having walking time ?—Yes.

4530. How long did you receive lodging money or walking time ?—About three weeks.

4531. Then they ceased to pay it and you continued one week after and then came out ?—Yes.

4532. Do you live at Salford ?—Yes.

4533. Have you a right according to your rules to go and work at Levenshulme ?—Yes, or at any other place.

4534. Have you a right according to your rules to work in the Stockport district ?—Yes, at any place. We can work in any town wherever we can get a job.

4535. According to your rules, then, a Stockport man may come and work within your district ?—Yes, or a London man either ; and there are London men working here now, and Manchester men working in London.

4536. Do they get permission from you before they begin ?—No they bring their cards with them from the London lodge.

4537. They leave a card with you first. Do they not get any permission from you first ?—No, they have nothing to do but to get a job and start.

4538. Where they can ?—Yes, they stop wherever they can get work.

4539. Would it have been against your rules if you had gone on working at Levenshulme without having the walking money or lodging time allowed you ?—Yes, we do not fancy it.

4540. That is another matter ?—I would not do it.

4541. But I ask whether it is against your rules to do it ?—Yes.

4542. Not taking the lodging money or the walking time would be against your rules ?—Yes.

4543. You would not let him do that I suppose ?—You cannot help it if he does it.

4544. Do you mean to say no attempt would be made to prevent him ?—I do not.

4645. But it has been done by your club ?—Oh yes.

4546. (*Mr. Barstow.*) I suppose if you had consented to stay with Mr. Aitken upon the terms of giving up lodging money and walking time, you might have done so ?—I do not know. I did not ask him that. He said he would not have me at any price.

4547. He never gave you the option ? — No, he wanted me to take it at piecework but I would not.

4548. Did he give you any reason for turning you away ?—Yes, he bagged my men first.

4549. What do you mean by "bagging your men ?" —He sacked them, stopped them, or at least his draughtsman did.

4550. Before he stopped your men did he give you any option of going on on other terms than those you were working on ?—No, the draughtsman told me that Mr. Aitken was very proud of the way I was carrying on the work, and he said he would make me a handsome present at the finish, and the next thing I heard was that the men were stopped about the lodging money and walking time.

4551. Had there been any dispute about lodging money or walking time before you were stopped ?—No, not that I am aware of.

4552. Then, according to your account, he simply turned you away without a shadow of a reason ?—Yes, the draughtsman told us when he was paying us that he had got in a letter from Mr. Aitken that we would either have to do without lodging money or walking time, and come to their rules, or otherwise they would get fresh men.

4553. Then if you had chosen to have come to his rules you might have stayed. You did not comply with those rules ?—No ; I said it was very strange that Mr. Aitken did not acquaint me about it, and he said, "Well, will you keep on another week and see Mr. Aitken about it ?" and I said, "Yes."

4554. You told us that before. You say that Mr. Aitken wanted you to take this job by piecework ?—Yes, at first.

4555. Did you make out an estimate as to what you would do it for ?—No, Mr. Belcher, the architect, made it out for me.

4556. Did you ever make out an estimate ?—Never ; I generally get it done by the architect. Mr. Belcher has generally done mine.

4557. (*Mr. Chance.*) You say it is against your rules to work without having lodging money or walking time. Is that a printed rule of which you speak ?—There are rules signed by the Master Bricklayers' Association. They have made starting-places for themselves where we must all start at.

4558. But there are certain printed rules belonging to your union ?—Yes, the masters have them and all.

4559. Is it on the printed rules of which you have spoken that you are entitled to have either walking time or lodging money ?—Yes, it is on the printed rules for the masters and all.

4560. Have you a book of those rules ?—No, I never carry one with me unless I am going to start a job, and it is out of the town.

4561. What month in the summer was it that you were working for Mr. Aitken ?—I am sure I cannot tell you. It was just at the beginning of the spring. I took brickmakers out there to start casting.

4562. When was it that you left him ?—I was only there about five or six weeks or so working for him.

4563. You would have been away from him before May, I suppose ?—I dare say I should.

4564. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Do you know what men succeeded you. Where did they come from ?—They came from Manchester.

4565. You went away. Who took your position at Mr. Aitken's work after you came away ?—I think his name was Robinson. He lives in the neighbourhood.

4566. Is he a Manchester man ?—He is a Levenshulme man. I had to flit. I asked the same man for a job, and he would not give me a job. I said I had my things there, and it was very awkward, but he would not give me a job.

The witness withdrew.

FOURTH DAY.

Mrs. T. Cox.

7 Sept. 1867.

Mrs. Tamar Cox sworn and examined.

4567. (*Chairman.*) You are the wife of the last witness, are you not?—Yes.

4568. Do you remember your husband working at Mr. Aitken's works at Levenshulme in the summer?—Yes.

4569. He was at work sometime in the summer of this year, was he not?—Not this year; last year.

4570. He had left about May, I think, had he not?—He had left before May, I think; but, to tell you the truth, I do not know what day of the month it was.

4571. He left somewhere about May?—Yes, it would be somewhere about that.

4572. Where did you live then, at Salford?—No, close to the office door at Mr. Aitken's.

4573. Did you continue to live there after he ceased to work?—Yes, we lived there till August, the latter end of August.

4574. Was John Henderson the watchman there?—Yes, the old gentleman.

4575. His name is John Henderson, is it not?—Yes.

4576. We understand some outrage or destruction of bricks took place there some time in June, did it not?—I do not know.

4577. But you have heard that there was some destruction of bricks there?—I never heard till I went over to Mr. Henderson's.

4578. But you heard it then?—I heard it when I was there.

4579. When was that?—It will be five or six weeks ago, I cannot tell exactly to the day.

4580. Had you heard before anything was done that it was probable that it would be done?—No.

4581. Had you had any intimation given you that something of that sort was in contemplation?—No.

4582. Did you send any warning or message to Henderson, the watchman?—No.

4583. You never spoke to him upon the subject?—No.

4584. Did you speak to anybody else on the subject?—No, only when the old gentleman told me that there had been some bricks spoiled. He is very old; and I said to him, "Well, Mr. Henderson, if I were you I would take care of myself."

4585. But before the bricks were spoiled had you made any remark or sent any message to him?—No, not the slightest; I did not know till I went.

4586. But did you ever hear or send any intimation of the sort, that it was likely to be done?—No, I did not in the slightest.

4587. Were the bricks spoiled more than once?—I do not know.

4588. But you heard of their being spoiled, did you not?—I have not heard anything but what I have heard this last week.

4589. But you have heard about the bricks being spoiled more than once, have you not?—I have heard nothing about their being spoiled since I have been here that is all; that is since yesterday.

4590. Did you hear whether they had been spoiled more than once?—No, I did not hear that they had been spoiled.

4591. And you will swear that you never sent any warning of any kind or description?—Yes, I will.

4592. Did anybody ever talk to you on the subject?—Not the slightest.

4593. And you have not the slightest notion about it?—No, indeed I have not.

4594. Your husband left off working there in May, did he not?—I think it was in May; he was only there for five weeks.

4595. Do you know why it was he had left off?—Not exactly. I do not know what had been between the master and him.

4596. But surely you know why he had left?—I never scarcely interfere between the master and him.

4597. But did he tell you why he had given up?—No, no further than he had had some words with Mr. Aitken.

4598. You did not hear of any disturbance between the unions?—No.

4599. Nor any disturbance with regard to the club?—No, I never go to the club.

4600. Are women members of the club?—I do not suppose they are.

4601. Then women do not go to the club?—No.

4602. You never heard anything about this matter?—No.

4603. And you never sent any warning to Henderson either directly or indirectly about it?—No.

4604. That you will swear?—Yes.

4605. (*Mr. Chance.*) The club meets at a public-house, does it not?—Yes, I believe it does.

4606. What street is it in?—I do not know the street, for I am not acquainted with the part it is in exactly. It is somewhere towards Liverpool Road.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. T. Aitken.

Mr. Thomas Aitken sworn and examined.

4607. (*Mr. Barstow.*) What are you?—A calico printer.

4608. At Levenshulme?—We are building works at Levenshulme; at present we are at Chorley in Lancashire.

4609. You are building works at Levenshulme?—Yes.

4610. You are building upon your own land?—Yes.

4611. And making bricks yourself upon your own land?—Yes, we started last year to make the bricks.

4612. Did you contract with a man named Hibbert?—No, I did not, another man did it last year; we contracted with a man of the name of Hibbert this year. I do not know who was the contractor last year, it was another member of the Manchester union of brickmakers.

4613. You know that he was a member of the Manchester union?—Yes.

4614. He left you?—No, not till the end of the season.

4615. He completed his contract?—He completed his contract.

4616. This year Hibbert came?—Yes.

4617. He seems to have made bricks for you until when?—About the middle of May or so.

4618. The 7th of May?—Yes, the 7th of May.

4619. What was the cause of his leaving you?—The Manchester union stopped him.

4620. The Manchester union stopped him?—Yes, they did.

4621. How do you know that?—From hearsay only.

4622. Did Hibbert tell you?—No; although I know every particular about the case, I do not know personally because everything is brought before me, but it is my brother, the manager, who met with Hibbert and the other people connected with the works.

4623. Last year and so long as Hibbert was your contractor the bricks were being made by members of the Manchester union?—Yes.

4624. Were the bricklayers also Manchester men?—We commenced with a man of the name of Cox, and our arrangement with him was to give him 2*s.* a week extra to superintend the other hands employed.

4625. He was to be a sort of a foreman?—Yes.

4626. And had 2*s.* a week extra?—Yes.

4627. Did you make any arrangement with him about walking money or lodging money?—I never heard of it till after he started work.

4628. You are speaking now of what is within your own knowledge, are you?—Not of my own knowledge as coming in contact with Cox.

4629. Did you pay Cox and his men weekly?—Yes.

4630. When you paid them did you hear anything about lodging money or walking money?—Yes, after they started.

4631. Before?—No, our arrangement was so much per week for each man without walking money or lodging money having been mentioned to us until after they started.

4632. Were you aware of any rule in the union by which lodging money and walking money was to be paid exclusively of the agreement of so much a week? —No.

4633. How long was Cox in your employment before you heard anything of lodging or walking money?—I should think the first week.

4634. As a matter of fact did he claim it the first week?—I cannot pay.

4635. When did you first hear of it?—Shortly after he started; the first week or two after he started.

4636. Did you agree to give it him?—No, that was the point upon which we separated.

4637. He was with you altogether about five or six weeks?—Yes.

4638. And although you declined he continued working for you those five or six weeks?—Yes.

4639. Did he continue during all that time making his claim for lodging?—Yes. In answer to that question of how I knew that the Manchester union stopped the brickmakers, I should say that I knew from the delegates from the Manchester union who waited upon me and told me they would stop them.

4640. The Manchester delegates waited upon you? —Yes.

4641. At what time was this?—Sometime before they stopped them.

4642. We are speaking of the period of five or six weeks?—Yes, I am talking of the present year.

4643. Do you remember about what time it was the Manchester delegates called upon you?—I cannot say the day: it was when the fine weather began.

4644. Early in May probably?—Yes, when the fine weather began.

4645. Do you know who those delegates were?— I do not know them by name.

4646. How do you know that they were Manchester delegates?—They represented themselves as such.

4647. What conversation had you with them with reference to this business?—Which year are you alluding to?

4648. This year I suppose. I understand you to say it was early in May?—Last year, after Cox gave up we got an estimate from a neighbour, a Levenshulme man who employed men belonging to the Stockport union.

4649. Did any outrage follow upon that last year? —No, but the delegates waited upon us several times about this and threatened to stop the brickmaking last year.

4650. What reason did they give?—Because the district belonged to the Manchester union, that it was within the bounds of the Manchester union.

4651. Then the man who preceded Hibbert as the contractor to make bricks was not a Manchester bricklayer?—Yes, he was; the bricklayers after Cox left were Stockport men.

4652. Did not Cox leave this year?—No, last year.

4653. Why should the Manchester brickmakers object to the brickmaking going on if the bricklayers were from Stockport?—That was one of the rules; they will not allow any bricks made in one district to be used in another district; they must be made within a circle of four miles from Manchester.

4654. Did they explain to you that that was the reason?—Yes.

4655. And it is from their explanation that you know that is the rule?—Yes.

4656. We have had enough of last year; now do you remember some bricks being destroyed this year? —Yes. Perhaps I may mention that before the bricks were destroyed and while Hibbert was making the bricks for us this year we had sold some 25,000 or 30,000 bricks to a gentleman in Levenshulme, and we had to cancel the sale because the Manchester bricklayers would not use the bricks, although they were claiming the district as being in Manchester.

4657. Although it was in the Manchester district the Manchester bricklayers would not allow them to be used?—No.

4658. (*Chairman.*) Why not?—We cancelled the sale on that account because he said they were not used in the Manchester district; that was the only answer he gave.

4659. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Hibbert left your employment this year?—Yes.

4660. Why was that?—Because the contractor who had the work previously put two extra hands on in the beginning of May belonging to the Stockport union; the Manchester brickmakers and the Stockport bricklayers were getting on quietly enough till we asked for more hands to be put on when the fine weather came, and because he put on two extra hands this disturbance arose.

4661. How do you know that that was the cause of Hibbert leaving you?—The delegates told us that was the cause.

4662. Which delegates were those?—The delegates from the brickmakers, bricklayers, and labourers of the Manchester unions.

4663. Had you an interview with them?—Yes.

4664. I did not catch from what unions you said? —Brickmakers, bricklayers, and labourers.

4665. They called upon you?—Yes.

4666. When was this?—At the beginning of May, I think.

4667. Were these delegates from Manchester?—Yes.

4668. What did they say to you?—They said that unless Robinson discharged the two men he had taken on and put on two belonging to the Manchester union they would stop the brickmaking.

4669. They were all present together when they said that?—Yes.

4670. Was anyone besides you there on your side? —Yes, I dare say there would be; it was in a public office at the warehouse.

4671. They came to the office in the warehouse?— Yes.

4672. Then I suppose you, like Robinson, did not consent to put on Manchester men?—No.

4673. And the Stockport men continued to work? —Yes.

4674. I understand that shortly after that Hibbert left your employment?—Yes.

4675. Joseph Rigby came in his place?—Yes.

4676. How soon after Rigby came did anything happen to your bricks?—I should think within a fortnight; my bricks laid for more than a fortnight exposed to the atmosphere without anything being done to them; all that were in the field.

4677. I think we have got all the details from Rigby. Was there any further difficulty between you and the Manchester union between the first and the second time of the bricks being destroyed?—No.

4678. Nothing more?—No, we have never had any difficulty with the union; it has always been between the two unions.

4679. The Manchester delegates came to you?— Yes, for us to use our influence with the Manchester men, or to discharge them.

4680. You had a watchman named Henderson, had you not?—Yes.

4681. You put him on after the first time your bricks were destroyed?—We put him on from the time we purchased the property.

4682. He has been there all along?—Yes.

4683. You thought it necessary from the first to have a watchman to protect your property?—Yes.

4684. Why was that?—To prevent petty thefts going on.

4685. Did he say anything to you about a visit being expected to your brickyard?—Last Tuesday I was told.

4686. That is in this month?—Yes. I was told last Tuesday that he had said that word had been sent to him from Cox, or Cox's wife, sometime before the last outrage, that he had better keep out of the way or

FOURTH DAY.

Mr. T. Aitken.

7 Sept. 1867.

his life would be taken, as a great many more were coming this time than came before.

4687. (*Chairman.*) That was what you had been informed was told to Henderson?—Yes; I went the next day and saw Henderson and he told me the same thing.

4688. (*Mr. Barstow.*) On Wednesday last you saw Henderson?—Yes.

4689. Henderson then told you that he had received a message to the effect you have already mentioned from either Cox or Mrs. Cox?—Yes; they had told his daughter-in-law and his daughter-in-law had told Henderson.

4690. Who is the daughter-in-law?—His son's wife, Mrs. Henderson; he was to inquire and let me know. I made a mistake, it was last Friday. I went down to him yesterday week; his daughter-in-law was from home and would be home on Saturday, and he was to inquire of her and let me know whether it was Cox or his wife had told her and he sent me up word that it was Mrs. Cox.

4691. When did Henderson send you word?—A day or two after by our manager.

4692. Is your manager's name Johnston?—No, Dean is the name; Johnston is a superintendent of the works.

4693. He sent word by a man named Dean that it was Mrs. Cox that had told her?—Yes.

4694. Do you remember whether she said that that message was given to her to tell Henderson?—I have never seen her.

4695. Have you heard from Dean?—No.

4696. You have told us all you know upon that subject?—Yes.

4697. You have not told us if you know the names of any of these delegates who called upon you?—Not one of them; they gave me the address of their place of meeting; during the first disturbance they wanted us to go down and meet their union and discuss the matter with them, but we always kept out of it. The address they gave me was Charles Lister, Bridgewater Arms, Knott Mill.

4698. (*Chairman.*) What was the date of the last outrage, the 15th of June?—I think so.

4699. (*Mr. Barstow.*) The last outrage was last Wednesday?—Yes.

4700. In respect of which outrage was it that Henderson told you he was warned?—The one last week.

4701. I understand you to say that Henderson told you that Mrs. Cox had sent a message to his daughter-in-law by a man named Dean?—No, I did not say he told me that Cox, or Cox's wife, his daughter-in-law, had been at her house, and had told her to tell him to keep out of the way or his life would be taken, as a great many more men were coming than had come before; that was sent by Cox or Cox's wife through Henderson's daughter-in-law to Henderson.

4702. What was the case about Dean?—Well, he was to let me know whether it was Cox or Cox's wife who had told the daughter-in-law, and Dean said it was Cox's wife; he was to inquire from his daughter-in-law when she came home which it was, she was from home when I saw him.

4703. Dean is your foreman?—Yes.

4704. (*Mr. Chance.*) Did Johnson say anything to you?—No.

4705. Did he not give you information about it?—No, it was the one that was discharged from the works that told me.

4706. Is that your brother?—No, Mr. Johnstone.

4707. He gave information to Mr. Johnstone?—I understand so.

4708. Was Henderson the watchman discharged in consequence of his not having told it?—Yes, he has been discharged for not letting us know beforehand.

4709. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Who discharged Henderson from your employ?—Mr. Johnstone, the manager at the works; we have a man who has full charge of all the offices.

4710. Which Mr. Johnson is that?—He has not been mentioned before; Johnson has been mentioned before, but this is Johnstone.

4711. He would be the man who sent away Cox, according to Cox's account?—Yes.

4712. Can you tell us whether Henderson, when discharged, admitted that he had had this information?—I never asked him again; he admitted to me that he had had the information, and upon that I told Johnstone to discharge him.

4713. Henderson admitted to you that he had had the information, and upon that you discharged him?—Yes.

4714. When you discharged him he did not remonstrate, and say he had not in fact any information?—No.

The witness withdrew.

Mrs. E. E. Henderson.

Mrs. Ellen Ellensworth Henderson sworn and examined.

4715. (*Mr. Chance.*) What is the name of your husband?—William.

4716. Is he a son of Henderson, who is watchman in Mr. Aitken's employ?—Yes.

4717. Are you the daughter of Edward Cox?—No.

4718. Do you remember any injury being done to Mr. Aitken's bricks in the month of June?—Yes; I remember it well.

4719. Do you remember any injury being done to his bricks afterwards?—Yes; I was from home, but I was told when I came home about it.

4720. When you came home was anything told you about any of these injuries?—Yes; I was told there had been some more damage done.

4721. Was anything said to you about them by Edward Cox?—I never saw Edward Cox; when I went to Edward Cox's house he was not at home, and I never saw him.

4722. Was anything said to you about them by Mrs. Cox?—Nothing, only by friendship; she began to ask me about the family, and how we were getting on. She said, "Is poor old father watching still?" and I said, "Yes, he is watching the brickcroft still." She said it was a dangerous work for an old man like him to watch in the croft; that was what Mrs. Cox said to me.

4723. Did she say why it was a dangerous thing to watch in the croft?—No.

4724. Just think?—No; those were just the words she said to me.

4725. Did not you ask why it was dangerous to watch in the croft?—No; I had seen and heard so much about damages and ill-treatment and that, that I did not need to ask.

4726. You believed that it was a dangerous thing?—Yes; and I did not like my father-in-law to be in that place because it was not a fit place for him.

4727. What danger did you think there was?—Because I was uncertain of these brick men.

4728. But did you expect the brickmakers to be doing him some injury?—Yes; I did think it myself.

4729. Did Mrs. Cox say anything to you about doing him any injury?—No, she never did; that was all that I told you.

4730. Did she say that she had heard that injury might be done to him?—No; I have told you the truth of what I had to say, and nothing but the truth, and I do not wish to say anything further; there was nothing else said. I have nothing else to say.

4731. Did you tell your grandfather what she said to you?—I told all of them, not him personally. She did not send any word to grandfather for me to tell him; she told me myself, and I pleased myself whether I told him or not.

4732. What did she talk about?—She asked about the family. She asked me, "Was poor old grandfather

watching?" I said "He was, and he had to watch in the brickcroft as well as the works," and she said to me, "It is no fit job for an old man like him to be in the croft," and neither was it.

4733. And did you tell him that, or did you cause it to be made known to him?—When I got home I told what had passed when I was out.

4734. Did you go home the same day that you talked to Mrs. Cox?—Yes.

4735. And you saw your grandfather?—Yes.

4736. And then you told him what Mrs. Cox had said?—I told them altogether, not him particularly.

4737. You told them that amongst other things?—Yes; I told it at the house.

4738. It rather affected your mind if he was in that dangerous position?—Yes, it is not fit when there is mischief and disturbance in the croft like that for an old man 85 years of age to be watching and preventing a lot of men coming. He did not know when they would come, or how they would come, and he is a very old man, 85 years of age.

4739. It was very kind of Mrs. Cox to mention it?—She only spoke through the kindness, she did not tell me to tell him.

4740. She wished you no doubt to tell Henderson that there was some danger?—She did tell me to do it, but I told what passed among us.

4741. She sent a message to Henderson?—I do not know whether she wished me to tell him or not. I cannot read her mind.

4742. She told you that some danger might happen to him?—She did not. I told you what she said and that is all. I did not come here to tell lies.

4743. Did she say who the brickmakers were who were likely to do it?—No.

4744. She said that it was likely to come from the brickmakers?—I thought the same as other people think, I suppose they think it is the brickmakers among themselves.

4745. And you think so too?—I think the same as other people. I have told you the truth and nothing but the truth, and I do not wish to be asked any more questions that is not right; it is not in me at all to sit and tell lies.

4746. Nothing was said to him at the time about telling him?—No.

4747. (*Chairman.*) Did she say that they might come in greater numbers next time?—No, if I may never go out of this place she never did.

4748. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Do you remember old Mr. Henderson being discharged from watching for Mr. Aitken?—Yes.

4749. What was he discharged for, was not he told what he was discharged for?—I do not know, I had nothing to do with it; you must ask him.

4750. You do not know whether he was told or not what he was discharged for?—Him and my master are discharged, and he had nothing to do with watching, and we are discharged out of the house.

4751. (*Chairman.*) You have no idea what you were discharged for?—No.

4752. Have any of you been to see Mr. Aitken about it?—No.

4753. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Why did not you stay and ask what is was for?—My master did not think he had done anything wrong, he had always done his duty, he did not think that he ought to go begging in again.

4754. That was a reason for seeing Mr. Aitken about it?—He knows it.

4755. He never did remonstrate about being discharged?—They told him that he must leave at the week end.

4756. Neither your father-in-law nor your grandfather have ever said to Mr. Aitken that they were discharged unjustly?—No.

4757. Were they told what they were discharged for? No, Mr. Johnson told my master that he had a message to deliver to him that he was to be out this week end and that Mr. Aitken said if he wanted to know what it was for he must see him, but he has not seen him or he had not when I came away.

4758. He did not go and see him?—No he did not.

4759. (*Mr. Chance.*) I suppose you talked over this matter with Mrs. Cox?—What matter?

4760. You talked about Henderson being discharged?—I had nothing to do with Mrs. Cox about Henderson being discharged.

4761. Have you seen Mrs. Cox?—Of course I have seen Mrs. Cox outside here.

4762. Had you a talk with her?—Yes.

4763. You talked the matter over with her?—I have told her that we were discharged and were leaving the house.

4764. When you saw her this morning you were talking together about the matter?—I told her that we were discharged, that is all.

4765. You have seen Mrs. Cox this morning?—Yes.

4766. You have been talking to her about this matter?—I tell you I have told her about it.

4767. Did you ask her how she remembered it?—She remembers naught about it that I know of.

4768. Did she say so?—No, she had no need to say so.

4769. Did you tell her what you remembered about what she had told you? You have been talking to her this morning about what she told you that night?—No, not about that, not to-day.

4770. Mrs. Cox has been here?—I know that.

4771. Did not you talk to her about what she said to you that night?—I have told you all Mrs. Cox said to me.

4772. Did you talk to her about what she said that night?—I told her we were discharged.

4773. That is no answer to my question. Have not you been talking to Mrs. Cox this morning about what she said to you that night?—I do not know that I have to-day.

4774. You say that you do not know. You do know?—We were sitting and spoke about it yesterday.

4775. You spoke about it yesterday?—Yes, but not to-day. I have not spoken to her about it to-day.

4776. Now tell me what you said about it yesterday?—I said nothing, but when we met I said, "This "is a fine job; we are getting all bagged away from "the house through this job, and nothing more to do "with it any more than a child unborn," and neither had we. "I little thought that my coming to your "house and your coming to us would get us into all "this bother!" I do not know that there was any more said.

4777. What did she say?—She said nothing, only the same as I should have answered. She answered me in the same way back.

4778. You agreed what it was?—Yes.

4779. Did you agree as to what was said?—Yes, I am sure that I said nothing of any harm, only what was said between her and me.

4780. She did not tell you that you had better be careful what you say here?—No, she did not.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. Edward Barrett sworn and examined.

Mr. E. Barrett.

4781. (*Chairman.*) I believe you are a brick manufacturer, are you not?—Yes.

4782. On the 15th of June last had you some bricks destroyed?—Yes.

4783. How many?—40,000.

4784. When did you first hear of their being destroyed?—On the Sunday morning, the 15th.

4785. Who gave you the information? — The policeman.

4786. That was Kelly? — Yes, Sergeant Kelly, early in the morning about 5 o'clock.

FOURTH DAY.

Mr. E. Barrett.

7 Sept. 1867.

4787. What were the men that you had employed? Were they Stockport union men or Manchester union men?—All Stockport union men.

4788. Have you any notion how your bricks came to be destroyed?—No.

4789. Have you no idea at all why you should have incurred the anger of some evil-disposed people and got 40,000 bricks destroyed?—I was told that it was some dispute between the Manchester operatives and the Stockport operatives.

4790. But Didsbury is in the Stockport union, is it not?—Yes.

4791. Then how came you, being in the Stockport union, to be mixed up in this dispute between the Manchester union and the Stockport union?—According to what I could learn the Stockport union men and the Manchester union men were at loggerheads together, and they came to destroy our bricks for vexation, or something of that sort.

4792. You mean to say from what information you could gather that the Manchester union men came and destroyed your bricks because you were in the Stockport union?—Yes, that is all that I could learn.

4793. Have you employed any brickmakers at all who were against what they say to be their rules?—Not that I know of.

4794. Are all the men that you employ Stockport union men?—Yes, every one.

4795. Had you heard of this dispute between the two unions as going on for some time?—Well, we had heard some flying words at different times.

4796. Had you any dispute at all with the Stockport union?—No, not a bit.

4797. You employed none but Stockport union men, did you?—Not one besides.

4798. And you had no quarrel or disturbance with them?—No.

4799. Had you any quarrel with any other person at all?—None whatever, nor ever had that I know of.

4800. You have been at peace with all mankind?—Yes.

4801. And, nevertheless, you had 40,000 bricks destroyed?—They did it.

4802. And as far as you can make out you are merely the victim of a dispute between those two unions?—That is all that ever I could learn.

4803. What was the dispute?—There was a dispute about this yard at Levenshulme.

4804. But you are not at Levenshulme?—No, but the dispute arose about that.

4805. The dispute being about that, the Manchester union did injury to different persons who are in the Stockport district?—Yes, that is just it.

4806. That is the way you understand it?—Yes.

4807. Could you as a master manufacturer, being in the Stockport district, employ Manchester men?—No.

4808. Not either bricklayers or brickmakers?—No.

4809. Can you sell out of your district?—No.

4810. Do I understand you that you must sell your bricks in your own district?—That is all.

4811. What size is that district?—I hear many different tales about it, but I should say it is about four miles from Manchester.

4812. That is to say, you must not sell within four miles of Manchester?—No.

4813. And do you take Manchester to be about three miles in diameter?—About $3\frac{1}{2}$ or $3\frac{3}{4}$ miles from where they take their line.

4814. Then it is four miles beyond those three miles that they call their district?—Four miles from the Manchester Exchange is called their district.

4815. Then it is four miles in a circle all round?—Yes, it is supposed to be.

4816. And you must not come within that territory?—No.

4817. That is a pretty good large area, is it not?—Yes, for Manchester limits.

4818. But it is a pretty large area equally for you to be excluded from?—Yes, we have plenty of room to sell ours to.

4819. What is the area of your district?—About three miles from Stockport Old Church.

4820. Then is Didsbury within that distance?—Yes, just within the distance.

4821. Have you known any other destruction of property which you attribute to the same cause as that of yours?—Yes.

4822. Mr. Bailey's?—Yes, the same night.

4823. How near does he live to you?—Perhaps about 400 or 500 yards off.

4824. How long has this dispute been going on?—I have never heard so much about it before this season.

4825. You have had reason to hear about it if you have lost your bricks, you know?—Yes, I have.

4826. How long has it been going on?—The first commencement, according to what I have been informed was the beginning of this last January.

4827. Had any of the Manchester delegates been to you?—No.

4828. Then you have seen nothing of them?—No, I have never seen or heard tell of any of them.

4829. Do you keep any watchmen on your premises?—No.

4830. Then you do not know at all the men who committed the outrage?—No.

4831. You can only attribute it to the cause you have mentioned?—Yes.

4832. Did you get some money from the Stockport union in consequence of the damage?—Yes, 20*l.*

4833. I believe you offered a reward, did you not, for the discovery of the offenders?—Yes, 20*l.*

4834. Have you discovered them?—No.

4835. How long has the reward been offered? Ever since June?—Ever since the 15th or 16th of June.

4836. Then you are on pretty good terms with the Stockport union, I suppose?—Yes, and always was.

4837. Is this the only damage that you have suffered?—Yes, I think it is. There were some boards burnt about two weeks afterwards.

4838. Where were they?—They were against the kiln?—

4839. In your yard?—Yes.

4840. Were they set fire to in the night?—It was in the night that they were fired.

4841. Could you form any opinion as to how they were fired?—Were they fired by means of naphtha or anything?—They were fired by the kiln fire.

4842. The kiln was burning, and some one had come there and got a fire from there and burnt the boards?—Well, I always thought somebody had come.

4843. Were they near enough to get burnt of themselves?—No, they were not.

4844. Somebody must have got the fire, or would it have burnt?—It was either somebody did it, or accident, because they could not have burnt of themselves.

4845. Were they near enough to the kiln to be exposed to such accidents?—They were about two feet from the kiln, as they have been this many a year.

4846. Then was it possible to have been a mere accident?—Yes, it was possible.

4847. How, by fire from the kilns?—No, the iron bars might have tumbled down, and then the boards would fall too.

4848. Were they near enough for that purpose?—They were near enough for that purpose, provided the iron bars had fallen.

4849. Could you at all tell whether the iron bars had fallen?—One of the iron bars that was put to keep them from the fire was driven out.

4850. That would not drive out of itself, would it?—I should think not.

4851. Then did it appear to you that somebody must have taken the iron bar out?—Yes.

4852. Have you any doubt that it was wilfully done?—Yes, were I to speak my own mind I should think it was wilfully done.

4853. How many boards were destroyed?—10*l.* worth.

4854. Were the boards so placed that the fire could have communicated to any shed?—No, they were only put against the kiln to screen the water from it.

4855. Then the destruction would be the destruction of those boards alone ?—Yes, only of them.

4856. Have you had many other outrages in your district since this dispute arose ?—None since that.

4857. I do not mean you individually, but in the district ?—Yes, Mr. Bailey and I are in the same district.

4858. But, besides those have there have been any outrages since that ? — None such as that in our district.

4859. Nor near you ?—No nearer than Levenshulme.

4860. You do not know anything I suppose of the Ashton district ?—No.

4861. Nor of the Hyde ?—No.

4862. You have had no damage done to your property by anything being put in the bricks or the clay, have you ?—No.

4863. Has that been done in your district ?—Not that ever I could remember.

4864. You have heard of its being done in the Manchester district ?—Oh yes.

4865. That you have heard of several times ?—Oh yes ; many a time.

4866. Does that do great injury to the bricks ?—Well, when they put things in the clay they cannot work it you know.

4867. Can you at all form any opinion of the number of men that would be employed in doing that injury to 40,000 bricks ?—I should think 20 men.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. Peter Bailey sworn and examined.

Mr. P. Bailey

4868. (*Mr. Barstow.*) You are a brick manfacturer at Heaton Mersey, are you not ?—Yes.

4869. Heaton Mersey is within the Stockport union is it not ?—Yes.

4870. Do you employ Stockport union men ?—Yes.

4871. Have you had any dispute with the Stockport union ?—No, none whatever.

4872. Nor with anyone else ?—No.

4873. I believe on the 15th of June you had a very large number of bricks destroyed ?—Yes.

4874. How many ?—About 47,000.

4875. What would be the value of those bricks ?—About 20*l.*

4876. When were you informed of this injury ?—Between 3 and 4 in the morning of the 16th.

4877. Did you go there ?—Yes.

4878. And examined the place where the damage had been done ?—Yes.

4879. How many men did you judge had been there ?—Well, we could count perhaps from 10 to 12 or from 12 to 14 different footprints, and some of them we have now.

4880. You have the impression upon the bricks now ?—A portion of them that we could get clear.

4881. You gave information I suppose to the police ?—It was Sergeant Kelly who first told me, he saw me first.

4882. Did you offer a reward for detection ?—Yes, 20*l.*

4883. Has anyone been apprehended ?—No.

4884. Are you aware that at this time there was a dispute between the Stockport and Manchester brickmakers unions ?—Yes, I did hear of it.

4885. We have heard what the dispute was about, and therefore, I will not ask you that. To what do you attribute this damage that you sustained ?—I cannot say.

4886. You do not know ?—No.

4887. Can you form no opinion ?—No, only the dispute between the two unions.

4888. Do you wish us to understand that you believe this damage was done by members of the Manchester union, in the prosecution of their quarrel with the Stockport union ?—Yes, we traced them in the direction of Manchester.

4889. How far did you trace them ?—Half a mile or three quarters of a mile across the fields in the direction of Manchester.

4890. Did you make any claim upon anyone for the damage you sustained ?—Well, we made a claim so far as this, I said we should discontinue brickmaking until the damage was made good.

4891. You told your men so ?—Yes.

4892. What followed upon that ?— There was a meeting called after that at the "Buckley Arms," Stockport, which I attended, and five or six brickmakers of Stockport, I think, attended the meeting. They first offered 10*l.* or 15*l.*, and I said I would either have the 20*l.* or pay it all myself, and I received a letter from them afterwards offering the 20*l.*, conditionally that I would start my men again, which letter I think you have.

4893. Who paid you that 20*l.* ?—Joseph Brown and two others.

4894. Thomas Holland was one, was he not ?—Thomas Holland and John Jordan.

4895. Did you put your men on again ?—Yes.

4896. Have you met with any injury since ?—Not since.

4897. (*Mr. Chance.*) Was the damage done on the night of the 15th or the morning of the next day ?—I think it would be about 12 o'clock when the men were seen.

4898. About 12 o'clock on the night of the 15th ? —Yes.

The witness withdrew.

John Clent sworn and examined.

J. Clent.

4899. (*Mr. Chance.*) Are you a sergeant in the police force ?—Yes.

4900. Where are you stationed ?—At Long Side, in this county.

4901. On the night of the 15th of June were you on duty at Longside ?—I was.

4902. In the course of the night whilst you were on duty did you see a large body of men ?—I did, at 2 o'clock on the Sunday morning.

4903. How many men did you see ?—I counted 20.

4904. Were they walking along in a body ?—Yes, coming from the direction as I thought of a place called Ladybarn.

4905. In what direction were they going ?—Towards Gorton. They came down a road that is called Birch Lane, and there they crossed the Stockport Road, and inclined a little to the right, and then they took another turn to the left which leads on to the high road, and then you can get to Gorton, or Ashton, or different parts.

4906. And would that also be the road to Manchester ?—Yes, and also to Manchester.

4907. Do you know the place where Mr. Barrett had a brickyard ?—I never was in his croft, but I know tolerably well whereabouts it is situate.

4908. Would that be the road from Mr. Bailey's brickyard towards Gorton and Manchester ?—It would be the straight direct road I should think.

4909. Did you speak to them ?—I did. One of them told me they had been to a supper, and I kept talking to one a bit till he perhaps got some 40 or 50 yards behind the body, and then I commenced whistling with my whistle. The whole of the body then ran away, and I stopped this man, and I asked him his name, and I asked him what business he had been on that drew him there at that time in the morning, and I also took him to the police office at Rusholme, for I suspected something was wrong by the man's appearance. His trousers were quite wet up to his

FOURTH DAY.

J. Clent.

7 Sept. 1867.

knees, and there was a great deal of clay on his boots. In fact the whole of them were in that way.

4910. You were able to notice that?—Yes, they appeared to have been dirty, and then they appeared as though they had been trying to wash it off. The trousers were wet up to the knees.

4911. What distance did you walk along with this body of men?—I should say I walked between 200 and 300 yards.

4912. So that you had plenty of time to observe?—I had plenty of time to observe.

4913. You say you apprehended this man, did you ask him his name?—Yes.

4914. What name did he give?—He gave me the name of David Hendry.

4915. Did he give you any address?—Yes; No. 4, Wilkinson's Buildings, Regent Road, in Salford.

4915. Did he tell you where he worked?—Yes, he told me he worked for a person of the name of Collins, a brickmaker, in Salford.

4916. How long was he detained in custody?—I believe he was detained in custody from that time till after 7 o'clock in the morning.

4917. And then what became of him?—He was allowed to go, as there had been no information sent to the office of any outrage having been committed.

4919. He was not taken before the magistrate?—No.

4920. No information appeared, and he was let go?—He was let go.

4921. The next day did you make any inquiry to see whether any person of the name of David Hendry lived at the address given to you?—Yes, I did.

4922. What was the result?—There was no person of that name.

4923. Did you also make inquiry at the place where he said he worked?—I did.

4924. And could you hear nothing further?—I could not.

4925. You say you had every opportunity of observing him?—Yes.

4926. Did you observe him particularly?—I did.

4927. Did you observe any peculiarity about his face?—He had lost two fingers off the left hand. That I noticed when I was at Rusholme because I looked at him particularly, and I said, "You are a hard-working man," and I asked him to lift his hand up, and I noticed his two fingers were off, and I believe it was the left hand.

4928. Did you also observe his face?—Yes.

4929. Did you also notice any peculiarity about his face?—I did not notice any peculiarity about his face.

4930. Should you know the man again?—I should know him again if I saw him.

4931. It would be almost light at that time, would it not?—It was just coming daylight.

4932. So that you had a good opportunity of seeing him?—Yes, and another thing; I walked with him very nearly a mile from the office to the lock-up.

4933. Have you any reason for believing that that man was any person in particular?—I have no idea, only what I have heard.

4934. Do you know whether any of those men were or were not union men?—That I could not tell, but I should judge by their going in a body that they were union men.

4935. Could you tell at all whether they were brickmakers?—All of them appeared to be of that class, I believe, what I call navvies or brickmakers; they had just that appearance.

4936. You are not able to speak to any of the others?—No.

4937. Did you have any conversation with any of the others?—I spoke to several of the others, and there was only that one spoke, who said that they had been to a supper. I asked him to stop a time or two, and one or two of them turned round and said we had come far enough, and I thought I had better whistle.

4938. (*Chairman.*) You noticed nothing about the eyes of this man, did you?—No, I did not.

The witness withdrew.

M. Ainsworth.

MATHEW AINSWORTH sworn and examined.

4339. (*Chairman.*) What are you?—A labouring man sometimes, and sometimes a brickmaker.

4940. Where are you employed now?—At Cheadle Hulme.

4941. Are you a member of the Stockport union? Yes.

4942. Have you been so long?—Two years, or two years and a month or two.

4943. Have you attended their meetings during that time?—Sometimes.

4944. We understand that on Wednesday last two books were given to you by the Stockport union men, by Slater and somebody else?—Yes.

4945. Who was the other man, it was Singleton, was it not?—I cannot say who they were, but there was two books given to me.

4946. You gave up one book did you not?—Yes.

4945. What did you do with the other?—I made it away.

4948. How did you make it away?—Because it encumbered me. I could not carry it.

4949. But how did you do it?—I burnt it.

4950. When did you burn it?—On Wednesday, some time.

4951. The books were given to you on Wednesday, were they not?—Yes, they were.

4952. Slater gave you the two?—Somebody gave me the two.

4953. Were you told to keep them quiet?—I was told to take them with me; they thought they would not be wanted.

4954. And so they gave them to you?—Yes.

4955. Where were you when they gave them to you?—I had just lit on them before they set off to come here. I was at the "Pack Horse."

4956. Were you at the "Pack Horse?"—I was there a few minutes.

4957. Had you met them by agreement?—No.

4958. It was mere accident?—Yes.

4959. What time of day was it?—From 8 to 9 in the morning.

4960. What sort of book was the one that you made away with, that was so inconvenient to carry?—Perhaps nine inches square.

4961. Can you read?—Yes.

4962. Did you take a look at it?—No.

4963. You looked inside a little, did you not?—No, I did not.

4964. Where did you burn it?—In the fire.

4965. But when did you burn it?—In the forenoon.

4966. How long after you got it?—Well, to tell the truth, I cannot say.

4967. You got it between 8 and 9, did you not?—I burned it before mid-day.

4968. What fire was it that you burned it at?—It was in a public-house.

4969. What was the name of the public-house?—I called in to have some beer. To tell you the truth I had been in several public-houses.

4970. But you can tell me the name of the public-house that you burned the book in?—Well, it might be the "Pack Horse."

4971. It might be, but was it?—Well, I have a very poor recollection.

4972. It was at the "Pack Horse," was it not?—Well, it might be.

4973. It was, was it not?—Well, I might as well say it was as it was not.

4974. Of course you might. Who was present at the time; was the landlord present?—No, he was not.

4975. Which of the union men?—Well, I do not know. I would not have hindered them if they had done it. I would have hindered a stranger. They took no part in it. I would not carry it.

4976. Who were in the room?—There were some of the party that were coming there, but I could not say.

4977. Was Slater there?—I did not put their names down, but they might be there.

4978. But you have a very good head. Who was there?—It was some of the parties who came here.

4979. But was Slater one of them?—I do not think he was.

4980. Singleton?—I do not think he was.

4981. George Hulme?—I should not wish to tell a lie.

4982. Of course not, I know that. Was George Hulme there?—I will not say, because I cannot, to tell the truth; it is no use, I cannot tell anything but the truth.

4983. It is no use if you cannot, but I think with such a good head as you have you can think?—Well, I had had some beer, and I cannot say.

4984. Sometimes you know your wits are improved by the beer. Was there somebody like George Hulme there?—I do not think there was, but I had had some beer before, and I should not like to tell a lie.

4985. But the effect of beer might be that you would see double, and that you would see two George Hulmes?—Then there would be more company in the house.

4986. You must know who was there?—I do not know who were coming here, nor what all their names are.

4987. But was George Hulme there?—I do not know whether he was there or here.

4988. But was he in the room?—I think I almost durst say he was not in the room.

4989. Will you swear that?—I dare not quite swear it, though I durst almost swear it.

4990. You know Joseph Brown?—Yes, I know him.

4991. Was he there?—No, he was not.

4992. How many people were there?—Perhaps from three to four, or something like that.

4993. Were they union men?—Yes, of course they were. You may term it union, but it is not so on our cards.

4994. No, it is a club. They were all there and had you a little talk about the book before you put it on the fire?—Not a word, only I said I shall not carry this, and it was so late at the time to put it in the box.

4995. Then you had a little talk with them about it?—They had not time to take it and put it by, and they asked me to take it with me. There was one that would fit my pocket and the other would not, and I carried it under my arm and I thought I might lose it, so I thought I would make away with it.

4996. You thought it would be a pity to lose it, so you burnt it. Now was that book an old friend of yours; did you know it at all?—No, I did not.

4997. Was George Bailey there?—I do not know.

4998. Do you think he was?—He might be or he might not, but I cannot tell; some were gone out of the house, and some were in the house. I cannot tell you who is in a big public-house.

4999. But this was not in a large room, was it?—It was not as big as this, but it was a very large room for a public-house.

5000. I do not know what that is?—It was a large room for a tavern.

5001. Was George Bailey there?—I think he was not there.

5002. Nor Robert Bailey?—No, nor Robert Bailey.

5003. Cannot you give me any name at all, or has it all slipped out of your memory?—Yes, I can give you a name I daresay when you get to it.

5004. I want you to get to it?—I thought you knew them all.

5005. Was Holland there?—There was Thomas Holland and a brother of mine, and now you have got the lot.

5006. Was Holland Cheetham there?—No, he was not.

5007. Was Potts there?—No.

5008. You know that this book was kept at the "Pack Horse," do you not?—I know it had been previously.

5009. And you knew that the book was very likely to be wanted here did you not?—Yes; well, they had got a fresh one, and I did not think it would be wanted at all. There was a new one, and there had been some time.

5010. This was an old one, was it?—It was an old original.

5011. How far did it go back?—I do not know; I am a new hand in the town.

5012. How did you know it was old?—By its appearance; it was rather ragged.

5013. How did you burn it, did you tear the leaves?—I never tore out the leaves.

5014. How did you burn it?—I let it have its road in the fire.

5015. Did it take long to burn?—Well, I did not watch it so very long.

5016. Where did you keep the book between 8 o'clock in the morning when it was given to you till mid-day, when you burnt it?—Under my arm; I had nowhere else to put it.

5017. But you could not work with it under your arm?—I was not working; I was having some ale, and I kept it there till I got shut of it.

5018. And then you went to some other public-house?—I was not going to be encumbered with it at all; if I had lost it somebody might have got it, and might have something to do with it.

5019. What did they give you for taking care of it?—Nothing at all.

5020. Did not they promise you any money for taking care of it?—Not a halfpenny.

5021. (*Mr. Barstow.*) How was it that you came to the "Pack Horse" so early that morning?—Well, it had been raining, and when it has been raining over night we cannot start work till mid-day. I had had a gill or two of ale the night before, and I thought it was the likeliest place to have a gill more in the morning.

5022. Where do you live?—At Heaton Norris.

5023. How far is Heaton Norris from the "Pack Horse?"—Perhaps a mile or three-quarters of a mile.

5024. Did any one send for you there?—No.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to Monday next at 11 o'clock.

FIFTH DAY.

Assize Courts, Manchester, Monday, 9th September 1867.

PRESENT:

PERCIVAL ANDREE PICKERING, Esq., Q.C. | GEORGE CHANCE, Esq.
THOMAS IRWIN BARSTOW, Esq. | JAMES SHEIL, Esq., Secretary.

PERCIVAL ANDREE PICKERING, Esq., Q.C., IN THE CHAIR.

FIFTH DAY. 9 Sept. 1867.

(*Mr. Pickering.*) Before we begin this morning I wish notice to be taken of this. I wish to announce that we have the box belonging to the Manchester union. That box can only be opened, we were told by the witness, by three keys, and I give notice that if those who have those keys choose to come forward and be at this building by 10 o'clock on Wednesday morning next, so that the box can be opened in that way, well and good; but we shall certainly get access to it, and unless it is so opened by those who must know that we are wanting to open it and that we have got it, we shall have it broken open. Let that be distinctly understood. There is plenty of time for communication to be made to everybody, and we are determined to do it.

G. Harrop.

GEORGE HARROP sworn and examined.

5025. (*Mr. Chance.*) Are you an inspector of police?—I am.

5026. At what place are you stationed?—At Droylsden.

5027. Is that in this county?—It is.

5028. How far is it from Manchester?—About four miles.

5029. How far is it from Ashton-under-Lyne?—It will be about three miles, I think.

5030. Were you on duty on the 28th of June 1862?—I was.

5031. Was that at Droylsden?—At Small Shaw, Ashton-under-Lyne.

5032. How far from Ashton-under-Lyne would that be?—About a mile and a half.

5033. And who was on duty with you?—Constable William Jump.

5034. Were you on duty together that night?—We were.

5035. How far was the place where you were on duty from Clifford's brickyard?—About three miles, as near as I can remember.

5036. When you were on duty did you see any number of men coming along?—I did.

5037. In which direction were the men coming?—From the direction of Clifford's brickyard, a cross country route.

5038. In which direction would they be going?—They would be going in the direction of the Oldham Road, which is a road leading between Ashton-under-Lyne and Oldham.

5039. How many men were there?—Eight.

5040. Did you notice whether they were armed or not?—I did.

5041. What had they?—They seemed to have large sticks in their hands, shovel shafts with a portion of the blade attached to the end, spade shafts or shovel shafts, and their coat collars turned up by the side of the face, and some appeared to be masked, wearing masks upon their faces.

5042. What time was it when you met them?—About 2 o'clock in the morning.

5043. Was it dusk then?—It was rather a dull morning, not very light.

5044. The day would be breaking about that time?—Just a little, but very little.

5045. Did you notice at that time whether any of them were armed with guns or pistols?—I could not see any at that time.

5046. When you met them did you or Jump arrest any of them?—Before they got to us, when they got perhaps 50 yards from us, they all left the footpath and walked in single file on the grass in the field.

5047. Before that time had they been all together?—They were all in a body when we first saw them. After they had all passed with the exception of two, I stepped before the last but one, and said, "My man, what is the meaning of all this?" He attempted to pass by without speaking. I says, "Nay, you have done nothing wrong; you need not fear," and put up my hand to his breast. He then seized me by the arm and shoulder, and said, "Now men, now men, now," two or three times, pretty quickly. I then got tightly hold of him with my left hand by the coat collar. He attempted to break my hold by going under my arm with his head stooping down. At this time they had all collected together, and stood about six or eight yards from where we were.

5048. All the others?—All the others. I saw Burke, who was in the act——

5049. Do you know the name of this man of whom you took hold?—No; I saw Burke. He stood amongst the others, and he said something that I did not understand. I saw that he had a pistol in his hand, and the pistol was instantly discharged, and the contents caught me over the right eye, and shot the stick clean out of my right hand. This man who was trying to get under my arm had drawn me into a crooked position, and the shot just caught me over the right eye and took the stick and broke it in two, and took it out of my hand.

5050. What took place next?—Another shot was fired which seemed to go right over my head, and pretty close too, but over the top of my head.

5051. Did that shot come in the same direction?—Yes, and a third shot was fired which seemed to go by the left side of my head, all pretty quickly in succession. Then Ward and another man stepped before me with two large sticks.

5052. At that time could you see any of the number struggling with Jump?—Yes, on my left I saw that Jump seemed to be very much engaged with two or three that were round him. Ward and another man stepped before me with very large sticks or bludgeons, and at this time I had got possession of the man's bludgeon whom I had got hold of at the first. There was a desperate struggle between us three, the two men that were before me and myself for a considerable time.

5053. At that time you were attacked by two men?—Two.

5054. One of whom was John Ward?—Yes.

5055. What were you able to do?—In the long run I struck Ward somewhere about the head and he dropped, and he went on his hands and knees towards the left. In a very short time I struck the other man and he left. Then there was a man stood about 15 or 20 yards from me as near as I can think, who began to throw large stones and one caught me in the arm.

5056. Had the other men remained there or had

they left ?—They seemed to be going towards Jump and some I believe left the field.

5057. They all seemed to be taking part in the fray more or less ?—Yes.

5058. After you had struck Ward down what took place ?—Another man who stood about 15 or 20 yards from me began to throw stones at me and one caught me in the arm. I went after that man, and after I had crossed the field, the man threw himself over a rail and then he got over a hedge; I threw the bludgeon that I had after him, and he had then got up; he seemed to fall in the dry ditch that there was there and he got up and went down the lane leading towards Small Shaw Road. It would be perhaps 50 or 60 yards higher up than the fold. During the time that I was in the act of throwing this bludgeon at the man who was throwing stones at me I heard two reports of firearms in the direction of where I had seen Jump.

5059. Did you go in the direction where you heard the firearms ?—Yes; I found him shot and leaning against a stump crouched down. I roused some of the neighbours; in fact some had got up.

5060. You did not tell us in what state you found Jump ?—I found him crouched down against a stump at a style leading out of the field.

5061. In what state was he ?—Crouched down, like sitting upon his backside.

5062. Did he seem exhausted ?—I could just hear a moan coming from him. He seemed almost dead; he never spoke.

5063. Did you ascertain at that time whether he had been injured or not ?—Yes, one of the neighbours who lived close to got up.

5064. But did you ascertain before you left him whether any injury had been done to him ?—Yes.

5065. What injury had been done to him ?—He had been shot in the breast. Then we got Jump and carried him into a neighbour's house, and got him upon some chairs; I then ran and got the assistance of more of our officers, and a doctor was got as soon as possible, but when the doctor came he was dead.

5066. Four men were apprehended, were they not, on the suspicion of having been concerned in the outrage ?—Six.

5067. And John Ward and Michael Burke were convicted ?—Yes.

5068. At what assizes were they convicted ?—In the summer assizes of 1862.

5069. At Liverpool ?—Yes.

5070. And I believe Ward was hanged ?—Yes.

5071. And Michael Burke was sentenced to penal servitude for life ?—Yes.

5072. (*Chairman.*) He is now out of the country ?—Yes.

5073. (*Mr. Chance.*) Who were the other men that were apprehended for that offence ?—Frederick Hipwell and Thomas Barlow and Robert Ryan and John Toole. Ensor and Gregory were not meddled with.

5074. Hipwell and Thomas Barlow I think are here ?—Yes.

5075. Do you know what has become of Robert Ryan and John Toole ?—I do not.

5076. Have you seen anything of them since that murder of Jump was committed ?—Not since they have been discharged after being in custody at Ashton.

5077. They were taken into custody and discharged ?—Yes.

5078. Do you know why they were discharged ?—Owing to the evidence being weak. Afterwards there was evidence given, and the two men were sought again, but they could not be met with.

5079. You mean they were discharged by the magistrates ?—Yes.

5080. Then they were never taken to the assizes ?—No.

5081. Then since they have been discharged you have never seen them ?—No.

5082. Do you know why the attack upon Jump and yourself was made ?—I did not know at that time.

5083. Did you make inquiries afterwards ?—Yes.

5084. And what was the result of the inquiries you made ?—The result was that we found out that they had been to Joseph Clifford's brickcroft at Staleybridge and destroyed about 18,000 bricks.

5085. Was it the same night that they destroyed the bricks ?—Yes.

5086. How long before you met them were the bricks destroyed ?—They were returning at 2 o'clock in the morning. It was a reasonable time for walking the distance. A watchman that is here as a witness said that they found the bricks destroyed about half-past 1.

5087. Did you hear what the cause of the destruction of the bricks was ?—I only heard from the person who was in charge of the yard.

5088. He is here I believe ?—Yes, he is.

5089. (*Mr. Chance.*) He had better give that evidence himself.

5090. (*Chairman.*) What is his name ?—John Tould.

5091. He was then engaged as waterman for Mr. Clifford, I believe ?—He was.

5092. When Michael Burke was taken into custody did he make any confession ?—He did.

5093. Was that made to you ?—It was not.

5094. From whom did you hear it ?—I heard it from a superintendent of the name of Richard Pickering, but I do not know whether I could state the nature of the confession.

5095. Is Pickering here ?—He is not. There is another man who was taken as a witness at the assizes who was made a witness. He was a prisoner in custody upon the charge, but they made a witness of him. His name was Thomas Barlow, and he made a long statement.

5096. Did Thomas Barlow hear any statement made by Burke ?—I do not think he did.

5097. Then the only knowledge which you have of that confession is from what you heard from Superintendent Pickering ?—It is.

5098. (*Chairman.*) Where is he now ?—He is at Rochdale.

5099. (*Mr. Chance.*) Is he stationed there at the present time ?—Yes.

5100. (*Chairman.*) Was the confession in writing ?—Yes, it was taken in writing.

5101. Who has the writing ?—I am sure I cannot tell whether he kept it himself or not; or it might have been handed to Mr. Hall, the solicitor.

5102. (*Mr. Chance.*) You cannot tell us distinctly what it was ?—I cannot.

5103. (*Chairman.*) Did you say that the confession was made to Superintendent Richard Pickering ?—It was made to him.

5104. And did he take it down in writing ?—Yes, I believe he did.

5105. (*Mr. Chance.*) You say that Thomas Barlow was also apprehended on this charge ?—Yes.

5106. Did Thomas Barlow say anything about it ?—He was made a witness and said a great deal about it at the assizes at Liverpool.

5107. Did you hear him ?—There is no doubt that I should hear him, but I am the same with regard to that as I am with regard to the other statement. I could not say much about it.

5108. If you heard him say anything about it and you can tell us what he said you must do so ?—Yes; but I could not be positive about it, and I would rather not.

5109. Then you met this man, as it were, accidentally ?—Yes.

5110. Did you know at all that any attack was going to be made upon Clifford's brickyard ?—I did not.

5111. You heard nothing at all about it in fact till you met this man ?—Nothing at all.

5112. Do you know a man named Thomas Harrison ?—I do.

5113. Who is he ?—He did belong to the bricklayers' union at Ashton-under-Lyne at that time, though he has not been making bricks now for some time I understand he is here as a witness.

FIFTH DAY.

G. Harrop.

9 Sept. 1867.

5114. You know John Barlow, too, do you not?—I do.

5115. Was he at any time secretary to that union?—He has told me so himself.

5116. When did he tell you that he was secretary?—About two months since I should think.

5117. Did he mention at that time when he had been secretary?—He said that he had been secretary, but he was not then. He did not name any particular time. He said that he began to be secretary for the brickmakers' union of Ashton-under-Lyne when he was very young, and that he had reason to regret it ever since what took place at Jump's case.

5118. Did he tell you that he was secretary at the time that this murder of Jump took place?—He did.

5119. However, he is here to speak for himself?—Yes; he also told me from a question I asked him that he had been engaged along with Thomas Harrison for some weeks getting up the defence in that case.

5120. Did he tell you that at the same time that he told you that he had been secretary?—He did.

5121. Was that about two months ago?—Yes.

5122. Have you anything else that you can tell us on that case?—I do not think I have.

5123. (*Chairman.*) This outrage took place in the Ashton-under-Lyne district, did it not?—It is a district belonging to the Ashton-under-Lyne brickmakers district no doubt.

5124. Is there a union which is called the Ashton-under-Lyne district union?—Yes.

5125. And this property of Clifford's was in that district, was it not?—It was.

5126. We have heard of two other districts, namely, Stockport and Manchester?—Yes.

5127. Are they three separate districts belonging to three separate unions?—I believe they are. I have been told so.

5128. Do you know a place called Droylsden?—I do.

5129. Is that the boundary between the one district and the other?—It is.

5130. Between which two districts?—Manchester and Ashton-under-Lyne.

5131. You mentioned just now that you had had some conversation with John Barlow. Are you at all aware about a difficulty owing to some regulation that there is in the union in selling bricks out of the one district into another?—I know the offence has been complained of to me by master brickmakers.

5132. That they cannot sell out of their union district?—They will not allow the bricks that are made out of the Manchester district to go into the Manchester district. The Ashton people, I understand, have no objection for the Manchester bricks to go into the Ashton-under-Lyne district.

5133. Then did you hear from this man whose name you have mentioned any reason for the destruction of the bricks on Clifford's property?—Non-union men were employed in the yard.

5134. That was the only reason you heard given for it?—Yes.

5135. That is to say he employed men who did not belong to the Ashton-under-Lyne union?—Yes.

5136. Supposing that Droylsden is the boundary on the western side of the Ashton district, what is the boundary on the eastern side? Would Staleybridge be the boundary on the eastern side?—After we get out of Staleybridge, I never heard of any other brickmakers' union existing.

5137. But would the Ashton-under-Lyne district extend from Droylsden through Ashton up to Staleybridge?—Yes, it would.

5138. What is the length of mileage from Staleybridge to Droylsden?—Six or seven miles I dare say, as near as I can think; six miles I should say.

5139. (*Mr. Barston.*) Did you inquire at the time you apprehended these six men whether they were members of any union?—Not then.

5140. Have you ascertained since?—Yes.

5141. Were they members of any union?—They were.

5142. Of what union were they members?—Of the Ashton-under-Lyne union.

5143. All of them?—Yes.

The witness withdrew.

J. Tould.

JOHN TOULD sworn and examined.

5144. (*Mr. Barstow.*) In June 1862, you were manager for Mr. Joseph Clifford, brickmaker, at Droylsden, were you not?—At Staleybridge.

5145. At that time was there any dispute that you are aware of between Mr. Clifford and the members of the Ashton brickmakers' union?—There was.

5146. What was the nature of that dispute?—On account of his not employing union men.

5147. Do I understand that he would not employ union men at all?—No, not at all.

5148. Had you had any correspondence with the union about it?—They had been several times to ask the men to go into the union.

5149. When you say "they" had been, whom do you mean?—The union men; I do not know any particular party.

5150. You say they applied to the non-union men to join the union?—Yes.

5151. I suppose the men would not join?—No.

5152. Have they ever come to Mr. Clifford to desire him to employ their men in preference to the non-union men?—I cannot say to that; I do not know whether they have been to him or not.

5153. Or written to him, or applied to him in any way?—I do not think they have written to him or been to him; they have only been to the men whom he employed,

5154. Have they threatened him at all in case he employed non-union men?—Not that I am aware of.

5155. Do you remember on the night of the 28th of June some malicious damage being done to your bricks?—Yes.

5156. At what time did you know of that first?—Well, I left the place about half-past 9 o'clock the night before, and about 3 o'clock the next morning one of the men came down and knocked me up and said there had been a lot of men and damaged all the bricks on the ground that they could do.

5157. What time was it when you got to the brickyard?—It would be perhaps a quarter past 3. I could not say exactly to a few minutes.

5158. You examined of course and saw what damage had been done?—Yes.

5159. How many bricks had been destroyed?—From 18,000 to 20,000.

5160. What was the money damage?—7*l.* or 8*l.* altogether.

5161. In your own mind to what do you attribute that damage being done?—To his employing non-union men.

5162. (*Mr. Chance.*) Did you examine the bricks the next morning after they had been destroyed?—Yes.

5163. Could you give a guess as to the number of men that had been employed in destroying them?—According to the footprints, I should think there were six or seven.

The witness withdrew.

FREDERICK HIPWELL sworn and examined.

5164. (*Chairman.*) Now, if you will make a full and true disclosure of all the matters with which you are acquainted, no matter what the outrages may have been to which you may have been a party, or of which you may know something, you will have the right to have from us, and we shall certainly give you, a full indemnity, so that you can never be punished in any sort of way for anything you may have done, however bad it may have been ; but remember that it it is entirely dependent upon your making a full and true disclosure of everything. Unless you do make a full and true disclosure of everything you will not be entitled to anything, and you will not have it. What are you ?—Well, I formerly was a brickmaker, but I am labouring at Gorton Tank at present for the Manchester and Sheffield company.

5165. How long have you been in the brickmaking trade ?—Well, I had been brought up to it all my life before that affair happened.

5166. Are you now a member of any union ?—No, nor never have been since.

5167. In the year 1862 you were, I believe, a member of a union, at the time of Jump's case ?—Yes, I was.

5168. Of what union were you a member ?—Of the Ashton-under-Lyne union.

5169. How long had you been a member of that union ?—Three or four years as near as I can think.

5170. Where does that union hold its meetings ?—Well, I do not know where they are held at now.

5171. But where did it hold its meetings when you were a member ?—It was held at the side of Ashton Old Church.

5172. At a public-house ?—Yes, at a man of the name of Ralph Barber's.

5173. I suppose you attended pretty regularly at the meetings ?—Well, not so very often.

5174. How often were the meetings usually held ?—They used to be once every week, or sometimes every fortnight.

5175. You had a president, I suppose, as usual ?—Yes.

5176. And a secretary ?—Yes.

5177. We understand John Barlow was secretary at that time ?—I believe he was.

5178. Who was the president then ?—There was generally about that time Thomas Barlow and Thomas Harrison, that was taking the president and the secretary.

5179. Was Thomas Barlow brother of John Barlow ? You have mentioned John Barlow as being the secretary, and I asked you who was president ?—Thomas Harrison, I beg your pardon.

5180. And the meetings generally were held every week ?—Yes.

5181. Where were the books of the society at that time ?—I believe they were kept at the same public-house. I never knew them to be taken anywhere else.

5182. Did you ever fill any office ?—No, not one. Yes, I was once district man.

5183. What was your district ?—It was Droylsden district, but I cannot exactly tell you.

5184. Had you a treasurer ?—Of the district.

5185. A treasurer of the union ?—No, I do not know that there was.

5186. Then you had a president and a secretary and district men ?—Yes.

5187. Had you any other officers ?—No, I never was in any other office.

5188. I suppose whenever there was any sort of business to be done it was brought before a regular meeting ?—Well, I never recollect anything of outrages brought before a meeting.

5189. But without calling it an outrage ; if any man was employing non-union men I presume you discussed it at a meeting ?—Well I had never anything brought before me of that kind when I was a district man.

5190. But have you never heard anything brought before a meeting about a man employing non-union men ?—Well it has been mentioned.

5191. It was against your rules then was it not that any brickmaker in that district should employ non-union men ?—Yes.

5192. And if anybody did employ non-union men you were expected to mention it at the meeting I suppose, or at any rate it was mentioned, was it not ?—It was mentioned.

5193. Do you remember when it was that you heard it mentioned that Clifford was employing non-union men ?—Well, I cannot exactly mention the time, but it would not be long before that affair.

5194. It was not long before action was taken upon it ?—No.

5195. Then how long before this matter of Jump's, and before Clifford's bricks were destroyed, do you think it had been mentioned publicly at the meeting ?—Well, I never heard it mentioned at any meeting.

5196. You said you had heard it mentioned at the meeting that Clifford was employing non-union men ?—Yes.

5197. When did you hear it first mentioned that something must be done to put a stop to it ?—It would not be but a very short time before, and it was John Ward that I heard mention it at the time.

5198. To whom did he mention it ?—He mentioned it to me. There was in general John Ensor with him at the time.

5199. And who else was there ?—I cannot remember.

5200. Were there five or six of you ?—Very likely there would be.

5201. You have no doubt about it, have you ?—No.

5202. You mentioned some other names besides Ensor and Ward. Was Gregory there ?—Well, we did meet together before the affair took place.

5203. But was that meeting, of which you are now speaking, the first time that you met together or heard it mentioned that something was to be done ?—I cannot exactly say.

5204. You met in a hat shop did you not ?—Yes, at John Ward's.

5205. Behind Ward's house ?—Yes.

5206. That was not the first time you had had a talk of doing something—you had talked of doing something before that surely ?—Not at Mr. Clifford's.

5207. But had you settled generally at the meeting of the union that masters who were employing non-union men against your rules must be looked after ?—Well, it was in general looked after by John Ensor and John Ward.

5208. You as a district man, I suppose, looked after it too ?—No, I never did.

5209. What did you look after ?—Well, if anything occurred in the yard that was against the rules of the club it was brought forward and they came and asked me if I thought it was any use to call a district meeting.

5210. But you know this was the very thing that was against your rules, Clifford employing non-union men. Was Clifford's place in your district ?—No.

5211. Who was the district man of that district where Clifford's bricks were ?—I cannot say ; it was the other side of Ashton altogether.

5212. But it would be his duty to call a meeting about it, would it not ?—I do not know that it was.

5213. But in your district if you found a master was employing a non-union man you would have called a meeting at once, would you not ; or else what is the use of being a district man to see that your rules are enforced ? What is the meaning of your rule if you do not give information when there is what you call a rule broken ?—Well, there was many a thing that used to come that of course there was no meeting called for.

5214. That may be. Then did you call a meeting when there were only trivial things, or did you only call a meeting when there was something strong to be done—you may as well tell us, for we shall

FTH DAY.
F. Hipwell.
Sept. 1867.

know all about this?—I shall tell you all the truth as far as lies in my power.

5215. Tell us the truth when you speak, and do not keep anything back. Do you mean to say that as regards matters of this sort of which we are now talking, it was not the duty of the district man to bring them before the meeting?—Oh no, it was not.

5216. Do you mean to tell me it was not the duty of the district man to bring it before the meeting if he found a master was employing non-union men?—Of course it has been brought before them.

5217. You have told me already that; you remember Clifford's conduct being mentioned at a meeting?—I have heard it mentioned.

5218. Was it in consequence of its having been mentioned at a meeting that you had that meeting in a hat shop behind Ward's house?—I heard it mentioned at a meeting in the club room at Ashton.

5219. About Clifford?—Yes.

5220. Was it in consequence of its having been mentioned in a club room that you had this meeting at the hat shop behind Ward's house?—No, I do not know that it was.

5221. Who summoned you to this meeting at the hat shop?—John Ward and John Ensor came to my house and told me.

5222. Did they do it in consequence of a resolution of the club?—I suppose they must have arranged some meeting.

5223. You suppose it must have been done for that reason?—Yes, I suppose it was.

5224. Then in consequence of a resolution of the club John Ensor and Ward summoned you?—Yes, they came to my house.

5225. John Ward and John Ensor were members of the union, were they not?—Yes.

5226. Were they men regularly employed on jobs of this sort?—Yes.

5227. And you, I suppose, too, pretty often?—Well, I have been.

5228. Then you met at this hat shop behind Ward's house?—Yes.

5229. You have told me Ward and Ensor and yourself. I think you said Thomas Barlow was there?—Yes.

5230. I forget whether you said Gregory was there?—Yes, he was.

5231. Were there any more there?—There was Michael Burke there.

5232. At what time of the day was it?—What, when he came to my house?

5233. Yes, what time of the day was it when Michael Burke went to your house?—Somewhere about dinner time.

5234. That is the usual time for warning to a meeting, is it not?—I believe it had been raining, and therefore that day, if I recollect right, they were not working.

5235. What time were you to meet and what time did you meet at the hat shop?—Well, it would be about 10 o'clock at night.

5236. Was it that night on which the business was to be done?—Yes.

5237. And I suppose there had been as usual a resolution at the meeting what you were to have for the job?—Well, I never knew nothing at all about it.

5238. Take care. Do you mean to tell me that it was not mentioned before you started on the job what you were to be paid for it?—If it was it was done by John Ensor and John Ward, for I never heard it mentioned.

5239. You say this was not the only time that you have been employed; do you mean to say you started on jobs without knowing what you were to have for them?—I did not know what we were to have.

5240. Is that the usual way for this sort of job?—It had varied.

5241. Had it varied according to the number that were employed?—Yes.

5242. Taking the number as six what was the usual payment for a job of this sort?—I cannot exactly say.

5243. But you can give me a notion; was it somewhere about 10*l.* or 6*l.*, or what was it?—Well, we never received anything for that job.

5244. Never mind what you received, you expected something?—Well, of course we did.

5245. What was the usual rate of payment for six men to do a job of this sort?—Say about 5*l.* or 6*l.* I dare say that would not be far off it.

5246. That would be about what you would consider a fair bargain?—Yes.

5247. And that amount was the amount generally decided upon by a resolution of the meeting; the meeting had to settle what the amount was, of course?—I never knew about what they were going to do till the affair was over.

5248. But you, being a good hand at these jobs, knew the usual mode of payment; and surely there was a resolution of the meeting; the money was not left to any one to pay you what he liked; there was a regular resolution of the meeting, was there not, as to what you would be paid?—Well, John Ensor, I believe, received the money, and I always received mine of him.

5249. Had it been always paid by him before?—By him.

5250. And at about that rate; but what I asked you was whether it was left to John Ensor to fix the amount or whether it was not fixed by resolution at the meeting?—It was generally fixed by him and John Ward.

5251. But in compliance with some resolution of a meeting of course?—Well, we have mentioned it several times.

5252. At the club?—Not at the club.

5253. Where?—We have mentioned it when we have met together.

5254. Of course. Did you ever go to do a job of this kind without having it mentioned before you started?—I cannot say but what we have.

5255. Trusting that the usual rate would be paid you?—Yes.

5256. What is the most now, speaking generally, that you yourself ever received for a job of this sort?—I believe 2*l.* 10*s.* was the most that I ever received.

5257. Not as much as 5*l.*? There was 5*l.* once, was there not?—What, for myself?

5258. Yes, for yourself?—Not for myself.

5259. Who paid you then, did Harrison pay you?—He did not pay me, he paid a man that was with me. Of course I saw it paid.

5260. Who was the man that he paid it to?—Thomas Barlow.

5261. Have you yourself ever had as much as 5*l.* given to you by Harrison?—No.

5262. Not for yourself, you know, but to distribute?—No, I did not receive it.

5263. I know; but did you yourself upon any other occasion receive as much as 5*l.*?—I never received any.

5264. You got it paid in another way? Now we will go on with this story. You met at this hat shop?—Yes.

5265. And it was there settled to go to Clifford's and destroy the bricks, was it not?—Yes.

5266. And the time at which you were to start was settled and all that was to be done?—Yes, we dispersed ourselves separately, agreeing to meet at a certain place.

5267. What was the "certain place"?—At the fence before you get to the brickfield.

5268. What did you take with you?—Well when I was going by Old Cross, at Ashton-under-Lyne, there was John Ensor that shouted to me and I went to him, and he said, "Will you have a glass," and of course I said, "Yes," and we went in and had a glass a piece together, I cannot say whether it was a pint of rum or a pint of gin—

5269. That we will not wait about. What then?—We came out and went to the place appointed.

5270. But I asked you what you had with you. Had you any stick?—Yes, I had a stick.

5271. Had you anything else?—No.
5272. Had you any gun or pistol?—No.
5273. You had not?—No.
5274. Nothing of the kind?—No.
5275. Had you any naphtha?—No.
5276. Then did you and Ensor go together to this place?—Yes.
5277. Now you can tell me then what Ensor carried with him?—He had one pistol.
5278. Single or double barrelled?—Single barrelled.
5279. It was loaded of course?—Yes, I daresay it was loaded.
5280. Had he anything else with him?—Not that I am aware of.
5281. Then did you two walk together to this place where you had agreed to meet?—Well, I cannot say whether there was another that we lit on on the way.
5282. Who do you think it was?—I do not know whether it was not Thomas Barlow.
5283. What did Thomas Barlow carry?—He had a stick, that is all I can say he had; that is all that I know he had.
5284. Had he any pistol?—Not that I am aware of.
5285. You say that it was a stick. I suppose it was a good serviceable stick that you had?—Yes.
5286. And so it was that Thomas Barlow had?—Yes.
5287. Then you all met at the place?—Yes.
5288. Now which of the others had guns or pistols?—Burke had one.
5289. A gun?—A pistol, and Ward had one, but I cannot say that I know of any more.
5290. You have mentioned now three pistols among you?—Yes.
5291. And they were of course all loaded, as we know from what happened afterwards?—Yes.
5292. You have mentioned three, but all the others had sticks like you had, I suppose?—Yes.
5293. Did those who carried pistols also have a stick, or had they only a pistol?—Yes, I believe they had a stick all the same.
5294. A stick besides the pistol?—Yes.
5295. And you will swear that you had not a pistol besides a stick?—Yes.
5296. Then you went to Clifford's?—Yes.
5297. Did you see anybody there?—Yes.
5298. Whom did you see?—There was a policeman at the kiln that was burning, and two or three other men.
5299. What o'clock was it when you got there?—Well, as near as I can think, I dare say it would be about 12 o'clock.
5300. At night?—Yes.
5301. Was it a dark night?—Yes, it was dark.
5302. We understand it was on the 28th of June?—Yes.
5303. Do you remember what day of the week it was?—Well, I do not remember whether it was a Friday night or not.
5304. Then it was on the night of Friday that you went?—I believe it was the night of Friday, but I will not be certain.
5305. Were there six of you, or seven of you?—There were seven of us.
5306. And you were altogether then of course?—Yes.
5307. Are you sure there were not eight?—There was John Ensor, John Ward, Frederick Hipwell (that is myself), Thomas Barlow, Robert Ryan, John Toole, and Michael Burke.
5308. Upon your getting to the yard and finding the policeman and one or two other men, as I think you said, there, what did you do?—Well, John Ward said he thought it would be best to have a look round, and he went by himself round the yard.
5309. You standing on one side?—We were standing on one side. So of course he said he could see nothing, only what there was at the kiln, and we went into the yard altogether when he came back.
5310. The kiln was in the yard, was it not?—Yes, on fire.
5311. You said there was a policeman, how many men were there with him?—There were two or three men.
5312. Upon your going into the yard where the kiln was, and where the policeman and those two or three men were, what did they do?—We could hear them laughing and talking together.
5313. Could not they see you?—No; when a man stands against the fire of a kiln he cannot see the men that are away, and you can see him.
5314. That is very true. Then they could not see you?—No.
5315. And did you go stealthily so that they might not hear you?—We went gently there.
5316. Had you anything over your boots?—No.
5317. Did you all go together?—Yes.
5318. Then what did you do gently?—We started spoiling the bricks.
5319. Was it on the soft clay that you went?—Yes.
5320. That would not make a noise?—No, it would not.
5321. And they could not see you?—No.
5322. I suppose you had resolved if you were interrupted, to make use of the pistols you took?—Well, I never heard that mentioned.
5323. Then what were they taken for?—There was not the least doubt they were taken to be used if we were attacked.
5324. And if the policeman and the men had interfered with you, of course you would have used them as you did afterwards?—Yes.
5325. But, however, they did not hear you, or observe you, did they?—No, they could not have, they never stirred from the kiln.
5326. You kept your eyes well in that direction, I suppose, to see if they moved towards you?—Yes.
5327. You spoiled we understand from 18,000 to 20,000 bricks; were they all in a soft state, or did you knock down any walls?—I never saw any knocked down.
5328. You did your part in treading, of course?—Yes.
5329. And then having done this, you came away?—Yes.
5330. Did you come out as you went in?—The same way back.
5331. And those people never heard you or observed you at all?—No.
5332. Then you were coming home again?—Yes.
5333. Were you walking in single file?—No, we were all together.
5334. I do not know that we want to go into details about it. We understand that the poor fellow Jump was killed at the time. All the pistols I suppose were fired?—Well, I heard the reports, but whether they were all fired or not I cannot say.
5335. But, however, you heard the reports of as many pistols as you had with you?—Well, as near as I can think it was three.
5336. Which of the two policemen were you engaged with?—Master Harrop.
5337. Did you throw a boulder stone at him?—Yes, I believe I did.
5338. It was a pretty big stone, was it not?—Well, I cannot exactly say the size of it now.
5339. And then you all made off?—Yes.
5340. Did you get paid for it?—No.
5341. Who was to have paid you?—John Ward and John Ensor always received the money. I always received mine, what I had, from John Ensor.
5342. Ensor and Gregory made off upon the men being apprehended?—Yes, they got out of the way.
5343. And so you lost your money?—Yes, I never got any.
5344. Did you never get your money from the union?—No.
5345. You were always in the habit of claiming it from Ensor?—Yes, he paid it to me.
5346. You always understood that he got it from the treasurer or secretary of the union and paid it to you, was that it?—Yes.

FIFTH DAY.

F. Hipwell.

9 Sept. 1867.

5347. And as he got off you could not get it, I suppose?—Well, I never had any.

5348. You remember those men being apprehended, do you not, which led to the trial of Ward and Burke?—Yes.

5349. Was there a meeting of the union afterwards which you attended?—No.

5350. Do you know that the funds of the union were employed in defending them; you must know that?—Oh yes.

5351. Were you present at any meeting where resolutions were passed about it?—No.

5352. What has become of Gregory or Ensor?—Well, I cannot say, but I believe they are abroad somewhere, though I do not know where.

5353. When did you last see them?—On the morning that the affair occurred.

5354. Not since?—No.

5355. Were you taken into custody upon the charge of this murder?—Yes.

5356. How long were you kept in custody?—Well, I am sure I cannot exactly say.

5357. A week or two?—Yes, I was in a good way towards two months.

5358. And then you were discharged, were you, there not being sufficient evidence against you?—Yes.

5359. What had become of Ryan or Toole?—Well, they got discharged at Ashton, and I believe they were working a week after they got discharged, and I believe they took their flight and all.

5360. They took their flight out of the district; do you know where they are working?—I do not know.

5361. Have you never heard where they are working now?—I do not know.

5362. You do not know whether they are working anywhere under a feigned name?—I do not know; I have never heard.

5363. Do you know a person of the name of Tetlow?—Of Hurst Brooks?

5364. Yes, at a place called Hurst, which is near Ashton-under-Lyne.—Yes.

5365. You know that this outrage which you have mentioned where this poor man lost his life took place in June 1862?—Yes.

5366. In November 1861, the year before, do you remember some outrage upon Mr. Tetlow's works? Just think; you know you must tell us everything now?—Upon his works?

5367. Upon his works or his house; it is immaterial where.—I remember one upon his house.

5368. He was a master brickmaker, was he not?—Yes, I believe he was.

5369. And did he live at Hurst, near Ashton-under-Lyne?—I believe he did, in what they call Corry Lane.

5370. Is that in Ashton-under-Lyne or near it?—It is in Hurst Brooks.

5371. Had he offended your Ashton union by employing non-union men?—I believe he had.

5372. You had not much doubt about that, I should think, had you?—No.

5373. And that matter, of course, had been brought before your union?—Yes, it must have been.

5374. And of course there had been some resolution respecting it?—Yes, it was John Ensor that mentioned it to me.

5375. But you understood that there had been some resolution of the club about him?—Well, it was generally brought up at the club about masters that were not employing non-union men.

5376. And I suppose it was left to somebody to look after it, and to do what was necessary about it?—Yes.

5377. Who employed you upon that affair?—John Ensor.

5378. Who else were employed in the affair besides you: was Charles Barlow employed?—There was myself, Tom Barlow, John Ward, John Ensor, Isaac Scholefield, and Charles Barlow.

5379. Where is Charles Barlow now, is he here?—No.

5380. Where is he?—He is at Droylsden.

5381. He is now working there, is he?—Yes.

5382. Was Ryan employed in that?—Ryan was there, Robert Ryan.

5383. Now you have mentioned eight of you. How much were you to have for this job?—Well, I do not know exactly what the full amount was, but I know I received the full amount for myself.

5384. Ensor paid you, I understand?—Yes, he did.

5385. He did not pay you till you had done it, of course?—No.

5386. Now, this was in November you have mentioned that this was to be done at Mr. Tetlow's?—Yes.

5387. Where did you all meet to agree upon doing it?—As near as I can remember I believe it was in what they call Wigan Road, out of Charlestown.

5388. You were warned, I suppose, to come to that meeting?—Yes.

5389. Who warned you?—Well, it was generally told from one to another by John Ensor where we were to meet.

5390. One of these eight told you?—Yes.

5391. And this place was agreed upon?—Yes.

5392. Did you mention the name of the public-house where you met?—I believe we did meet at the public-house on Ashton Old Road.

5393. Do you know the name of it?—I was just thinking; it was some "tree" I believe, but I cannot just think of it.

5394. Ensor, you say, warned you to come to the meeting?—Yes.

5395. Was it left to Ensor to get you together, and to settle the mode of doing it?—To Ensor and Ward.

5396. Did Ensor summon you?—Yes, he lived across the street from where I lived and he told me.

5397. And was the summons to tell you to meet at this public-house that you have mentioned?—I do not exactly know whether we met there, or whether we met down the lane a bit from our house; I am not certain.

5398. But, however, you met in one or the other of these two places?—Yes.

5399. What time was it when you met?—Well, I cannot exactly mention the time.

5400. Was it at night?—Yes, it was at night.

5401. At 10 o'clock?—Yes, I dare say it was somewhere from 9 to 11.

5402. Was it the usual habit to meet on occasions of this sort the very night that you were to do the business?—Yes.

5403. Having settled beforehand that the business was to be done?—Well, it must be settled by some time.

5404. It must have been settled however that night on which you met?—Yes.

5405. And you, all of you, met together either down the road or at the public-house?—Yes.

5406. It was then settled, was it, to go to Tetlow's house?—Yes.

5407. Then the offence that Tetlow had committed was not employing union men?—Yes.

5408. Tetlow was not in a large way of business, was he?—I do not exactly know. I was never in his yard in my life.

5409. You had no other feeling at all against him, except the union feeling?—No.

5410. This was the night, we understand, of the 25th of November, 1861, and I suppose it was quite dark?—Yes, but I cannot remember the day of the month.

5411. Now just tell us what you agreed to do, and what you had to you. Did you have combustible things with you?—Yes, it was agreed that we must go and what they call "bottle" him with a bottle of combustibles, with powder and different things.

5412. That means having bottles full of combustible stuff, and throwing them into his house?—Yes.

5413. Who got the bottles on this occasion?—Well, I never knew who it was got them, without it was John Ward and John Ensor.

5414. I suppose you had one?—Well, I had a bottle of naphtha.

5415. Had you got it, or did they give it you?—They gave it to me.

5416. What sized bottle was it? Was it as big as a soda-water bottle?—I believe they were gill bottles, half-pint bottles.

5417. Were they stone bottles or glass bottles?—I cannot remember, to swear, whether they were stone bottles or glass, but I believe they were stone bottles.

5418. But I suppose they were filled in your presence, then?—No they were not; they were filled before already.

5419. Had you seen them before?—I never saw them before.

5420. You never saw a bottle of that sort before?—Never in my life.

5421. Then they explained to you what it was, of course, to "bottle" him?—Yes, they told me.

5422. You had heard the expression "bottling" a man before, of course?—Well, I have heard of some, but I never saw any.

5423. But you had a good notion of what it meant?—Yes.

5424. Was there a fusee at the mouth of the bottle that was given to you?—No, it was a bottle of naphtha.

5425. And then you were to carry it?—Yes.

5426. How many others carried bottles?—I do not know whether there were three or four altogether, I am sure.

5427. But did you understand that the bottles were filled with blasting-powder and naphtha and slugs?—I did not know exactly what they contained inside.

5428. But had you a notion that they contained what I have just mentioned; some powder, of course?—There was some powder.

5429. Naphtha you have mentioned?—The naphtha was in a bottle by itself.

5430. But was there any naphtha in those bottles?—Not that I am aware of.

5431. There was some blasting-powder in some bottles, was there not?—Yes, there was some powder.

5432. Those bottles which contained powder must have had some fusees, I suppose?—Yes.

5433. And the bottles that contained naphtha had nothing but the naphtha in them, I suppose?—No.

5434. And the other bottles contained slugs?—They were combustible bottles.

5435. But you understood that there were some bottles which contained slugs?—They called them bottles of combustibles.

5436. Did you each have a bottle?—No, we did not.

5437. How many bottles were there?—I think there were four or five altogether; I do not know which.

5438. What did those carry who did not carry the bottles?—They generally had sticks.

5439. No doubt; had you a stick that night?—Yes.

5440. Had any of you pistols?—I never saw any that night.

5441. Was it generally the case when you were concerned in these matters, that someone had a pistol?—They might have one.

5442. It was a general thing, was it, to have a pistol?—Very likely they might.

5443. What time of night was it when you started for the job?—As near as I can remember it would be between 11 and 12 o'clock when we got there.

5444. I suppose you had all sticks?—Yes, I daresay we had all sticks.

5445. You went there, did you go to the house of Mr. Tetlow?—Yes.

5446. Does his house look into a lane or a field?—It looks into a field.

5447. Then did you go into the field?—No, we went into the lane, into the road.

5448. I suppose at that time they would have gone to-bed?—Yes, they would be gone to-bed; the house was in darkness.

5449. You expected they would be in bed?—Yes.

5450. Did you know the bedrooms in which they slept?—I did not.

5451. But some among you did?—Yes, some amongst us did.

5452. Was Mr. Tetlow a married man?—Well, I cannot say whether he is or not.

5453. But you have heard that he was?—No, I did not hear that he was.

5454. You did not inquire whether he was married or whether he had any family or not?—I did not.

5455. Having gone there with those bottles some among you knew his bedroom I suppose?—Yes, some of the party did.

5456. And knowing his bedroom and supposing he was in bed, some of your party threw one of the combustible bottles into it I suppose?—Yes.

5457. Which was it? Did you make the first shot, or how was it done?—Well, I cannot say who made the first shot I am sure.

5458. Well, whoever made it, did he make a good one, and did it go through the window?—I cannot say whether all of them went through or not.

5459. Did you see a bottle that was thrown go through the window or not?—Well, there was one went through.

5460. But you had at least four bottles; I suppose they all had their chance of going through the window, had they not?—Yes, they all had their chance; they were thrown.

5461. Were they all thrown into the same room where it was said he was sleeping?—No, there was either one or two thrown downstairs.

5462. Then we understand you to say that there were at least two thrown into the bedroom where he was supposed to be sleeping?—Yes, I believe there were.

5463. There were no shutters, were there; the bottles went right in, did they not?—Yes, there were no shutters.

5464. The other two were thrown downstairs?—Yes, they were thrown downstairs and all.

5465. The combustible one with the powder was thrown into the bedroom I suppose, and the naphtha was thrown downstairs?—I believe I throwed my one downstairs, the naphtha bottle.

5466. The naphtha bottle if it went on, was likely to set the house on fire?—Well, I expect it would.

5467. That was the object, was it not?—Yes.

5468. And the fire would begin quicker if it began at the bottom of the house, and therefore it was thrown at the bottom, was it not? You threw your naphtha then at the bottom?—Yes, I believe I did.

5469. And two of the combustible ones were thrown in at the bedroom window?—Yes.

5470. Did you hear them explode?—Yes, I heard them explode.

5471. What, those which were thrown into the bedroom?—Well, I heard either one or two, but I will not be certain which.

5472. But you heard them explode in the bedroom?—Yes.

5473. What became of your naphtha, where had you thrown that?—Downstairs.

5474. But had you thrown it into the house downstairs?—Yes.

5475. But did you see whether it had taken the effect which you wished it to take, had it set the house on fire?—Well, I never stopped to see.

5476. Were there three bottles thrown downstairs?—I believe there were two in each room.

5477. Two upstairs, and two downstairs?—Yes.

5478. Having thrown them did all of you make off?—Yes.

5479. Did you hear the report of the combustible one before you left?—I heard either one or two.

5480. Reports?—Yes, reports.

5481. Who set fire to the fusee before it was thrown?—Well, I cannot swear what man it was that had a lamp. We had a dark lamp and lit the fusee.

5482. You cannot tell which it was?—No, I cannot tell.

5483. However, the fusee was lit and then thrown?—It was held in the hand a bit and then thrown.

5484. To see that it had got alight?—Yes.

5485. However, you came back?—Yes.

5486. And for that job you got 1*l.*?—I did.

FIFTH DAY.

F. Hipwell.

9 Sept. 1867.

5487. Did you attend any meeting where the subject was discussed afterwards?—No.

5488. Tetlow's bricks have been injured since, have they not?—I do not know, I am sure.

5489. You do not know either one way or the other?—No, I do not.

5490. That you will swear, will you?—Yes, I will swear it.

5491. You have heard of its being done, have you not?—Well, I cannot recollect.

5492. Do you know a place called Newton Wood?—Yes.

5493. Do you remember an outrage committed sometime in the year 1861?—Yes.

5494. Whose property was that? Whose bricks were they?—I do not remember the gentleman's name.

5495. Where is Newton Wood?—Well, I have never been there only a night.

5496. Is it near Ashton?—Yes, somewhere.

5497. It is in that union district, is it not?—Yes.

5498. Do you remember what was the reason of that outrage?—I believe it was because non-union men were employed.

5499. That is, as far as you can remember, the cause of it?—Yes, that was the cause of it.

5500. All those cases, I suppose, are mentioned at the club, and some resolutions are come to, and some persons are employed to carry them out?—Yes, the same as I said before.

5501. Do you recollect now the name of the person who lived at Newton Wood who employed those non-union men?—I do not.

5502. Then the resolution about this person, whoever he was, having been come to, was Ensor the person employed to carry it out?—Yes, he in general was; he and John Ward.

5503. Now then, I suppose you were one of the people employed?—Yes.

5504. And was Thomas Barlow another?—Yes.

5505. And Ensor, of course, himself?—Yes.

5506. Charles Barlow?—Yes.

5507. Ward and Burke?—Yes.

5508. Were Ryan and Toole employed in that?—Yes, I believe they were.

5509. And you were all summoned and all met somewhere on the night before it was to be done. Where did you meet?—We met on the canal side below Guide Bridge.

5510. And you all met together?—Yes.

5511. And what was it agreed to do?—To go and spoil the bricks.

5512. What had you with you on that occasion? You had your sticks I suppose?—Yes; I do not know that there was anything else besides the sticks.

5513. Whether they had pistols or not you do not know?—I do not know; I never saw any.

5514. And did you go to the place?—Yes.

5515. At what time of the night?—Well, I cannot remember what time of the night it was, but it would be dark.

5516. About the usual hour I suppose?—About the usual hour; about midnight.

5517. How many bricks did you spoil?—I cannot say, but there was a large quantity.

5518. There were about eight or nine of you in this job, were there?—I can't mention their names. I cannot just carry them in my head. There was myself, Thomas Barlow, Michael Burke, John Ensor, John Ward, Charles Barlow, Robert Ryan, and John Toole.

5519. Those are the eight you have mentioned before?—Yes.

5520. Do you remember any more?—No.

5521. You do not remember how many bricks were spoiled? Did you spoil all the bricks you could?—Yes.

5522. Did you knock down any walls?—Yes.

5523. And trod upon the bricks?—Yes.

5524. Were you disturbed at all?—I cannot remember that we were; I believe not.

5525. You do not remember seeing anybody on that night at all?—No.

5526. How much did you get for that job?—I cannot remember exactly, but I know I got something.

5527. You all shared alike the sum which it had been agreed should be given I suppose?—Yes.

5528. Now you know Dukinfield very well, do you not?—Yes.

5529. Do you remember a person named Bloxedge who lived at Dukinfield?—Yes.

5530. Is he a brickmaker?—Yes, I believe he is a master brick and tile maker.

5531. How had he offended your union?—I believe in the same way, by employing non-union men.

5532. I suppose in all those cases those things have been mentioned to the club, some resolution has been come to, and some one has been appointed to carry it out?—Yes.

5533. Was Ensor appointed to carry it out?—He was, and John Hall.

5534. He had information from the club of the amount of money to be given, and he paid you all and it was divided between you?—Yes.

5535. Who were employed in the Bloxedge outrage. You were one; and Thomas Barlow?—Myself and Thomas Barlow, John Ward, John Ensor, Michael Burke, John Toole, Isaac Scholefield, and Robert Ryan.

5536. Was a man named Acton employed in that, of some name like Jonathan Acton?—I cannot say for truth whether he was employed or not.

5537. Did you meet all as usual before that was done?—Yes.

5538. About the same time at night?—Yes.

5539. You all went as usual to the place?—Yes.

5540. Were you disturbed?—No we were never disturbed.

5541. Had you sticks?—Yes.

5542. Had you any pistols on that occasion?—I did not see, there might have been some.

5543. You did not see them. I suppose they might have been carried in the pocket?—Yes.

5544. Of course you were all determined to resist with your sticks and so on anybody who attempted to prevent your doing what you wished to do?—Yes.

5545. When you got there you did all the destruction to the property that you could?—Yes.

5546. How much did you get for that job?—Well I cannot remember how much, I know I received something for it.

5547. Was it the usual price, somewhere about 1*l.*?—About 2*l.* I daresay.

5548. You all shared alike I suppose?—Yes.

5549. And did the union money find the expense of the combustibles, the powder, and shot, and naphtha. I suppose that was so, was it not?—Well, I expect it it would be so.

5550. Do you remember Smethurst's case too?—At Guide Bridge?

5551. I believe it was. It was a man named Smethurst or Martin. Do you remember Smethurst's case?—Yes, at Guide Bridge.

5552. Who went to do that? They were all union men I suppose?—Yes.

5553. All those men whose names you have mentioned are union men, are they not?—Yes.

5554. Ensor was a mere working labourer I suppose?—Yes.

5555. And the money he got was union money of course?—Yes.

5556. Which of you went to do the damage in Smethurst's case, were they the same people?—They were not all the same. There was myself, Thomas Barlow, John Ward, John Ensor, Michael Burke, Isaac Scholefield, and Robert Ryan.

5557. You met I suppose in the same way the night you were going to do it?—Yes.

5558. At about the same time?—About the same time.

5559. And you all went together to do it?—Yes.

5560. What did you do there?—Spoiled the bricks.

5561. Was the offence there the same, that is to say, employing non-union men?—Yes.

5562. Smethurst is the name of the master, is it not?—Yes. it is the name of the master.

5563. I suppose in this case you did all the damage you could and came away?—Yes.

5564. How much of the union money did you get for this?—I cannot justly remember how much it was.

5565. It would be about the usual price, I suppose, a couple of pounds?—I daresay it would be about 1*l.*

5566. What made the difference whether it was 1*l.* or 2*l.*, did you get more, or how was it?—I suppose that would be it.

5567. The more you did the more you got?—Yes.

5568. And the time when you got the 2*l.* 10*s.* you had done a good deal, I suppose?—Yes.

5569. Which was the job you did for the 2*l.* 10*s.*, do you remember?—Bloxedge's, I believe it was.

5570. The one of which you have already told us?—Yes.

5571. Do you remember the case of John Shepley, a brickmaker, who lived near Hyde?—Yes, I know the name.

5572. And you have a very good recollection of the place I should think. You know Hyde very well, do you not?—Yes, I have been in Hyde.

5573. Did you do a job of this sort at Shipley's place?—What, at the brickfield?

5574. Yes.—No.

5575. You must remember in 1861 when his cabin was broken into and some injury done to his tools?—No, I never was there.

5576. Just think. You said you had been there?—No, not to the brickfield.

5577. Never mind the brickfield. Do you remember any injury being done to any tools or property of Mr. Shepley?—As to horses do you mean?

5578. The horses were done at the same time, or in August?—I believe it is six years last night since that was done.

5579. You remember the stable being broken into, do you not?—Yes.

5580. Can you mention the names of the persons concerned in this?—There was myself, Thomas Barlow, John Ensor, and John Ward.

5581. There were four of you?—Yes.

5582. Were you summoned in the same way, and did you meet at night?—Yes.

5583. And did you go about the same time, between 11 and 12 o'clock to do it?—Yes.

5584. What did you do. There is a stable there, is there not?—Yes.

5585. Was the offence that he had given you the same as before that he employed non-union men?—Yes.

5586. The stable was broken into. What did you do with the horses? How many horses were there in the stable?—I never was in the stable.

5587. You watched outside, did you?—I was one that watched outside.

5588. Who else watched outside?—John Ensor.

5589. And the other two went in?—Yes.

5590. You had agreed beforehand what to do, of course?—Yes, they were going to do it.

5591. What had you agreed to do with the horses in the stable?—I believe it is what they call hamstringing.

5592. You took your sticks?—Yes.

5593. And you took knives for the purpose?—John Ward took a razor.

5594. And had the other man who went in a razor?—No.

5595. Who else went in besides Ward?—Thomas Barlow.

5596. And you stood outside with Ensor?—Yes.

5597. Did you break open the stable door to get in; was it locked?—Well, I was not near the stable door.

5598. You watched outside?—Yes.

5599. However you settled you should hamstring the horses?—Yes.

5600. They each had a razor I suppose?—They had only one razor. Ensor had a razor.

5601. How long were they in the stable?—About 10 minutes.

5602. You understood from them that they had done what they intended?—Yes, they came out again and said they had done the job.

5603. Both horses?—Yes.

5604. In point of fact they practically destroyed the horses and rendered them useless?—I believe it was to that effect.

5605. But that was the intention, was it not?—Yes, that was the intention.

5606. You were not disturbed in that, were you?—No.

5607. Did you all come away together?—Yes.

5608. I suppose you saw the razor afterwards all bloody?—I saw the razor.

5609. It had been evidently used for some purpose of that sort, was it all bloody?—No, I cannot say that there was any blood on it; he must have wiped it.

5610. How much of the union money did you get for this job?—I received 2*l.* 10*s.* for this job.

5611. How was it you got as much as 2*l.* 10*s.*; there were only four of you, that makes it 10*l.*?—That was the agreement by John Ensor; he sent for the money.

5612. Was it his habit to send to the secretary of the union for the money?—It was myself and Thomas Barlow went to Thomas Harrison, and he gave us a note.

5613. Thomas Harrison was at that time either president or secretary?—Yes, he was either one or the other. He was in office.

5614. And Ensor gave you a note or a letter?—He gave us a little letter.

5615. Which you took to Harrison the secretary or president for that money?—For the money.

5616. And then he gave you 5*l.* to be divided between you?—Yes.

5617. Did he give it you at once?—Yes, Thomas Barlow received it.

5618. And then you divided it?—He gave it to John Ensor.

5619. And then Ensor divided it, and gave you each 2*l.* 10*s.*?—Yes.

5620. Did you see as you were returning what Ward did with the razor?—Yes.

5621. What did he do?—He throwed it over the wall into the canal at the left hand as you come from Hyde.

5622. Now do you remember hearing of a watchman named Rogers being shot or shot at?—Was that a watchman?

5623. Yes.—I do not know about that.

5624. I am not saying you did it, but you remember hearing of its being done?—Yes, but I was working at Oldham at that time.

5625. Do you remember for whom he was watchman?—I do not. I have never been in the yard.

5626. Did Thomas Barlow tell you anything about that?—He told me he was one in the affair.

5627. That he was one of those who shot the watchman?—Yes.

5628. It was Rodgers's watchman that was shot at, was it not?—Yes.

5629. Was the man's name Newton?—I do not remember his name.

5630. Do you remember hearing of Mr. Butterfield's horse being injured?—Yes, I have heard of it.

5631. Was that horse injured in the same way as those others; was it hamstrung?—Well, I cannot say.

5632. But have you heard that it was so injured?—No, I have not.

5633. Was Mr. Rodgers, whose watchman was shot at, a brickmaker?—Yes, I believe he is.

5634. Did you ever hear what his quarrel with the union was?—No, I did not.

5635. Then you never heard of Mr. Butterfield's horse being injured?—Well, I did hear about it.

5636. Did Charles Barlow ever tell you anything about it?—Well, he told me that John Ensor and John Ward was having some beer and playing at cards in their house the same night.

FIFTH DAY.

F. Hipwell.

9 Sept. 1867.

5637. Did he say that he had anything to do with it?—Well, he said John Ward went out for half-a-gallon of ale, and if he did it while he was out he did not know.

5638. Did Charles Barlow say whether he himself had anything to do with it?—He did not say.

5639. Is there any other case that you can tell us about connected with the union?—No.

5640. (*Mr. Chance.*) Do you know anything about Joseph Shaw, in the Ashton-under-Lyne district?—Yes.

5641. Do you remember any injury being done to his property?—I have heard of it. I have worked for him for a great many years, though I never knew at all about it. I was working in Oldham when this affair took place.

5642. Was that done in connexion with your union at all?—No, not with the union that I was in at that time.

5643. You do not know of anybody who did it?—I do not; I have no knowledge whatever.

5644. In reference to that case of Jump's, you said that Ensor had one pistol, did you not?—Yes.

5645. And that that was a single-barrelled pistol?—Yes.

5646. And you also said that Michael Burke had a pistol?—Yes.

5647. You did not tell us whether that was a single or a double-barrelled pistol?—I believe they were all single-barrelled.

5648. Were there not more than two pistols in the party; how many pistols did you tell us there were?—John Ensor had one, John Ward had one, and Michael Burke had one.

5649. They had three altogether?—Yes.

5650. When you took the bottles of powder to Tetlow's house, what was the object of filling the bottle with slugs? Was that intended to do personal injury to anybody in the bedroom?—Well, I do not know what they contained. Ensor and Ward had them ready prepared for the job before we went.

5651. But do you not know what was in the bottles?—I do not exactly.

5652. I understood you to say that they contained powder and also slugs?—There is not the least doubt that they would as long as there was a fuse to them.

5653. Would the intention of putting slugs into that bottle be to do some personal injury to some person in the bedroom?—Well, I cannot say.

5654. Have you any doubt that such would be the intention?—It would be more for frightening them, I daresay; but no doubt it would hurt them if it were to hit them.

5655. And there were people in the bedroom at which it was thrown, were there not?—Well, they went with that intention.

5656. Was Tetlow's house a two-storied house?—Yes.

5657. The bottles of powder were thrown into the bedroom?—Yes.

5658. And the naphtha was thrown into the room below?—Yes.

5659. I suppose there was nobody sleeping in the room below?—I don't know, I am sure.

5660. So that if the naphtha had set fire to the house, it would have made considerable way before it was discovered?—Very likely it would.

5661. (*Chairman.*) You mentioned to me a public-house, the name of which you could not remember, but which you thought was some tree. Do you remember whether it was called the "Cotton Tree?"—No.

The witness withdrew.

J. Tould.

JOHN TOULD recalled and further examined.

5662. (*Mr. Barstow.*) You have told us already that you were foreman to Messrs. Clifford at the time of the outrage on the 28th of June 1862.—Yes.

5663. Do you remember any other malicious damage taking place to Messrs. Clifford's property?—Yes; I believe it was twice that they were there in 1860, at two different times.

5664. In 1860, was Mr. Clifford employing non-union men?—Yes.

5665. Can you tell me whether at that time any application was made to him by the union men to be taken into his employment?—Not to him, but to his men to go in.

5666. That is to say, to his men to go into the union?—Yes.

5667. But nothing besides that?—Not that I am aware of.

5668. Taking the occurrences in the order of date, tell us, as well as you can, what happened?—Well, they were there three times previous to this Jump's being shot, and twice since.

5669. When you say "they" were there, you mean "somebody?"—Yes; I do not know who they were.

5670. Damage was done to Clifford's bricks three times before Jump was shot, and twice afterwards?—Yes.

5671. Do you remember the first time that damage was done to Mr. Clifford's property?—Not exactly the date.

5672. But without the date?—There were from 15,000 to 16,000 bricks spoiled, as nearly as I can recollect, by walking upon them.

5673. In the year 1860?—Yes.

5674. About how much would the cost of that be to Mr. Clifford?—I should say it would be about 5*l.*

5675. Did you examine the brickyard shortly after the damage had been done?—Yes, I was there one of the first in the morning.

5676. Did you take any notice of how many men had been there in your judgment?—Well, there were apparently footprints of about half a dozen.

5677. Did you give any information to the police about it?—Yes.

5678. Did you offer a reward?—I believe Mr. Clifford offered a reward.

5679. Was anyone apprehended?—No.

5680. On the second occasion, in 1860, what happened?—They burnt everything there was on the ground.

5681. Do you remember about what time in the year it was?—I believe it was in the latter end of October, as near as I can recollect.

5682. You say that everything that was upon the ground was burnt,—that would be the sheds, and barrows, and so on, I suppose?—We were just erecting a new shed, and they burnt barrows, planks, tables, tressels, moulding boards, tubs, riddles, shovels, buckets, and everything they could get.

5683. All were burned?—Yes.

5684. Were any bricks destroyed at the same time?—No, there were no bricks on the ground at the time.

5685. About what amount of damage was done?—It would be about 40*l.* according to Mr. Clifford's statement.

5686. Could you tell us at all how it had been done?—There was a lot of hay and dried grass and stuff that was on the ground, and it had been collected together and all set fire to, and apparently naphtha had been thrown over it.

5687. How could you tell that naphtha had been thrown over it?—There was a bottle found near the place.

5688. Did the bottle smell of naphtha?—Yes.

5689. You could not tell how many people had been there, I suppose?—No, I could not; but there must have been a great many to have collected all the things together by the time.

5690. About what time in the night was it set on fire?—Not later than 10 o'clock. I should say they must have been there soon after 6 o'clock at night to collect all the things together by the time the fire was discovered.

5691. There must have been a very considerable number ?—Yes.

5692. Can you give us a notion how many there were ?—I could not.

5693. Do you think there were more than six ?—I do not think six could do it in the time. There must have been eight or ten at the least. They had a great many of the planks and things to carry above 100 yards.

5694. Was any information given on that occasion to the police ?—Yes.

5695. And was a reward offered ?—Yes, I believe there was.

5696. Was any one detected ?—No.

5697. Then there would be a third outrage previous to Jump's murder ?—Yes.

5698. Do you remember the particulars of that case ?—There were only bricks spoiled. No other damage was done, but the bricks were walked upon.

5699. About what time was that ? — I cannot exactly say what month it was in.

5700. It would be between October 1860 and the 28th of June 1862, you know. In what year was it ?—I cannot say that. If Mr. Clifford was here he could give your more information about it.

5701. We do not care for the exact date ; but about what date should you say it was ? Would you say that it was about the middle of 1861 ? Do you recollect whether it was in the winter or in the summer ?—It was in the summer. I believe it was in 1861.

5702. How many bricks were destroyed on that occasion ?—In the tens of thousands, 15,000 or 16,000.

5703. Was there any other property besides bricks destroyed then ?—No, not at that time.

5704. That would be to the same amount, about 5*l.*, would it not ?—Yes.

5705. Were many men engaged in that ?—Apparently five or six by the footprints.

5706. Was information given as before ?—Yes.

5707. And no one was apprehended ?—No.

5708. The next will be the case which has been investigated at length, Jump's case. Then you say they have been twice since that ?—Yes.

5709. Do you remember when the first of those two times was ?—No, I do not, for I was not there then.

5710. You can give us no particulars of them ? — No.

5711. Why do you say that they were there twice ? Were you still in Mr. Clifford's employment ?—No, he delivered the place up to his brother, and his brother held it the two last times that they were there.

5712. So that you cannot tell us about them ?—No, I cannot give you any particular information as to those two last times that they were there.

5713. You cannot give us any particulars ?—No.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. W. P. Roberts, on behalf of the Manchester Brickmakers' Burial Society, the Manchester Bricklayers' Society, and other societies, stated that he wished to protest against the witnesses being examined privately by an officer of the Commissioners, both before and after their public examination in the Court, and he applied to the Court to allow the witnesses to have their legal advisers present at such private examinations, on the ground that many of the witnesses were ignorant men, and might unconsciously prejudice their own interests by their answers.

The *Chairman* stated that the Court could not entertain the application.

THOMAS BARLOW sworn and examined.

5714. (*Mr. Chance.*) Are you a brickmaker ?—I was.

5715. You were a brickmaker in the year 1862 ?—Yes.

5716. And were you a member of the brickmakers' union at Ashton-under-Lyne ?—Yes.

5717. Do you remember being concerned in the injury of some bricks belonging to Mr. Clifford ?—Yes.

5718. Was that in the month of June 1862 ?—I believe it was ; I do not know the month.

5719. Did you and some others meet behind Ward's premises ?—Yes.

5720. Was Frederick Hipwell there ?—Yes.

5721. And John Ensor ?—Yes.

5722. And Samuel Gregory ?—Yes.

5723. And Michael Burke ?—Yes.

5724. Did you meet there for the purpose of agreeing as to the outrage to be committed upon Clifford's bricks ?—Yes.

5725. Was that because Clifford had been employing non-union men ?—I believe it was.

5726. Had there been a meeting of the union previously ?—No.

5727. Had the fact of Clifford employing non-union men been brought before the union before that ?—Not that I am aware of.

5728. When a master brickmaker has done anything of this kind, such as employing non-union men or infringing the rules, his conduct, generally speaking, is brought before the union ?—Yes, generally.

5729. Would it not in the ordinary course be brought before the union on this occasion ?—It might have been, but I was not at the meeting if there was one.

5730. It might have been brought, though you were not aware of it ?—Yes, I was not aware of it.

5731. After being so arranged, did you upon the 28th of June go in company with the other men you have mentioned to Clifford's brickyard ?—Yes.

5732. Did you carry anything ?—I carried a stick with me.

5733. Was that a sort of shovel handle ?—Yes.

5734. A good thick stick ?—Yes.

5735. Did Michael Burke take a pistol ?—I believe he did, but I was not aware that there were any pistols at the time.

5736. You knew there were pistols afterwards ?—Yes, I did.

5737. Do you know who carried the pistols ?—John Ensor carried one ; I believe Michael Burke and Ward carried the others.

5738. There were three pistols ?—Yes.

5739. Then you damaged the bricks at Clifford's ?—Yes.

5740. And after having done the damage you went away ?—Yes.

5741. And on returning did you meet with Police Constables Harrop and Jump ?—Yes.

5742. Did you hear a pistol fired ?—Yes.

5743. It resulted in Jump's death ?—Yes.

5744. What did you do ; did you throw any stones ?—No, I did not, not one.

5745. Did you attack either Jump or Harrop with stones ?—No.

5746. You had a stick ?—I had one, but I did not use it.

5747. Were you one of the men that ran away ?—Yes, me and Ryan.

5748. Afterwards you were apprehended and taken before the magistrates ?—Yes.

5749. And afterwards discharged ?—Yes.

5750. How long did you remain in prison ?—I was liberated on the 25th of August. I do not know the date I was taken.

5751. Did you afterwards receive any money for being engaged in this ?—No.

5752. Were you to have received any money for doing it ?—I believe we should have done, but I did not receive a farthing.

FIFTH DAY.

T. Barlow.

9 Sept. 1867.

5753. Had anything been said at the meetings you attended about any money being paid to you?—No.

5754. But you say you expected to receive money?—Yes.

5755. From whom?—From Ensor.

5756. Was Ensor to get that money from the funds of the union?—I believe he was.

5757. I suppose when you went on this expedition to Clifford's brickyard you were prepared to resist in the event of being apprehended or disturbed?—Yes, I believe that was the main thing.

5758. You intended to resist in the event of being disturbed?—Yes, we did not intend to be taken.

5759. Were Toole and Ryan also of the party?—Yes.

5760. How many of you were there altogether?—Eight.

5761. Do you remember an attack being made upon a house belonging to Mr. Tetlow?—Yes, I remember it.

5762. That was in November 1861?—I do not know the date of it.

5763. Was it in the year 1861?—Yes.

5764. Were you engaged in it?—I was.

5765. Was Hipwell one of the number?—Yes.

5766. And Ward?—Yes.

5767. And Harrison?—Yes.

5768. And Schofield?—Not that I am aware of.

5769. Do you say that he was not there, or that you do not remember?—I do not remember.

5770. Then you say he was not?—I would rather say he was not than that he was.

5771. And Charles Barlow?—No.

5772. Is Charles Barlow any relation to you?—Yes, uncle.

5773. You are sure he was not there?—No.

5774. Let us know who were there; if they tell the truth they will have the same opportunity of being protected as you have. Was your uncle there?—No.

5775. Was Ryan there?—Yes.

5776. Had you met previously to the attack upon Mr. Tetlow's house?—I do not know where the meeting was; we went to beat him if we could find him.

5777. Did you meet previously to going to his house?—Yes, that night.

5778. Had there been any meeting of the union before that?—No.

5779. Do you say that there had not been, or that there might have been a meeting at which you were not present?—There might have been a meeting, but I was not there.

5780. It is probable that there was a meeting?—There might be.

5781. Had he been employing non-union men?—I cannot say to tell you the truth. I do not know whether he was employing non-union men or not. I believe he was not.

5782. What was the reason you attacked him?—I believe it was through not having union men.

5783. Had you any private quarrel with him?—No, I had no quarrel at all.

5784. What was the reason of your going?—They came and asked me and I went.

5785. They gave you a reason for it, did they not?—I believe because he did not employ union men.

5786. You took two or three bottles full of powder and slugs?—There was something of that kind taken.

5787. Were the bottles full of powder?—Yes, they were bottles full of powder.

5788. How many?—I believe there were four.

5789. You had four bottles filled with powder?—Four or five.

5790. Were some of the bottles filled with naphtha?—There was one with naphtha.

5791. And the others were full of powder?—Yes.

5792. And what was in the bottles besides the powder?—A kind of horsenail stumps and things of that kind.

5793. Was anything said about the mode in which the attack was to be conducted when you met for the purpose of going to Tetlow's?—No.

5794. Did you know Tetlow's house?—Yes.

5795. Had you been there before?—No.

5796. Did you know whether Tetlow was married or not?—No.

5797. Or whether he had any family?—No, I did not.

5798. Did you all go together to Tetlow's house?—Yes.

5799. What did you carry in your bottle?—Naphtha.

5800. You carried a bottle of naphtha?—Yes.

5801. Did Hipwell also carry a bottle of naphtha?—I do not know what he carried; there was only one bottle of naphtha.

5802. Are you sure of that?—Yes.

5803. Then you arrived at Tetlow's house?—Yes.

5804. What was done then?—We threw it through the window.

5805. What did you throw through the window?—A bottle of naphtha.

5806. Which window was the bottle of naphtha thrown through?—Downstairs.

5807. Did you throw it downstairs?—Yes.

5808. Was Hipwell with you at the time the naphtha was thrown downstairs?—Yes.

5809. Did he take part in throwing the naphtha downstairs?—There was no one threw naphtha except me. I threw it through the window downstairs.

5810. Why did you throw it downstairs?—Just to frighten them a bit.

5811. Was not your object to set the house on fire?—No, I don't know that it was.

5812. Supposing the naphtha had lighted anything, would it not have set the house on fire?—If it had lighted anything I suppose it would have set it on fire, if it got to touch anything.

5813. How was it to frighten them? It would not make any explosion, would it?—I do not know.

5814. You can only speak according to your belief?—I believe it was to set the house on fire.

5815. Were any bottles thrown through the upper window?—Yes.

5816. Who threw those bottles through the upper window?—Ensor threw one, and Ward and Hipwell, and I think Ryan threw one.

5817. Did all the bottles go through the window?—I do not know.

5818. You do not know how many?—No.

5819. Do you know whether any did go through?—Yes, some went through.

5820. Did you hear an explosion?—Yes.

5821. Did you know at the time whether anybody was sleeping in the room?—I did not know.

5822. Did you hear anybody say whether anybody was sleeping in the room?—I heard Ensor say there was; he said that Tetlow slept in the room.

5823. That was the reason why the bottle was thrown in?—Yes.

5824. Then I suppose the object of throwing in that bottle was to do Tetlow some injury?—Yes.

5825. If the horsenails had happened to hit him about the temple or head they might have killed him?—They might have done.

5826. Was it said that anybody else happened to be sleeping in the bedroom at the same time?—No, it was not.

5827. You did not know of your own knowledge whether Tetlow was a married man or not?—I did not.

5828. Have you heard it since?—I have heard since that he was married.

5829. Did you hear that his wife was sleeping in the room on the same night?—No, I did not hear it.

5830. What did you receive for the part you took in that?—10*s*. I believe it was. I believe it was 10*s*.

5831. Is that all?—I believe it was; I cannot swear positively.

5832. Was it not rather a smaller sum than was usually paid upon such occasions?—I do not know; there have been larger.

5833. Did you all share alike in that?—I got 10*s*. from Ensor.

5834. When did Ensor pay you?—The Saturday night following.

5835. Do you know where Ensor got his money from to pay you?—I do not.

5836. I suppose he got it from the union?—He got it from the union, no doubt.

5837. Do you remember an outrage being committed at Newton Woods?—Yes.

5838. That was the destruction of some bricks?—Yes.

5839. What is the name of the brickmaker to whom the bricks belonged?—I do not know.

5840. Do you remember in what year it was?—I remember the time of it.

5841. Was it in the same year as the last outrage?—Yes, it was.

5842. And was Ryan there?—Yes.

5843. And Burke?—No, I think not Burke.

5844. Are you sure of that?—I could not be sure, but I believe he was not.

5845. Toole?—No, there was no Toole that I can think myself of.

5846. Was Charles Barlow there?—Yes.

5847. Charles Barlow was there?—Yes.

5848. How many men were there altogether?—Ensor, Ward, Hipwell, and me.

5849. And Charles Barlow?—Yes.

5850. And Ryan?—Yes.

5851. That is six?—Yes.

5852. Were there more than six?—No, not that I am aware of.

5853. Did you meet in the same way on that occasion?—No.

5854. Had you met at all, previously to going, at the union?—We met in Old Street in Ashton.

5855. Had there been upon that occasion any previous meeting of the union in reference to Newton Woods?—I do not know; I was very seldom at the meetings.

5856. You believe there had been?—Yes.

5857. It was in the usual course of things that you held a meeting?—Yes.

5858. That the conduct of these people should be brought before the members of the union?—Yes.

5859. Did you all proceed to Newton Woods from Old Street?—Yes.

5860. What did you carry with you on that occasion?—We carried nothing.

5861. Did you carry sticks?—No.

5862. Did you or anyone have sticks?—I had not a stick; I did not see one on that night.

5863. Usually you carry sticks on these occasions?—We do so, but we did not on that night.

5864. Did you spoil any bricks there?—Yes.

5865. Did you spoil all you could?—Yes.

5866. You did all the damage you could?—Yes.

5867. What did you get for that?—1*l.*

5868. Was that paid in the same way to you by Ensor?—Yes.

5869. And out of the union funds?—Yes, it was out of the union funds that Ensor paid me.

5870. What was the cause of the injury to these bricks?—Not employing union men.

5871. Do you remember an outrage upon Mr. Brooksedge?—Yes, I do.

5872. Was that in 1862?—Yes.

5873. Was that the destruction of bricks too?—Yes.

5874. There you destroyed as many as you could?—Yes.

5875. Had Brooksedge been guilty of the same crime, not employing union men?—Yes.

5876. I suppose the same course was taken with him as in the other cases?—Yes.

5877. Were the same men who were engaged in the case of Newton Woods employed there; you were there?—Yes.

5878. Was Ward there?—No.

5879. Burke?—Yes.

5880. Ryan?—Yes.

5881. Toole?—Yes.

5882. Scholefield?—No.

5883. Gregory?—No.

5884. Hipwell?—Yes.

5885. Ensor of course was there?—Yes.

5886. That was seven, were there more than seven or not?—That was the lot that was there.

5887. What did you receive for that?—25*s.*

5888. That was your share?—Yes.

5889. Did you get that from Ensor as before?—Yes.

5890. Was Ensor the paymaster for this purpose?—Yes, he was to me.

5891. You do not know whether you received the same share as the others or not?—I do not; that was what I got, 25*s.*

5892. Did you take sticks with you on that occasion?—No, there were no sticks that night.

5893. Had any of your party pistols or anything of that sort?—No, not that I am aware of. I never saw any nor heard that there were any.

5894. Can you remember also being engaged in Smethurst's case, at Guide Bridge?—Yes.

5895. Was that in the same year, 1861?—No, 1862; it was just before Jump's job.

5896. What was the damage done there?—Spoiling bricks.

5897. You spoiled as many as you could?—Yes.

5898. Was the cause of the injury the same as before?—Yes.

5899. What did you receive for that?—15*s.*

5900. Was that paid to you by Ensor?—Yes.

5901. How many men were engaged in that?—Hipwell, me, Ward, Ensor, Ryan, and Burke.

5902. Toole?—No.

5903. Gregory?—No.

5904. There were six men in it?—Yes.

5905. How much did you receive for this one?—15*s.*

5906. Was that paid you by Ensor?—Yes.

5907. Do you remember Mr. Shipley's stable being broken open?—Yes.

5908. When was that?—Within a month I heard it talked of.

5909. How long ago, six years ago?—Yes, I daresay it is.

5910. That would be about 1861?—Yes, it might be; I cannot tell.

5911. Were you present there?—No.

5912. Are you sure you were not present when Shipley's stable was broken open?—Yes, I was.

5913. Had Mr. Shipley been employing union men?—Yes.

5914. And did you meet with a number of members before going to his premises?—No, only Ensor, Ward, and Hipwell.

5915. You four met together?—Yes.

5916. Were you four the only ones concerned in it?—Yes.

5917. Did you know before you went to his stables what you were to receive for it?—No.

5918. When you went to Shipley's stables, what did you do?—There was only one went in, Ward.

5919. John Ward went in?—Yes.

5920. Are you sure you did not go in?—I went to the door.

5921. Did you not go into the stable?—No, I stood at the stable door.

5922. Who went in?—Ward went in.

5923. Did he take anything with him into the stable?—A razor.

5924. How many horses were in the stable?—Two.

5925. Had you seen them in the stable?—Yes, that night.

5926. You looked through the door?—The door was open.

5927. The door was open while Ward was in?—Yes, I had hold of the handle.

5928. You and the two others stood outside?—Yes.

5929. What did Ward do?—I do not know; he used the razor to cut them somewhere.

5930. Was that to render the horses useless?—Yes.

5931. Do you not know whether he cut them? Did he not hamstring them?—I do not know what name they gave it.

5932. He cut the sinews of the horse's legs?—Yes.

FIFTH DAY.

T. Barlow.

9 Sept. 1867.

5933. Do you remember his coming out of the stable?—Yes.

5934. Did you not say when he had come out that he had done the job?—He said he had done the job.

5935. You did not say that?—No.

5936. What amount did you receive for that?—50*s.*

5937. Did you receive a greater amount on that occasion because it was a more desperate affair, or because there were fewer of you?—Because there were fewer of us.

5938. Who gave you the money for that?—John Ensor.

5939. Did not Ensor upon that occasion give you a note?—Yes, he did.

5940. Ensor upon that occasion gave you a note?—Yes.

5941. And did you and Hipwell go with that note to Thomas Harrison?—Yes.

5942. Where was Thomas Harrison when you went to him?—In his own house.

5943. When you gave that note to Thomas Harrison, what did he give to you?—5*l.*

5944. That was divided between you and Hipwell?—No, we sent it up to Ensor.

5945. You gave the 5*l.* to Ensor, and then it was divided between you and Hipwell?—Yes.

5946. Did Thomas Harrison hold any office in the union at that time?—Yes.

5947. What was he?—Treasurer or president, I cannot say which. I think he was president.

5948. Has he often been in office in the union?—He was in office all the time I was in the union.

5949. As treasurer or what?—Either treasurer or president.

5950. When did you leave the union?—I have never been in it since Jump's job.

5951. You told Ward to throw the razor away?—I do not know that I did.

5952. You did not see him throw it away?—I do not know that I did.

5953. Did he throw it away?—I did not see him.

5954. You do not know that he did not?—No.

5955. Do you remember a watchman of the name of Samuel Newton in the service of Mr. Rogers?—Yes.

5956. Where did Mr. Rogers live?—I do not know where Mr. Rogers lives.

5957. (*Chairman.*) Where did he live?—I do not know.

5958. (*Mr. Chance.*) You say you know that Samuel Newton was employed by Mr. Rogers as watchman?—Yes.

5959. Was Rogers a brickmaker?—Yes.

5960. Do you know where his brickyard was?—Yes.

5961. Where was it?—Going along Oldham Road.

5962. Is it in the Ashton-under-Lyne district?—Yes.

5963. Had he any dispute with your union?—Yes.

5964. What had he been doing?—He would not employ union men.

5965. Was there a meeting of the union in consequence of that?—Yes.

5966. Was the fact of his not employing union men brought before the meeting?—Yes.

5967. Was there any resolution come to?—No, not while I was in.

5968. Was anything said about it?—No.

5969. If his dispute with the union was brought before the meeting something might have been said about it?—Nothing was said about how it would be settled with him; there were two appointed to go to him.

5970. Two appointed to do something to him?—Two were appointed to go to him.

5971. Who were appointed to go to him?—I think Ensor was one.

5972. Who else?—I do not know who the other was.

5973. What were they appointed to go to him about?—To see whether they could not arrange matters with him about having union men.

5974. Do you remember the year in which this took place?—No, I do not.

5975. Was it not in November 1860?—It might have been, I do not remember.

5976. Six or seven years ago?—Yes.

5977. A long time ago?—Yes.

5978. Did they wait upon Mr. Rogers?—I believe they did.

5979. Do you know what the result of that meeting was?—No, I do not.

5980. Did you hear what the result of the meeting was?—No.

5981. Did not you hear whether they succeeded in inducing him to comply with their wish?—I do not think they succeeded in getting him to have union men.

5982. After they had had this interview with Mr. Rogers without success was there another meeting?—Yes.

5983. Were you present at that meeting?—Yes.

5984. Do you remember who presided upon that occasion?—No, I do not.

5985. I suppose there was somebody in the chair?—Yes, there was.

5986. You do not know who it was?—No, I do not.

5987. Was Thomas Harrison president then?—Yes, I believe he was.

5988. If he were president would not he be likely to take the chair?—Yes, but sometimes he was absent.

5989. But the probability is that unless there was some cause for his absence he would take the chair at the meeting?—Yes.

5990. Who was secretary at that time?—John Barlow.

5991. Was he present at that meeting?—Yes.

5992. How many members were present at that meeting?—There might have been about 60 or 70.

5993. Then I suppose the non-success of the application to Mr. Rogers was brought before the meeting?—Yes.

5994. Was any resolution taken upon it?—No, there was not at that time.

5995. Was the matter discussed?—Yes, it was discussed a little.

5996. Was another meeting held afterwards in reference to the same subject?—No.

5997. No meeting?—Not that I can recollect.

5998. Do you remember Samuel Newton being shot at?—Yes.

5999. Was there any meeting previously to Samuel Newton being shot at?—No.

6000. You say that the matter was discussed?—Yes.

6001. Was not some resolution come to?—Not that I can remember myself.

6002. Was it not suggested that something should be done to Rogers?—It was suggested that they would make him have union men.

6003. Something was said about making him have union men?—Yes.

6004. There was some resolution of that kind passed?—Yes.

6005. That something must be done to him?—Yes.

6006. Was anybody appointed at that meeting for the purpose of doing something to Rogers?—No, not that I am aware of.

6007. Was not anybody named?—No.

6008. Do you know whether any member of the union volunteered to do anything to Rogers?—I do not.

6009. But something was done?—Yes.

6010. Who did it?—Ward, and Ensor, Ryan, and me.

6011. You were one?—Yes.

6012. Was there anybody else?—Jonathan Acton.

6013. Had you met together?—Yes, and Charles Barlow.

6014. Did you six men meet together?—Yes.

6015. You met together to consult as to what should be done?—Yes.

6016. Who called you six together for the purpose?—John Ensor.

6017. When you met together, what was agreed to be done to Rogers?—To spoil his bricks.

6018. Anything else?—No.

6019. Did you go to Rogers's brickyard for the purpose of spoiling his bricks?—Yes.

6020. Did you go to his brickyard the same night together ?—Yes.

6021. Did you take any arms with you when you went to the brickyard ?—Two had them, Acton and Ward.

6022. What did they take ?—A pistol each.

6023. A revolver, or what ?—No, a single-barrel.

6024. Did you take a pistol ?—No.

6025. Do you know what the pistols were loaded with ?—I do not.

6026. They were loaded ?—Yes, and were fired.

6027. Did you and the others take anything ?—No.

6028. Did not you take sticks ?—No, we took nothing.

6029. Just remember ; did not you take sticks with you ?—No.

6030. You knew that these men had pistols before you started ?—Yes, I knew these men had a pistol each.

6031. When you went you were determined to resist in the event of being apprehended or disturbed ?—Yes.

6032. You went with that determination ?—Yes.

6033. When you got to Rogers's brickyard what happened ?—The watchman's dog came running out, and then the watchman came.

6034. Is that Samuel Newton ?—Yes.

6035. What happened then ?—He wanted to know who was there.

6036. What else ?—And then some one fired ; I do not know whether it was Acton or Ward.

6037. Either Acton or Ward fired ?—Yes, I do not know which of them fired.

6038. Whoever it was that fired, did he hit Newton ?—I believe he did, according to all accounts.

6039. I suppose you knew afterwards who it was that fired ?—Yes, both Ward and Acton.

6040. Both fired ?—Yes, each of them ; I do not know who fired first.

6041. One fired first and then the other fired ?—Yes.

6042. After they had so fired, what took place ?—We all ran away.

6043. Did you learn afterwards that the watchman had been hit ?—Yes, I heard the morning after.

6044. At the meeting of your union which was held in reference to this matter, was anything said about the amount of money that you were to receive for this ?—No.

6045. Are you sure that nothing was said about it ?—Yes, I am sure nothing was said about it.

6046. Before you went, you expected to receive something ?—Yes.

6047. What did you receive ?—1*l.* I believe it was.

6048. Do you know what Ward and Acton received ?—I do not know.

6049. Whom did you receive the money from ?—Ensor.

6050. Did you receive it direct from him or did he give you a note as before ?—No, I received it direct from Ensor.

6051. Was that done after the outrage had been committed ?—Six or seven days after.

6052. Was Newton hit on the head ?—I believe he was ; it was stated so in the paper.

6053. Was there any meeting afterwards at the union in which this matter was discussed ?—Yes, but I did not go.

6054. Was a meeting held before the money was paid ?—Yes.

6055. The money was paid by Ensor after the meeting was held ?—Yes.

6056. You were not present ?—No.

6057. In any of the outrages which you have spoken of, were any meetings held before the money was paid to you ?—Yes, I believe there was.

6058. Was it, generally speaking, the case that after they committed an outrage a meeting of the union was held and then the money paid ?—Yes.

6059. That was the usual course ?—Yes, I believe it was.

6060. You have told us of a good many things in which you were concerned, are there any others which you can recall to your recollection ?—Yes, one.

6061. What was that ?—At Mr. Clifford's again.

6062. On another occasion ?—Yes.

6063. When was it, before Jump's case or afterwards ?—Before.

6064. How long before ?—18 months before.

6065. What was the outrage committed on that occasion ?—Burning his materials.

6066. What materials ?—His barrows and planks.

6067. Was the cause of that the same, that he did not employ union men ?—Yes.

6068. Who was associated with you in it ?—John Ensor, Ryan, and Scholefield ; I cannot think of anyone else.

6069. Burke ?—No.

6070. Ward ?—No.

6071. Hipwell ?—No.

6072. Charles Lawrence ?—Not that I am aware of.

6073. There were three of you ?—There were four of us, but I cannot bring the other to mind.

6074. Gregory ?—No ; there was Acton.

6075. That would make four ; were there more than four ?—Acton, Ryan, me, and Ensor.

6076. Were there five ?—That is all that I can think of now.

6077. Was there a meeting of the union in that case as well as in the others ?—Yes.

6078. It was resolved that something must be done ?—Yes.

6079. That was the ordinary course adopted ?—Yes.

6080. Then there were certain men who volunteered to do it ?—Yes.

6081. In that case did you all meet together before going to Clifford's brickyard ?—Yes, five of us.

6082. Did you take any arms upon that occasion ?—No.

6083. No guns or sticks ?—No.

6084. What did you take ?—Nothing except naphtha.

6085. Did you carry the naphtha in a bottle ?—Yes.

6086. How much did you take ?—A gallon.

6087. When you got there, what did you do ?—We got all the materials together and then Acton put the naphtha on the top.

6088. Were there a large number of planks and barrows ?—Yes.

6089. You heaped all the barrows and planks and other things together, and Acton poured the naphtha upon them ?—Yes.

6090. Was he the only one that poured the naphtha on ?—Yes.

6091. And you stood by him watching ?—Yes.

6092. Were there any men in the brickyard at the time ?—Only us.

6093. Ought there to have been a man upon the premises ?—There was none then.

6094. You set the heap on fire and destroyed it ?—Yes.

6095. You met with no opposition that night ?—No.

6096. After having set these things on fire, did you go away ?—Yes.

6097. How much money did you receive for it ?—I do not know.

6098. Who paid you then ?—Ensor.

6099. Did he pay you the money himself ?—He paid it himself, three or four days after.

6100. In all these cases did Ensor pay you, except the time that he gave you a note to Harrison ?—Yes.

6101. Did he at any other time give you a note ?—No.

6102. He always paid you himself ?—Yes.

6103. Upon this occasion was there a meeting of the union before he paid the money ?—I do not know.

6104. There might have been ?—Yes.

6105. In the more recent cases have you any doubt about it ?—No.

6106. Are there any other outrages upon Clifford's property in which you were engaged ?—Yes, we spoiled about 10,000 bricks.

6107. When ?—Just before or just after.

FIFTH DAY.

T. Barlow.

9 Sept. 1867.

6108. About the same time ?—Yes.

6109. Were the same men engaged ?—Yes.

6110. Were there any others ?—No.

6111. Was there a meeting of the union for that purpose ?—Yes.

6112. How much money did you have for it ?—10*s.*

6113. How were the bricks destroyed there, by trampling upon them ?—Yes.

6114. Is that the only way in which it was done ?—Yes.

6115. Was there no one in the brickyard but yourselves ?—No.

6116. Were there any other outrages upon Clifford's property ?—Not that I have been at.

6117. There were two before Jump's ?—Yes.

6118. Have you been engaged in any outrage upon property since the case of Jump ?—No.

6119. You do not know of any ?—No.

6120. Is there any other occasion upon which you have been engaged in any outrages upon anybody else's property ?—No.

6121. You have told us all that you know ?—Yes.

6122. (*Chairman.*) Was Ensor president of the union for some time ?—Yes.

6123. When these outrages were being done ?—Yes.

6124. Was it the president who usually paid the money ?—Ensor always paid me.

6125. Whether he was president or not, he always paid you ?—Yes.

6126. How many outrages do you think there were when Ensor was president ; some half dozen, perhaps, speakly roundly ?—I might say half a dozen.

6127. They were done when Ensor was president ?—Yes.

6128. Do you know Renshaw's brick machine at Hyde ?—No.

6129. Did you ever hear of it ?—No.

6130. Not at all ?—No, I cannot bring it to mind.

6131. Do you remember a machine being blown up at Hyde some three or four years ago ?—No.

6132. Your memory is pretty good about these outrages ?—I have told you all that I know of now.

6133. Where is your friend Acton now ?—I do not know.

6134. When did you last see him ?—I have not seen Acton since before Jump's job.

6135. Did he go away to work in some other district ?—I cannot say. I have not been working there since. I have been living at Preston ever since.

6136. You do not correspond with your friend ?—No.

6137. You have not heard where he is ?—I heard that he was at Crewe.

6138. When ? — Some time since I saw James Deblin.

6139. He is known to the police, I think ?—Yes, he is.

6140. Who is it that told you ?—Deblin.

6141. He told you that Acton was at Crewe ?—Yes.

6142. That is about two weeks ago ?—Five or six weeks ago.

6143. Did he tell you that he was working there ?—Yes.

6144. In his own name ?—Yes, as far as I know.

6145. You did not hear to the contrary ?—No.

6146. When you took this loaded gun to Rogers had you settled before to have a shot at the watchman ?—I do not know that we had.

6147. It looks like it ?—I apprehend that it was so.

6148. You settled that beforehand ? — No, they said they would spoil the bricks.

6149. Did not you say that you would spoil the watchman ?—No.

6150. What did you take the gun for ?—I did not take one.

6151. Or a pistol ?—I had not one.

6152. What did they take it for ?— To defend themselves.

6153. Did you expect to be attacked ?—It looks like it ; they said there was a watchman.

6154. They said that there was a watchman ?—Yes.

6155. Then you expected to be attacked, and you took it to what you call defend yourselves ?—Yes.

6156. That was your object in taking it ?—Yes.

6157. How many guns did you take for the purpose of defence ?—Only two, Acton and Ward.

6158. There was only one watchman ?—No.

6159. Have you ever done a job of this sort and been refused payment afterwards ?—No.

6160. You always had your money ?—Yes, only on the occasion of Jump's job.

6161. You did not get it then because Ensor was the man who usually paid you and he made off ?—Yes.

6162. And so you lost your money ?—Yes.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. J. Barlow.

Mr. JOHN BARLOW sworn and examined.

6163. (*Mr. Barstow.*) You are now a master brickmaker, I believe ?—Yes.

6164. Where do you carry on business ? — At Droylesden.

6165. How long have you been in business as a master brickmaker ?—About two or three years.

6166. In the years 1860, 1861, and 1862, you were secretary to the Ashton operative brickmakers' union ?—Not all the time, but at various times in those three years.

6167. When were you first secretary ?—In the year first mentioned.

6168. 1860 ?—Yes.

6169. What part of the year ?—I cannot say what part of the year.

6170. Early or late in the year ? — I have no recollection what part of the year. I should probably be secretary two years out of the three at various times.

6171. When did you cease being secretary ?—At the time of the murder of constable Jump, with the exception of three months once, between three and four years ago.

6172. You were in office once after the murder of Jump ?—Yes, once between three and four years ago.

6173. At the time that you were secretary what officers of the union were there ?—President, treasurer, and secretary, and three or four keyholders of a safe that they kept the money in.

6174. Had they any duty except keeping the key of the box in which the books were kept ?—No.

6175. Had you a council ?—No, no council.

6176. How were these officers elected ?—Quarterly.

6177. By what sort of a meeting ?—A general meeting.

6178. Was a general meeting held every quarter ?—Yes, what was called a quarterly meeting.

6179. And were there other general meetings ?—Yes.

6180. Were those called general meetings or special general meetings ?—Special.

6181. Besides those, you had council meetings I suppose ?—No.

6182. You had no council meetings ?—No.

6183. Then all the business of the union was transacted either at an ordinary general meeting or at a special general meeting ?—With the exception of the business done by the officers.

6184. All the officers might meet together and do any business connected with the union ?—Any petty things, but important business had to be decided upon by a general meeting.

6185. You know the kind of business that we have heard of to-day ; would that be important business done at a general meeting, or at an officers' meeting ?—It would be interfered with by the general meeting no further than this : a master or two would prove obstinate to the wishes of the society, and after deputa-

tions going to him various times, and after his refusal of their requests, a general meeting would find that there was no course open for them to take, and most probably some one from the body of the meeting would say that another course must be taken.

6186. Was that phrase, "another course must be taken," understood by the people who composed the meeting?—It was understood to be an unlawful course.

6187. Did the body of the meeting know what was meant by "another course must be taken?"—I should think so.

6188. In your opinion?—In my opinion, I think so.

6189. When you were secretary of the union, about how many members do you think there were contributing to your union?—They varied; sometimes 150 members, up to 300.

6190. It varied from 150 to 300?—Yes.

6191. In the brick trade there are men called contribution men?—I refer to full members of the union.

6192. And besides those there were a certain number of contribution men?—No, because at that time we decided to make all into full members.

6193. What was your weekly contribution?—It varied from 6*d.* to 1*s.* in the summer, and less in the winter.

6194. Was there any cause for the variation of the contribution except the winter and summer seasons?—No; I do not know why it should vary, except that the men earned less wages in the winter, and they thought they could pay less.

6195. And all these contributions were enforced; you compelled everybody to pay who were members of the union?—Sometimes if the men did not pay, the other men that worked along with them were withdrawn from their work, causing the master to discharge the men who were obnoxious.

6196. Did you by any means, either direct or indirect, compel a master to pay the contribution?—Never, not to my knowledge.

6197. During the time that you were secretary were the officers of the union generally the same men?—Yes, they did not vary very much.

6198. Who were the officers of the union principally during the time that you were secretary; what names can you give us?—I can remember one of the name of John Mann.

6199. What was he?—I remember him only at present as being treasurer.

6200. Do you remember any other?—I saw Scholefield.

6201. What was he?—I suppose he was the treasurer or secretary.

6202. Are there any other names that you can remember?—Not at present; there are others that I could remember after thinking.

6203. Ensor?—Yes.

6204. Harrison?—Yes, and James Bateman.

6205. I do not want all, but were the same people generally re-elected? Did they have to go out of office at the end of three months?—Generally speaking they would be the same men, because in a society of 120 or 150 there would be only 20 or 30 men able to occupy the office, mentioned.

6206. What qualification did the men look for in electing their officers?—Trustworthiness and honesty would be two of the principal features.

6207. Was there no other qualification?—No, I think those two state all.

6208. Steadiness in a workman, would that be looked at?—Not at all.

6209. Do you think a little infusion of zeal would be looked up to at all?—Most certainly.

6210. You understand what I mean by that I suppose; zeal for the interests of the union?—Yes, I understand you mean one more forward than the rest in the cause of the union.

6211. Would that be a qualification?—I should think it would.

6212. You have served yourself, was that so then?—I do not know on what qualification my election was, but I thought it was because I was trustworthy for one thing, and they could place a little faith in me, being one when first I entered who had upheld the cause of the union, and being a better scholar than a good many of the rest.

6213. Was zeal in upholding the cause of the union the principal qualification that the society looked for?—I cannot say any further than I have done about it; my own election depended upon being a better scholar than the rest.

6214. Waiving your own election, as regards the others, do you think that qualification was looked for?—Most certainly, they would not elect men who they thought would neglect the cause of the union, and who were not strict unionists.

6215. I ask again if zeal and determination in carrying out the interests of the union was not looked for as a qualification in electing the officers of the union?—In that way most certainly it was.

6216. Of course we know that you have certain rules with reference to the relations between masters and men?—Yes.

6217. For instance, you have rules regulating the minimum amount of wages that must be paid to the different classes of workmen in the brickmaking trade?—Yes.

6218. And you have rules forbidding the employment of non-union men in the district?—Yes.

6219. Have you any rules with relation to machinery?—No.

6220. None?—Not that I can remember.

6221. Would any one be permitted to make bricks by machinery within the Ashton district at the time that you were secretary?—In yards where our members worked I believe it was never attempted, but had it been attempted I do not think the members would have continued working.

6222. Could a master discharge what men he liked?—Yes, I suppose he could.

6223. Without the interference of the union?—If they had not done their work in a satisfactory manner I believe he could.

6224. Was he compelled to choose his workmen from a certain class?—His workmen had to be members of the union.

6225. Whoever those men were they must be members of the union?—Yes, if that master was desirous of complying with the rules of the union.

6226. Had you any regulation about apprentices?—No further than this; the usual rule is that before they can be admitted into the union they have to carry five years.

6227. Is brickmaking a difficult thing to learn?—That is a matter of opinion.

6228. What is your opinion of it?—It is my opinion that it is not very difficult to learn, and not worth much after it is learnt.

6229. Could any ordinary labourer learn to be a brickmaker?—Perhaps not a brickmaker; he could learn to temper and get the clay ready, and wheel it for the maker.

6230. How long does it take a man to learn it?—If he was strong enough he would learn in a week, I daresay; it depends upon his strength.

6231. Brickmaking is principally carried on in the summer?—Yes.

6232. And in winter there is a slack time?—Yes.

6233. How do the brickmakers carry over the winter?—I know I carry it over by getting work elsewhere.

6234. In what way?—Labourers' work.

6235. In the summer time would a brickmaker permit a labourer to come and work in the brickyard?—At some jobs, not others.

6236. Were there any other rules than those which I have mentioned which brought the masters into collision with the men?—The principal thing I know of that brought us into collision with the masters, and has caused so much bother, was the strike for the advance of wages.

6237. That was the principal thing?—Yes.

FIFTH DAY.

Mr. J. Barlow.

9 Sept. 1867.

6238. Besides that, as we know, the employment of non-union men?—Yes.

6239. Can you tell us of any other than those two?—Not just at present, but perhaps in answer to questions further on I may be able to tell you.

6240. Who found out for instance that the master paid less wages than the union rate; how was it brought before the union?—By that master I suppose employing non-union men.

6241. Did it ever happen that a master paid union men less than the union rate?—I believe in some cases union men under what is called a cloak have received less wages than they should have done.

6242. Has that ever been brought before the union—Yes, I have heard cases at various times.

6243. How would it become known to the union?—By one man telling the others I suppose.

6244. Had you any officers called delegates in your union?—Whenever a dispute arose between a master and his workmen general meetings were called and delegates appointed.

6245. They were not permanent officers; they were specially appointed?—We never had any permanent delegates.

6246. Are there any in other unions?—I believe there are.

6247. Were the officers of your union working men at the time that they were officers?—Yes.

6248. They worked as well as being officers?—Yes.

6249. Were your accounts audited?—Yes.

6250. Were they open to the inspection of any members of the society?—Yes, at times.

6251. At proper times, that is at the times of meeting?—Yes.

6252. When a master was in dispute with his men either for employing non-union men, or for not paying proper wages, or for any other cause, what course was taken?—Delegates would be appointed to go and remonstrate with him, and almost invariably they would meet with a refusal from the masters, and other steps would have to be taken, unlawful steps most probably.

6253. How were those unlawful steps sanctioned?—They were never brought before the general meeting, or if so only very rarely; it was chiefly left to the discretion of the officers.

6254. How was it left to the discretion of the officers. You told us just now that such a thing as I spoke of would be mentioned in a general meeting?—Illegal cases would not be mentioned, but that is a case varying from cases of importance; generally cases like those are rather therefore regarded as cases for the officers alone than cases for a general meeting.

6255. Have you ever known of any dispute between a master and men leading to damage or outrage mentioned at a general meeting?—Yes, I have heard them mentioned.

6256. Have you ever heard it said that something must be done?—Yes.

6257. That was common, I believe, from what you say?—Invariably when they heard of a master's stupidity some one would say in a moment that something must be done, some other steps must be taken.

6258. Do I understand you to say that it was perfectly understood by the body of the meeting?—Perfectly understood.

6259. It was a hint, I suppose, to some person or other to carry out the wishes of the meeting?—While I was in office it was regarded as a hint with me.

6260. And you have no doubt that it was regarded as a hint by the other officers?—Judging by our actions it was.

6261. Is it your opinion that it was so regarded?—Yes, it is my opinion.

6262. Upon taking that hint what steps were taken to carry out the wishes of the meeting?—In any society where those outrages are committed there is very often a number of men ready to offer their services. Of course they offered their services to us and that is how they were brought about in our case; I cannot speak of any others.

6263. They were hanging about and anxious to know what job was to be done?—No, I do not know that those that I had connexion with hung about, they worked like another as far as my knowledge goes.

6264. They were the same men who were always anxious to know whether any job was to be done?—As far as using the word "many" my memory does not go so far, they did not come after me or the officers along with me in a body asking what was to be done, we never made any arrangement with a body of men as to what they were to do, our arrangements were with one individual, and that individual was left to use his own discretion in the matter.

6265. You did not settle any detail with him?—No, not at all.

6266. What would you say to him? What would pass between the individual and yourself, for instance?—He would refer us to the wishes of the society from the remarks made, and he would name to us the obstinate individuals, and listening to what he said we should no doubt enter into an arrangement with him. There were a great many masters obstinate, and probably he would not be tied to one particular case, but it would be left to his own discretion if he had a sum of money given to him as to whom it should be employed upon.

6267. You have mentioned a sum of money. Who settled the sum of money that was to be paid to bring the master to reason?—It would be mutually arranged between the officers and the men who agreed to accept the money.

6268. Was a certain sum generally understood as a proper sum for such a job?—No, some varied, sometimes perhaps 10*l.*, sometimes 15*l.*, sometimes less and sometimes more.

6269. What was the cause of the variation of the sum?—I can scarcely say what would be the cause of the variation. I should think the difficulty of the job would cause a higher sum to be paid, that is my impression.

6270. The difficulty of the job rather than the extent of the damage done?—You may take it either way, perhaps both would be an answer.

6271. With whom was it left to settle the amount?—As far as my connexion with anybody goes there is only one that I have ever had any arrangement with, that is John Ensor.

6272. Did you consider yourself authorised in any manner, expressed or implied, to act for the union in settling the amount of money to be paid?—I together with another fellow officer did.

6273. Who was your fellow officer?—The one that was generally in office with me; his name is Harrison. He was generally president, and I was secretary.

6274. I referred rather to what officer of the union than the man's name. The president and the secretary?—And the treasurer as well.

6275. There were three officers who had an implied authority from the body of the union to settle these matters with the person who arranged the outrages?—They had no written authority.

6276. They had an implied authority?—Yes.

6277. When was the money generally paid?—Sometimes there would be some paid before, and some of the money would be received after. My place was to book the money as it was paid, not to pay it.

6278. Supposing a man undertook a job and was interrupted, and the job did not come off; had you any power to withhold payment?—Yes.

6279. Have you ever done so?—I do not remember an instance.

6280. You booked the money, you say?—Yes.

6281. I need not say that this money was paid out of the funds of the union?—Yes.

6282. And the books would not balance unless that sum appeared on the disbursement side opposite the receipt side?—No, it would not.

6283. Was it always entered?—I think it was entered in nearly every case.

6284. You had auditors?—Yes.

6285. And the form of auditing the accounts was gone through?—Yes.

6286. How was this money generally entered?—Sometimes there would be no entry made, but the same total would be put down in the money column, and the place where it should be stated what it was for would be left a blank. At other times it would be left out. There would be a private account kept for possibly three months, and at the end of the quarter before the auditor came the expenditure would be entered altogether and put down as "certain expenses," the auditor full well understanding what was meant.

6287. The books at your meetings were, I suppose, on the table, or at some other place, for inspection by any member of the society?—Yes, they were always on the table when business was going on.

6288. Were they ever inspected?—I do not remember a single instance of a private member inspecting the books.

6289. It follows that you never remember any comment being made upon the way in which the money had been spent?—I have heard some complaints that the money was being improperly spent, and that it would be better not to spend it, but they are very few indeed.

6290. What took place upon the complaint being made?—It made no difference, being such a small minority did not alter the carrying out of the wishes of the majority.

6291. You think the complainants were a very small minority?—Yes.

6292. Do you think that the complainants knew in what way the money had been spent?—Yes, they had a general knowledge.

6293. And the majority who acquiesced also had a general knowledge?—Yes, I should suppose they had.

6294. Did the complainants ever mention at the meetings the mode in which this money had been spent?—No further than in a general way by saying that such work did no good.

6295. That would be after that particular damage had taken place?—Yes, it would be after.

6296. Was nothing more definite talked of? Did they never mention anything, such as damaging bricks, or hamstringing horses, or beating men?—No, not in the general meeting. Those matters were too private to be talked of at the general meetings.

6297. They were understood but not expressed?—Yes.

6298. Was any disapproval expressed at the time?—By some few.

6299. Then I suppose I may take it that it was known to all the society that the money was paid for these purposes?—Yes, known in a general way to all that money was paid.

6300. And with what object it was paid?—Yes.

6301. These payments that you have spoken of during your period of office were generally made in your presence?—Yes.

6302. Can you tell us who made them?—Harrison really paid the money, but it was in my presence and with my consent.

6303. Harrison was present with you?—He was. Sometimes he was president and sometimes treasurer.

6304. During the time that you were in office were there generally more than one of these jobs on at the same time?—I scarcely know how to answer, because there were always some five or six that wanted a job of that sort, but I cannot really say whether there would be two or three on at a time. I should say probably not.

6305. What I mean is, were there two or three disputes at a time requiring this particular mode of settlement?—Yes, often.

6306. Usually?—Yes, I believe it was that way during the greater part of the time that I held office, and is so even now.

6307. (*Chairman.*) The masters are so stupid?—Yes.

6308. (*Mr. Barstow.*) We have heard of the destruction of bricks at Messrs. Clifford's; were you in office at that time?—It is very likely I should be in office then.

6309. It was in coming from Clifford's yard that the police-constable Jump was shot?—Do you refer to that particular time?

6310. No, we have had two accounts in 1860 of malicious damage; do you remember anything of them?—Yes.

6311. They were settled in the way you spoke of during the period you were in office?—I cannot say distinctly that I was in office, but I believe I was in office.

6312. Do you remember paying money for them?—I do not remember paying it, but I know it would be paid.

6313. You do not distinctly remember?—I do not distinctly remember paying, but still it would be paid.

6314. Do you remember paying money at all for malicious damage committed at Messrs. Clifford's?—I do not remember paying it, but still I would not swear I did not pay it because I cannot remember.

6315. You do not know whether you were present when the money was paid, or who paid the money?—There were so many jobs that I cannot remember which I paid for and which I did not.

6316. That is your only reason for saying that? There are so many in your mind that you cannot separate them and say distinctly which you paid for?—Yes, that is the only reason.

6317. Of course you remember the malicious damage at Clifford's on June 28th, 1862?—Very well.

6318. Did you pay any money for it?—No, we did not get a chance of paying any for that, unless paying for their defence is regarded as a payment.

6319. You did not get a chance?—No.

6320. Have you settled with Ensor?—No.

6321. Have you agreed for any price with Ensor?—I cannot remember agreeing for any price for it, but undoubtedly there would be an agreement made with him.

6322. Have you any doubt that you did make some agreement with Ensor in reference to that job?—With reference to spoiling the bricks I have no doubt an agreement would be entered into with him.

6323. You do not remember the time?—No.

6324. As a matter of fact, the money was never paid?—No.

6325. You paid for the defence of the men who were charged with the murder of Jump?—Yes.

6326. Did not they have some money?—Yes.

6327. How much?—Over 200*l.*

6328. How does that appear in your books?—It does not appear in the books at all.

6329. It was taken from the funds of the union and spent without appearing in the books at all?—From the funds of that and other unions that had subscribed.

6330. That and other unions?—Yes.

6331. Do you remember what other unions?—Yes, I remember a few; the various unions round about Manchester, Oldham, Stockport, and Wigan.

6332. (*Chairman.*) Liverpool?—Yes.

6333. Sheffield?—Yes.

6334. St. Helens?—Yes.

6335. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Preston?—No.

6336. (*Chairman.*) Birkenhead?—Yes.

6337. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Bolton?—No.

6338. (*Chairman.*) Did all these unions subscribe for the defence of the men who murdered Jump?—For the defence of the prisoners generally.

6339. To defend Ward, who was executed—the Michael Ward who was sentenced for that murder?—Yes, and the others too.

6340. They subscribed to defend the men who committed that murder?—Yes.

6341. (*Mr. Barstow.*) What proportion of this sum came out of your union?—I cannot give the proportion, perhaps 100*l.* or more.

FIFTH DAY.

Mr. J. Barlow.

9 Sept. 1867.

6342. About half?—No, our union did not subscribe half the expenses.

6343. (*Chairman.*) Have you nothing to show what money you received from each of those unions?—I had up to two years since a private balance sheet, kept by myself, of the private expenditure connected with the defence; that balance sheet was destroyed two years ago.

6344. Why?—I kept it in my possession as long as I thought there would be any charges made against the funds of the society, then I destroyed it, thinking it would be of no use.

6345. Did you send round to get general subscriptions from those unions for the defence?—I sometimes sent, and sometimes went.

6346. You went yourself?—Yes.

6347. Where did you go to?—To Stockport.

6348. To get a subscription for this defence?—Yes.

6349. What did they give you?—At the time I went we received 10*l.*

6350. What other union did you go to to get money for this defence?—No other.

6351. Did you send delegates for the purpose?—Sometimes I wrote, but as we met together sometimes in Manchester, having a sort of amalgamation at that time, it was principally done through the amalgamated meeting.

6352. There was an amalgamated meeting of what unions?—Of the unions you have just named.

6353. All of them?—Yes, I think all.

6354. You have mentioned eight unions?—Yes.

6355. Do I understand you that when it was known that the prisoners were charged with murder and were going to be prosecuted at the assizes, delegates were sent from each of the unions, and that they met together to get up a subscription for the defence?—No, the union was formed for the general good of all the societies.

6356. What union?—The amalgamated union.

6357. Is there an amalgamated union at this moment?—No.

6358. Was the amalgamated union formed in consequence of Jump's murder?—Long before.

6359. Had you this amalgamated union meeting to concert measures and to obtain money for the defence of these men charged with murder?—It did not meet for that object. It came about this way: each society paid its money quarterly to the amalgamated fund, and at one of these quarterly meetings it was mooted, I believe, that subscriptions were required for the Ashton case, and it caused each society to be asked to lend some help.

6360. Are you quite sure that each of these unions you have mentioned did subscribe for that defence?—They all subscribed.

6361. It was decided at a general meeting of the whole body how much they should subscribe to this defence?—It was left to each of the bodies what they should do; they could either give anything or nothing.

6362. You say that they did send something?—Yes.

6363. If there was this meeting at which all were represented, how came you to go to Stockport?—Because it was a second appeal that we were making.

6364. Was a second appeal made to any others besides Stockport?—I believe it was made to all.

6365. It first happened in your district; did your people send round delegates to make this second appeal?—Yes, I believe Thomas Harrison was sent.

6366. Where was he sent to?—I do not know the places, but there will be three or four, or four or five.

6367. There would be three or four, or four or five, sent to get up money for the defence?—Yes.

6368. It being a matter in which you considered all the unions were interested?—Yes.

6369. Who else was sent besides Harrison?—I do not remember who else, but there would be some one with him; I do not know who it was.

6370. You raised that amount of money; how was that amount paid to you?—It was sometimes sent by post to Ashton, and I think the first call was paid when the amalgamated meeting met.

6371. The murder having taken place in your district, your union was trusted with the distribution of the money for the defence?—Harrison and myself.

6372. And you received about 200*l.*?—Yes, over 200*l.*

6373. For the defence?—Yes.

6374. How long had that amalgamated union existed; you say that it does not exist now?—Perhaps 12 or 15 months.

6375. Have they subscribed on any other occasion for the defence of any other outrage or murder?—No.

6376. Never?—Not to my knowledge.

6377. Have they subscribed to defend any other outrage?—Not for ourselves.

6378. Was there an amalgamated fund for the purpose of committing these outrages?—No.

6379. Each of you paid for your own outrage in your own district?—Yes.

6380. It was only on the occasion of this special murder that you got up this fund from the different unions?—Yes.

6381. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Was that money paid by the officers of these unions out of the funds of the unions, or was it made up by individual subscriptions?—I do not know how the various societies raised it; all I know is the sum total came to us, but I do not know whether they paid it out of the funds or by individual subscription.

6382. Through whose hands did the money come to you?—Through their officers or through men whom they appointed.

6383. The officers of the body, is that so?—It would come through men they appointed; sometimes they sent money by two men specially appointed to bring it in cases like those.

6384. Do you remember some of these cases which we have heard of to-day? You just mentioned Clifford's?—Yes.

6385. Do you remember Shipley's case, where the horse was hurt?—Yes.

6386. Was that spoken of at a meeting in the way you described?—I never heard it mentioned as far as I recollect now.

6387. It was not mentioned at the general meeting as a job which wanted doing?—No.

6388. You believe it happened?—I do not know.

6389. Did you speak to Ensor or any other person?—I cannot remember speaking to Ensor, or any one else, about Shipley's affair.

6390. Did you pay money?—No.

6391. Did you hear about it?—Yes, certainly.

6392. Do you know enough about it to be able to say whether Shipley's was a union affair or not?—He was a non-union master.

6393. Before the outrage was committed had you heard Shipley's name mentioned in the meeting as a non-union master?—It would be mentioned common enough, but I cannot remember especially at present.

6394. If it was common enough, did you hear it commonly enough?—I cannot remember.

6395. Do you know a man named Taylor?—Yes.

6396. Do you remember some malicious damage being done to his property?—Yes.

6397. Was that a union affair?—Yes; I believe Ensor would be paid for that outrage.

6398. What had Taylor done?—I do not know.

6399. You do not know whether he employed non-union men or not?—I think it would be about the time of our general strike, when they had a bother with him, and probably it would be through him not paying the union price.

6400. What was done to his property?—I believe he had a shed burnt down.

6401. Do you know whether money was paid from the union funds for that?—Money would be paid from the union funds for that.

6402. Do you know who paid that money?—I cannot remember whether I paid it myself, but it

would be paid to Ensor; I believe I was in office at the time.

6403. How long ago was this?—I should think six or seven years since, but I cannot say how long.

6404. You do not know whether you paid the money yourself or not?—I cannot remember paying it.

6405. How do you know that money was paid to Ensor if you do not know whether it was paid or not?—It might have been paid by others in the same office as me, or I might have paid it myself. I could not swear that I did not pay it; that is the reason I do not say. I do not like saying that I paid it without I know I did.

6406. Do you remember Joseph Barlow's case?—Yes.

6407. Was that done by Ensor?—There were two cases in reference to him.

6408. Do you know anything about Joseph Barlow's case?—The first case I believe was paid by the Ashton union.

6409. Do you remember what was done to him?—I believe he had nails put in his clay, according to report.

6410. Do you know what time it was that he had nails put in his clay?—I should think the spring time.

6411. What year was it in?—I forget the year, perhaps it might be in the winter; it would be either winter or spring, but I do not know what year.

6412. About what time?—It might range from January to the end of March.

6413. But about what year; was it 1860, 1861, or 1862?—I do not know what year it was in.

6414. Was it in some year between 1860 and 1863?—I do not think it would be so late on.

6415. Then it would be before you were secretary of this union?—It would be, I dare say; I was forgetting the time.

6416. Do you remember the cause of dispute between Barlow and the union?—Yes; he had non-union men working for him.

6417. Was that at the time of the strike?—Yes, while the strike was going on.

6418. There was another outrage committed against him on the 8th of January 1861; do you know anything of that?—I know that it was done.

6419. Do you know the cause of it?—No, unless it was for the same cause as the other.

6420. Do you know who did it?—I do not know who did it. I know that it was not paid for by our society.

6421. Do you know whether it was a union outrage or not?—I should think it was a union outrage.

6422. What did you hear was done?—I heard he had bottles thrown at his window.

6423. Can you tell us whether he had any dispute with any other union at that time?—He had a dispute of long standing with the Manchester union.

6424. And you know that this dispute was not paid for by the Ashton union?—It was not paid for.

6425. You have no reason to believe that the damage was done by the Ashton men?—I have no reason to believe it at all.

6426. Do you know a man named Kirk?—Yes.

6427. Do you remember something being done to him?—Yes.

6428. What was that?—I think he had bottles thrown at his window; I may be wrong, but I think it was that.

6429. Was that a union outrage?—Yes, undoubtedly it would be a union outrage.

6430. Of the Ashton union?—Yes.

6431. What was his dispute with the union?—It would be the same as Taylor, I believe, of paying a lower price.

6432. Was that paid for by the Ashton union?—Yes, undoubtedly it would be paid for by the union.

6433. Did you yourself pay it?—I feel rather uncertain. I missed paying for some cases during the three years, and I cannot say which cases I missed paying for; that is the reason I hesitate giving the answer; there were others held office during the three years, and all the cases did not happen in my term of office.

6434. Then all the cases that did happen in your term of office you paid for?—I saw some paid.

6435. Did you know who it was that did this at Kirk's?—No.

6436. You do not know whether it was Ensor or not?—It would probably be Ensor, because while I was in office we paid no money to any one else.

6437. Do you know a man named Hobson?—Yes.

6438. What was done to him?—I do not remember what was done to him.

6439. Do you remember the cause?—It would be paying less wages.

6440. You do not know what was done to him?—Just at this moment I cannot recollect.

6441. Do you remember a sum of money being paid for something that was done to him?—No, I cannot remember it, but it would be paid if it was done.

6442. I do not say that you paid it yourself, but do you remember the fact that a sum of money was paid to anyone for doing Hobson's job?—No, I do not remember it, still it may be so whether I remember it or not.

6443. Did you pay money in Tetlow's case?—I should pay it in a great many cases, but I cannot remember any particulars.

6444. As far as you have gone you have not told us of a single one in which you paid money, surely you remember one case in which you paid money?—I would tell you if I could, for since I have told so much it would be foolishness not to tell all.

6445. You say that you know of a great many outrages. You were in office 24 months out of 36, and you do not give us a single case which you remember clearly having paid for?—No, it is simply because I cannot remember; there are cases that you will mention that I can remember.

6446. What do you remember paying for?—I remember the Newton Wood.

6447. You remember Butterfield's case?—Yes, I remember his affair.

6448. Was that an Ashton union case?—So far as I am concerned I believe it was not. I was in office at the time; I know that no money was paid.

6449. Then you can say no money was paid in that case by the Ashton union?—Yes, distinctly.

6450. Now as to the case at Newton Wood?—I do not know the name; I knew it by the name of the Newton Wood case.

6451. You do not know the name of the man who owned the works there?—I thought it was a co-operative affair.

6452. What do you know about that?—I know that Ensor received money from Harrison in my presence for that.

6453. How much money did he receive?—It would probably be 14*l.* or 15*l.*

6454. That is a large sum; what had he done?—I I do not know.

6455. You have forgotten?—It would be damaging bricks I think.

6456. Do you know the cause?—No, there had been a dispute, but I forgot now, but it was over. I believe it was not over the prices in the first instance; it was some other dispute.

6467. I suppose there were some bricks making for the purpose of building a cotton mill?—Yes.

6458. There was some dispute between the master brickmakers and your union?—There was a dispute between him and one or two of his men for some terms that they could not agree upon; they were members of our union.

6459. It was a dispute with some of the members of your union working for him on terms that were not satisfactory to the union?—Or to themselves.

6460. I think I ought to ask you this question in justice to yourself, what age were you when you began to be secretary to the union?—17.

6461. Are you only 25 now?—Yes, 25, perhaps I had begun in 1859.

6462. How old were you the last time you were secretary?—Between 20 and 21.

FIFTH DAY.

Mr. J. Barlow.

9 Sept. 1867.

6463. Have you any books or papers or anything connected with the union in your possession?—Not one.

6464. Have you ever seen them since you were secretary at the age of 21?—Yes.

6465. You have seen them since?—Yes, at various times.

6466. When did you last see them?—I saw them last on Saturday night, what books there are.

6467. How came you to see them then?—I had to go on business, paying some contribution for my father and some for myself, the books were lying on the table and I saw them, I did not get hold of one.

6468. You knew the outside of the books; were those the books which you had when you were secretary?—The books I had are destroyed.

6469. How do you know that?—I did not know until the inquiry; a few months ago I was asked by an officer whether they were destroyed.

6470. Do you remember the name?—Sergeant Harrop. I told him that I was not confident, but I thought they were not destroyed; a few days afterwards I made inquiries of the man who had been officer with me at the time, and I found they had been destroyed immediately before or immediately after Jump's affair.

6471. Who was the man who told you that?—I asked Harrison and he told me.

6472. You did not yourself destroy them?—I could not remember destroying them myself, but I might have destroyed one or two, but I do not remember it. I do not think that I destroyed one.

6473. Surely a thing of that sort you must remember?—Do you wish me to state distinctly? I will say I never did destroy one except it was a piece of waste paper.

6474. I only want a distinct answer one way or the other?—That is one.

6475. Did you ever hear who did destroy them?—They were destroyed probably on the auditing day by some of the persons present, but who destroyed them I do not know.

6476. You do not know who destroyed them?—No.

6477. At any rate you have never seen them since that time?—No.

6478. You were in office three years after this?—Yes, but I never saw the books I had used before. I never saw them during my second term of office.

6479. Then I suppose they have got no books?—With the exception of that one, the contribution book; I saw that and that is all.

6480. Had they no books in your second term of office?—Yes, some of the books were new in my second term of office.

6481. Did you inquire for the old books?—No, not then. I did not inquire for the old ones.

6482. How came that about?—I never thought of the old books when in office. I did not want to go in office. I had given it up as I thought, but they would make me go in whether or not.

6483. You missed the books you had before. Did that excite any curiosity in you?—I cannot remember noticing missing the books at all.

6484. You tell us you did miss them; you answered me that you had new books in the second term of office?—Some were new, but the contribution book was the old one.

6485. Payments of this sort would not be entered in the contribution book?—The expenditure book I believe was the same book, but all the leaves were torn out previous to the time of Jump's affair. All the old leaves were torn out.

6486. Then that book was not destroyed?—No, the missing part was not destroyed.

6487. Is that book in existence yet?—I believe that book is in existence now.

6488. You used to keep a minute book, I suppose?—Yes.

6489. Did you see that book in your second term of office?—I forget whether it was that or whether it was a new one, but there is a minute book which has been produced here: I think it has come. I forget whether I entered the minutes in my old term of office in that book or in the new one, but the minutes are down in the book.

6490. You do not know whether the minute book which will be produced here has entries of your first term of office, or of your second term of office only? I mean of course the time you were in office before this affair of the 28th of June 1862, or the time that you tell us you were in office after that?—I believe it will have minutes in for the whole term of office when it comes to be looked at.

6491. Then the minute book has not been destroyed?—No, if it is found to have the old minutes in it cannot have been destroyed.

6492. You told us that the books have been destroyed?—There was more than one minute book. When I first took office I entered the minutes very irregularly in the small book, those smaller books I have not seen since, but it is possible that some of the minutes may be entered in the large minute book which is to be produced here.

6493. Are those original entries made at the time?—Yes.

6494. Original entries, and not copies or assumed copies?—No.

6495. Then that book, according to your account, does not contain an entry of all the minutes of your proceedings?—It would contain an entry of all the meetings after the book was bought, and the old book would be in use no longer.

6496. The book will show when it was bought?—Yes.

6497. The date of the first entry will show that?—Yes, the dates will show when it was bought.

6498. (*Chairman.*) Are you a member of the union now?—Yes, my position compels me to be one, or else I should be in opposition to the union.

6499. Then you are a member of the Ashton union now?—Yes.

6500. The same union?—Yes.

6501. Have you continued to be a member ever since you were first a member?—Yes.

6502. Do you attend all the meetings now?—Very seldom indeed.

6503. You do sometimes?—Yes.

6504. Where are the meetings held?—At the "Rover's Arms" in Ashton.

6505. Every week?—The meetings for payment are held every fortnight, and there is a meeting for business held quarterly, and oftener when required.

6506. Is there a council or committee besides the general body?—No.

6507. Who is treasurer now?—I believe his name is John Piercey. He is a very old man.

6508. Who is secretary now?—I think they have none just at present.

6509. They had one a few weeks ago?—The one they had before the quarter was up his latter name was Smith.

6510. But you do not know his Christian name?—No.

6511. Who is president now?—James Bateman.

6512. They have the box and the books?—Yes.

6513. Where is the box kept?—At the "Rover's Arms."

6514. Is it an iron box?—There is a box, an iron safe, and a wooden box.

6515. Separately?—Yes.

6516. What does the iron safe contain?—The money.

6517. And any books?—No, no books; just a few tickets.

6518. The wooden box contains the books?—Yes.

6519. Have you a minute book of the meetings?—I cannot tell properly what they have now, it is so long since I was in office.

6520. It was their business to have the minute book?—Yes, at every general meeting.

6521. At which the entries ought to be made?—Yes.

6522. And also a cash-book?—Yes.

6523. And a contribution book?—Yes.

6524. Ought those books to be in the box at this moment, or are they destroyed?—They are brought here.

6525. You have not known of any books being destroyed since those you have mentioned?—Yes, there has been a part of one destroyed.

6526. When was that?—Some few months ago.

6527. What was that book?—It contained an entry of money for what I do not know, not being in office, but this entry was considered unfit to come here, and the leaves were torn out.

6528. This entry was unfit to come here—that was after they knew that some inquiry was coming on here, so they tore the leaves out?—Yes.

6529. Do you know the amount?—I forget the amount; it would be over 20*l.*

6530. In a lump sum?—Yes.

6531. Was it put down so as to show what it was for, or merely as incidental expenses or something of that sort?—It would be incidental expenses no doubt.

6532. Sometimes you put down money for "a dinner" or "a party of pleasure"?—I never put down like that.

6533. It is always for incidental expenses?—Some term of that sort.

6534. Give us a notion of what the usual term is—"a dinner"?—No.

6535. What is the sort of entry besides incidental expenses?—I never made any fancy entries which I have heard about of late.

6536. An "evening party"?—No, never.

6537. And the book was destroyed because it was not fit to bring here?—Yes.

6538. There were a good many leaves then torn out?—Yes, I think it necessarily caused a great many to be torn, because it would throw the book into confusion.

6539. To whom was entrusted the care of tearing out the leaves?—There would be a number of us together.

6540. You were one?—Yes, I was one there when they were torn, but I did not see who tore them, but I know they were torn.

6541. You heard the tear?—Yes, I heard the tear, but I did not care to know who tore them, and I did not look.

6542. And you heard the reasons given?—Yes, I knew them well.

6543. You can tell me a few more of the entries that were not fit to come here?—There was only one in the book.

6544. You tore out more leaves than one?—Yes, for the good of the body; for the satisfaction of the body there were a great many things that would have to be re-entered again.

6545. It was for the satisfaction of the body that the other leaves were torn out?—I suppose it was for the satisfaction of the members concerned.

6546. You have made the book very fit to come here?—I cannot say; it did not matter to me how it was done. My mind was made up.

6547. How many were present when the leaves were torn out?—The late secretary Smith was present.

6548. Who else?—Harrison was present, and I think Frith was present.

6549. Is Harrison in office now?—No, he has gone out of the society.

6550. Harrison and Frith, and who else?—Harrison, Smith, Frith, and myself.

6551. Was there a fire in the room?—No, I do not know that there was.

6552. After you had torn the leaves out where did you take them?—I believe they were burnt in an empty stove.

6553. Who took them to burn?—I do not know who might have taken them.

6554. You trusted to a man of discretion to burn them?—Yes, I dare say any of them would be fit for the job.

6555. Was it Joseph Frith?—Yes.

6556. Where does he live?—He lives in Hollingsworth.

6557. Does he live there now?—Yes.

6558. You do not know which of them took them out; can you give me any idea of how many leaves were torn out?—No.

6559. Half a dozen?—I think there would be more.

6560. The book was made, in the judgment of you all, quite fit to come here?—I did not look the book over after they were torn out.

6561. But you trusted to somebody's discretion; whose discretion did you leave it to see that they were torn out?—Mr. Smith, the secretary.

6562. He did it?—He would look it over no doubt.

6563. Was there any other book in which tears were made?—No.

6564. Was any other book taken away altogether?—No.

6565. That was the only book out of which leaves were torn?—The only book to my knowledge; I do not know of any other; there was no other book at any meeting that I attended.

6566. Not at that particular meeting?—No.

6567. Have you heard of any other book being made fit to come here?—No, I have heard of no meddling with the books since.

6568. Nor before?—Nor before.

6569. That is all you mean to tell us; you have heard about these books being treated in this way?—Yes.

6570. You think that at this moment in that box there are all these books, including this one which has been made fit?—I do not know whether that book will appear, or a fresh book will appear in its place.

6571. What became of this book; who took it after it was made fit?—It was left in the box.

6572. What makes you expect it will not come, and that another book will come in its place?—Because, last Saturday, when I was there I saw on the table a new cash-book; that is my reason for thinking there has been a new book.

6573. You did not see your old book last Saturday?—No, I was in the room a very few minutes.

6574. Did you not hear that it had to be taken away?—No.

6575. Have you any doubt whether it is there or not?—I do not think that it is there.

6576. What makes you think it has been taken away after the leaves were torn out; was it in consequence of these entries that you determined to make away with it altogether?—The book was nearly done.

6577. Is it completely done for now?—No, it was not completely done for, nor could I say it had been taken away; my impression was it had been taken away.

6578. You would naturally have seen if there was a new book in its place. Can you give us a reason why after the leaves had been torn out, the book should be taken away?—I should think it would be to prevent your seeing that the book had been tampered with.

6579. That is the only book that you imagine has been tampered with?—Yes.

6580. (*Mr. Chance.*) You told us that there was an amalgamation of the various unions who contributed to the defence of Ward and others in Jump's case?—Yes.

6581. And that the amalgamated society held their meetings quarterly?—Yes.

6582. And you also stated that at one of the quarterly meetings it was suggested that money should be subscribed for the defence?—Yes; I believe I was present.

6583. You represented the Ashton union?—The Ashton society.

6584. Can you tell me what unions they were that were represented there?—All the eight that I have mentioned to the examiners.

6585. Were those eight that you mentioned the whole that formed the amalgamated society?—Yes.

6586. I suppose you know the other persons by

FIFTH DAY. *Mr. J. Barlow.* 9 Sept. 1867.

whom the other societies were represented?—I do not at present.

6587. Can you think of some of them?—I cannot think of them for this reason, that every three months fresh members were sent who were complete strangers, and though I remembered their names for the time being I cannot think of them now.

6588. Can you tell us the names of any of those persons that represented the different unions?—No.

6589. Not by endeavouring to recall them to your recollection? Take the Stockport union, do you remember who represented the Stockport union then?—Brown represented it at various meetings.

6590. Did he represent it then?—Most probably he would be there, but I cannot say, because they kept changing.

6591. Who represented the Oldham union?—A person named Acford represented it very often.

6592. Was he at that meeting?—I cannot say.

6593. Is it your belief that he was?—No, I cannot say what is my belief there; I should not like to say that he was.

6594. I ask you only as far as you can remember; can you tell us who represented Wigan?—A man named Sinai did represent Wigan at various times.

6595. I ask you as to the particular meeting at which that suggestion was made, can you tell us who represented Wigan on that occasion?—No.

6596. Can you say who represented Liverpool?—No, not upon that occasion.

6597. Sheffield?—No, I cannot recollect who represented Sheffield.

6598. Manchester?—No, I cannot.

6599. St. Helen's?—I cannot remember one of them.

6600. Nor Bolton?—I cannot, upon that particular occasion.

6601. After that suggestion was made I suppose a correspondence took place between you and some of the officers who represent these unions?—Each of the delegates went home to his different society, and they had the case brought before each of their societies, and the result was that the money came either by delegates specially appointed or by post-office orders.

6602. The money came to you by post-office order or by delegates specially appointed?—Yes.

6603. Can you say who were the delegates?—I cannot.

6604. Surely you can tell us some of the names?—If I could I would.

6605. You were in office at the time?—Yes, I held office both in our society and in the amalgamated society at that time.

6606. That being so, the delegates, I suppose, came to you?—No, they did not come to me; I forget how they came. They would probably come to the weekly meeting, one of the pay meetings of the society.

6607. Of which you were secretary?—Yes.

6608. Therefore you were secretary when the delegates came?—Yes.

6609. Cannot you tell us the names of the delegates who came to those meetings for the purpose of paying the money?—No.

6610. Not in any one case?—Not in any one case at present; I cannot remember.

6611. You said that some of the money was paid by post-office order?—Yes.

6612. Those post-office orders would be made payable to yourself?—To Harrison, I believe.

6613. Those post-office orders would be signed by some persons on the part of the union whom they represented?—Yes.

6614. Have you the post-office orders?—They are not in my possession. I cannot say whether anybody has them or not.

6615. Did they come to Harrison?—The post-office orders would come to Harrison, or probably they would come to the club.

6616. Do you remember any of the names of those persons by whom those post-office orders were sent?—No.

6617. None of them?—No, I do not.

6618. Do I understand that you cannot give us a single name of any of the delegates or of any member of any of those unions by whom the money was sent?—At the present moment I cannot give you the names.

6619. You say upwards of 200*l.* was spent in defending these men for Jump's murder?—Yes.

6620. And a great portion was paid by these various unions?—Yes.

6621. Was all this money paid to Mr. Roberts?—Yes.

6622. (*Mr. Barstow.*) I have one question to ask which I ought to have asked before. When you were in office after the 28th of June 1862, did you pay any money for malicious damage or outrage?—No.

6623. Nothing then took place?—I determined never to do anything of the kind again when I had anything to do with the society.

6624. Are you aware whether any union outrages were committed by members of your union during the second period that you were in office?—There was not.

6625. None were committed?—Not during the period that I was in office.

6626. You swear none were committed during that period?—I can swear I never paid for any if they were committed.

6627. You swear you knew of none?—Yes.

6628. And you would probably have known if they were committed?—Yes.

6629. You can swear that you paid for none?—I can swear that I never paid for any.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to Wednesday next at 11 o'clock.

SIXTH DAY.

Assize Courts, Manchester, Wednesday, 11th September 1867.

PRESENT:

PERCIVAL ANDREE PICKERING, Esq., Q.C. | GEORGE CHANCE, Esq.
THOMAS IRWIN BARSTOW, Esq. | JAMES SHEIL, Esq., Secretary.

PERCIVAL ANDREE PICKERING, Esq., Q.C., IN THE CHAIR.

SIXTH DAY. 11 Sept. 1867.

(*Mr. Pickering.*) I wish to ask publicly, before the proceedings begin to-day, whether anybody is present, according to the notice which we gave on Monday, with the keys of the box, and is ready to open it.

No person answered.

THOMAS HARRISON sworn and examined.

6630. (*Chairman.*) Let me warn you before you give evidence that if you choose to make a true and full disclosure of all matters connected with this inquiry about which you may be examined you will be entitled to have from us, and you certainly will have, free and full indemnity, so that you will never be liable at all to any punishment whatever for any outrage or crime which you may have committed about any of these matters. But remember that you are only entitled to that indemnity, and you will only have it, on the express condition of your telling everything, and of your making a full and true disclosure; and remember also that you are upon your oath, and that you are bound to speak the truth. What are you?—A carter at present.

6631. Are you now a member of the Ashton trade union?—No.

6632. You were?—Yes.

6633. How long ago is it since you first became a member; was it in 1859 or 1857, or before that?—I have been a member, I dare say, about 15 years.

6634. When did you cease to become a member?—About two and a half years ago.

6635. Then for 15 years before that time you were all that time a member of the Ashton trade union?—Yes.

6636. That is the brickmakers' union?—Yes.

6637. And did you attend their meetings generally pretty regularly?—Pretty regularly.

6638. We have heard all about those meetings and their usual time of meeting. You served offices in the union, did you not?—Yes.

6639. You were president some time, were you not?—Yes.

6640. Were you secretary?—No.

6641. You were never secretary?—No.

6642. Were you treasurer?—Sometimes.

6643. Do you remember the year in which you were first president?—No.

6644. How long had you been a member before you became president?—Perhaps eight or nine years.

6645. Had you been treasurer before you were president?—No.

6646. You are quite sure that it was after you had been president that you became treasurer?—Yes; I am not quite sure but that is so, if I mistake not.

6647. You had constant meetings about what was to be done for the purpose of the union, had you not? It was always discussed at the meeting as to what was to be done for the purposes of the union?—Yes.

6648. And was it generally left to the president to see it carried into execution?—Well, sometimes it was left to the secretary and the president.

6649. Did you settle at the meetings the amount of money which was to be paid for each job?—No.

6650. To whom was that left?—It was left to them to agree themselves.

6651. To the president and the secretary?—To the president and the secretary.

6652. They agreed how much was to be given?—Well, I do not understand how you mean.

6653. If there was anything to be done such as a man's bricks to be destroyed, or anything else, who decided how much money was to be given for the job?—Mostly those that took the job had the arrangement of that,

6654. Then did you entrust somebody to see the job carried out?—Yes.

6655. Did you trust to them to fix the amount which was to be given for it?—Yes.

6656. Then you settled the person who was to carry out the job, and he was to settle the amount to be given for it?—Yes.

6657. And I suppose he settled the number of hands to be employed in it?—Yes, we had nothing to do with that.

6658. After the job was done did the president generally pay, or the treasurer?—The president and the secretary very often paid.

6659. Were you president in the year 1860?—Well, I might be. I cannot say. I might be president. I do not say that I was not, but I will not be confident that I was.

6660. How many times were you president do you think in the whole of the 15 years?—Well, I cannot answer that correctly.

6661. Do you think that it was as much as a dozen times?—Well I should say that I should be.

6662. The president we understand was elected for three months?—Yes, for three months at a time.

6663. And after he had been president for three months was it possible to re-elect him for the next three months, or did you always change the man?—Well, he would sometimes be re-elected, and sometimes he would not stand.

6664. Did you continue to be president for a period longer than three months by being re-elected?—Well, I believe I have once or twice, but that will be almost the extent.

6665. Were you president, do you think, for the whole of the year 1860?—No, not for the whole of the year.

6666. For the greater part of it?—Six months of it perhaps.

6667. Do you know who is the secretary of the union now?—No, I do not.

6668. Was there a man named Bridgewood secretary in your time?—Yes.

6669. Do you remember when that was?—Well, since I left it I have not taken any interest in the matter whatsoever. I cannot tell the time.

6670. Was Bridgewood secretary while you were in the union?—I sat with him I believe for some three months.

6671. When you say that you sat with him, do you mean that you sat with him as president, he being secretary?—Yes.

6672. I believe that John Barlow was secretary for a long time when you were president?—Yes.

6673. I suppose that while you were president you paid very often for jobs of the sort we have referred to, did you not?—Yes.

6674. What is the most that you think you ever paid?—Well, the most I ever paid I should say would be from 15*l.* up to 20*l.*, or perhaps rather more.

6675. That is for one job?—For one job 15*l.* is the most I have ever had anything to do with, for paying.

6676. You said it was sometimes more than 20*l.*?—Yes, but that was for more jobs.

6677. I suppose it was a very great job for which you paid more than 20*l.*?—It was more than one; 15*l.* is the highest that I have paid for one job.

6678. What is the job for which you paid as much as 15*l.*?—Well, I believe we paid 15*l.*, if I mistake not, for that at Newton Wood.

6679. Was that Simpson's house? Whose property was it?—I cannot say whose property it was.

6680. What was done there; was a man shot at?—No.

6681. Was it not Simpson's case?—I do not know what it was.

6682. To whom did you pay that money?—To John Ensor.

6683. Then it was left to John Ensor to carry it out, I suppose?—Yes.

6684. And it was to be divided amongst all those who did it?—He had his own arrangements; we had nothing at all to do with that.

6685. Now let us begin with 1860. Do you remember a job at Mr. Clifford's?—Yes.

6686. That was in 1860. Was that a case of destroying his bricks?—Yes.

6687. Did you pay for that job?—Yes, I believe I did, I and Barlow.

6688. Whom did you pay; did you pay Ensor?—No.

6689. Whom did you pay for that job?—Well, the note that I received was from James Kay, that he had

SIXTH DAY.
T. Harrison.
11 Sept. 1867.

done the work at Stalybridge and Dukinfield, for which he received 25*l.*

6690. Then I understand you to say that James Kay was employed to do the work at Stalybridge and Dukinfield, and that you paid him 25*l.* for those two jobs ?—Yes.

6691. That was in 1860 ?—I believe it was.

6692. Were the two jobs one respecting a person of the name of Clifford, and the other respecting a person of the name of Blocksage ?—Yes.

6693. Do you know the nature of the job that was done ?—I do not know that I do.

6694. I suppose a job which required a little naphtha and gunpowder cost a little more than the mere treading out of the clay ?—They never told me anything of that sort. I had to give them the money, and it was against me to give it them.

6695. It was quite against your principles, of course ?—Of course it was.

6696. Then your principles were violated or injured in the year 1860, at the time when you gave that 25*l.* to Kay ?—It was.

6697. Kay was not a member of your union, we understand ?—No.

6698. What made you select Kay for the job ?—Well, I did not select him.

6699. But you knew that he would be the man ; you have known of his being selected very often ?—Yes, but I did not select him. I knew nothing about the work being done.

6700. But you have known of his being selected very often by your union people ?—Well, of course, I am not that simple that I shut my ears.

6701. Kay was repeatedly employed by your men, was he not ?—I do not know that he was employed any other times than those two.

6702. You paid Kay yourself, did you not ?—Well, yes, I believe I did.

6703. Did you employ him to do the job ?—No.

6704. Who did ?—I do not know.

6705. Do you remember to which of your men it was entrusted to carry out those two jobs ?—I do not know that there was anything mentioned of that sort at all.

6706. But you came to a conclusion that the job was to be done, and some of your people were instructed to carry it out ; who would be the person on this occasion who got hold of Kay to do it ; would it be Ensor ?—Ensor was not there.

6707. Who could it be then ?—I do not know ; they came to me to pay the money, but I do not know who engaged him, or how he was engaged.

6708. Of course you have no doubt that some of your people engaged him ?—Of course he must have been engaged, or he would not have done it.

6709. And because you knew of his having been engaged, and that he had done it, you paid him the 25*l.* ?—Yes ; a note came to me that there were two jobs, and this note stated to pay the bearer the sum of 25*l.*

6710. By whom was the note written ?—I do not know.

6711. Who brought it ?—James Kay himself.

6712. But surely you must have known something of the handwriting : if anybody sent you a note you would not pay Kay 25*l.* ; some of your men wrote the note, I suppose ?—I do not know at all.

6713. You knew the handwriting, did you not ?—No, I did not. I am not one that understands first one handwriting and then another. I am not much of a scholar.

6714. You must remember, I think, pretty well the person who was instructed to carry out those two jobs ?—No, I do not.

6715. It was between you and the secretary ; John Barlow was secretary then, and the secretary arranged the time and arranged the man, and then that man employed Kay, and Kay came to you with a note from that man whoever he was, and you paid the money. That was the way in which it was done, was it not ?—We were quite well aware when we saw the paper that the work was done, because the newspapers told us at once that the work was done, and that showed no doubt upon the matter. Whether Kay wrote the note himself or not I do not know, or whether he could write I do not know.

6716. But still the note you considered was an authority to you to pay the money ?—Yes.

6717. Then whose duty was it to make the entry of the payment in the books ; the secretary's ?—Yes.

6718. And the secretary would make the entry ?—Yes.

6719. We have been told that those entries were put under different heads, and that it would not appear for what the money was paid, but that it would appear as "incidental expenses" or something of that sort, is that so ?—Yes.

6720. That is in 1860. Now, do you remember a job done at Rogers's ?—Yes ; I remember the job being done.

6721. Do you remember in what year that was ?—No.

6722. Whom did you pay for that job ?—I never paid anybody that I am aware of for that job at all.

6723. Just remember. Did you not pay Ensor for that ?—Well, I might do. If I was in office I should have had to pay him. I should have had to be present when the money was paid.

6724. It would have been your duty to have paid him ?—Yes, if I had been in office when that job was done, it would have been my duty along with the secretary to see the money paid.

6725. And did the payments vary between 5*l.* and 15*l.* ?—Yes.

6726. A good deal of money passed away from your hands, did it not, while you were president ?—Yes, it did.

6727. There were so many jobs of this sort that of course you cannot recollect them all ?—No, I cannot.

6728. Do you remember an outrage on a person of the name of Taylor ?—Yes.

6729. What was the nature of that outrage ?—Well, I happened to be delegated to him for one on behalf of those men being out, and I asked him kindly. I would rather he would consent and let us be comfortable together. He said, well, he should take his own part, and I said, "Very well, sir, I cannot help it;" and I went away about my business.

6730. Then you carried out your kindness by agreeing that some outrage should be committed ?—No.

6731. Some outrage was committed ?—Yes, but not through me.

6732. But you were president at the time ?—Perhaps I might be, but I am not confident of that. I had been delegated when I was not the president.

6733. If there was any outrage committed upon Taylor, and you were president, of course it must have been done to your knowledge ?—The payments would be to my knowledge if I were the president.

6734. And of course before you paid money you would take care to know what it was spent for ?—Well, we did not altogether know it.

6735. Not the details, but you knew the sort of thing ?—Of course.

6736. Do you remember in what year Taylor's was ?—No, I do not. I have taken no interest of that sort.

6737. You took interest sufficient to pay for it ?—Yes, of course. I did not know that ; I did not pay for it.

6738. But if you were president you paid for it ?—Yes, of course.

6739. How much would a job of that sort be worth, because you say the price varies from 5*l.* to 15*l.* ?—I cannot say, I am sure ; it may be 5*l.* or it may be 10*l.* or it may be 15*l.* I cannot say to that.

6740. Do you remember the nature of the job that was done at Taylor's ?—Of course I remember what I read, that the shed top was burnt off, and so on.

6741. And the bricks were destroyed ?—Yes.

6742. What should you say would be the ordinary

price for a job of that sort, 5*l.*, 10*l.*, or 15*l.*?—It might be 10*l.* or it might be 15*l.*

6743. Then whatever it was, if you were president, you paid for it, of course?—Of course, if I was president, I should be present when the money was paid.

6744. Any one who was president would have the same duty and would perform it as you did?—Yes, of course.

6745. In some of those jobs we understand Ensor was himself president?—Yes.

6746. Then of course he would pay himself if he undertook to get the job done?—Of course he would.

6747. Was Joseph Barlow ever president?—No.

6748. Was John Barlow ever president?—No, not that I know of.

6749. Do you remember Joseph Barlow's brickshed being fired?—Yes, I remember it being fired.

6750. Were you president then?—I am not aware that I was president at all the times, but I firmly believe that I was president once when he had some bricks spoiled.

6751. And that you paid for?—I paid for them.

6752. You paid the men that did it?—Well, I paid Ensor.

6753. You remember the job at Newton Wood; that is the one for which you paid 15*l.*?—Yes.

6754. Did you ever pay Ensor for throwing some needles among the clay?—No, I have been studying that over, and I cannot remember our giving them anything for that.

6755. As you have studied it over, you remember the thing which took place?—Yes, of course I saw that.

6756. You saw it done, did you?—No, I did not.

6757. But although you do not recollect, of course you give the same answer to that as you give to others, viz., that if you were president you would have paid for it?—Of course we should.

6758. Now you said that you were one of the delegates who went to Taylor's and endeavoured to persuade him, as you say, "kindly," to agree to your demands?—Yes.

6759. In consequence of his not yielding to you I think his sheds were set on fire, were they not?—Well, I cannot say for that.

6760. As you read it all in the papers and made inquiries before you paid the money, if you did pay, have you any doubt that his shed was set on fire?—No, I have no doubt about it at all.

6761. That was at Cockbrook?—Yes.

6762. Have you paid Hipwell, the man who has been examined here, money for outrages?—I once paid him 5*l.* He brought me a note specifying, "Please "to let the bearer receive the sum of 5*l.*, for we have "had a delegate meeting on one, or two, or three, and "the landlord wants his money," so for that reason I went down and got permission, and asked and got a ticket and gave it to him for the landlord, and received the 5*l.* and gave it to him.

6763. Was that an ordinary mode of doing it, for the landlord to lend you the money and then to be repaid?—Well, for as low as 5*l.*, he sometimes would let us have 5*l.* for a ticket, or else we used often to go to our safety box.

6764. What was the name of that landlord, was his name Barber?—I believe it was at Barber's house where I got it, but I will not be confident of that.

6765. What was the name of the public-house?—The "Globe" inn, I believe we were at then, but I am not confident whether I received it from Barber or not.

6766. Where is the "Globe" Inn?—In Ashton.

6767. Do you know a man of the name of "Big Johnny?"—Well, I know him by seeing him; I know him, nothing else.

6768. What is his real name?—I do not know; I have heard it, and I have tried to study it over, but I cannot. He always went by the name of "Big Johnny."

6769. How long was it ago?—It was the time that that affair took place, Mr. Jump's.

6770. Do you remember the night when that poor fellow Jump was murdered?—I remember the night.

6771. Immediately after the murder was committed do you remember that some persons were apprehended?—Yes.

6772. Ward who was afterwards executed, and Burke. Do you remember when Ensor was apprehended?—No, he never was.

6773. Nor Gregory?—Nor Gregory.

6774. Nor Toole?—Yes, Toole was taken up at Ashton.

6775. And Ryan?—Ryan.

6776. Immediately after they were taken upon the charge of having committed that murder, I suppose means were taken by your union to get money for the defence?—Yes.

6777. At that time was there what they call an amalgamated union?—Yes, there was an amalgamated meeting together.

6778. We have had the names given us of those unions which were amalgamated—Manchester, Liverpool, Birkenhead, St. Helens, Stockport, Oldham, and Sheffield—that is so, is it not?—Yes.

6779. Were there any more?—Not that I know of.

6780. Were those unions whose names I have mentioned brickmakers' unions, or what other unions were they?—Only brickmakers' unions.

6781. Then is there a brickmakers' union at Sheffield?—Yes.

6782. And at all those places which I have mentioned?—Yes.

6783. You say that they were amalgamated; used they to meet by delegates regularly at certain intervals? You tell me that as soon as those men were apprehended on the charge of murder, means were taken to endeavour to get money from these different unions?—Yes.

6784. I ask you whether before that time delegates were in the habit of meeting from the different unions at a certain place?—We used to meet at different places.

6785. How often did those unions send their delegates?—I think it was every six months, if I mistake not.

6786. Did your union send one delegate, or two or more?—We sent two.

6787. I suppose you have gone often?—I do not know that I have gone often, but I have gone; they change every time.

6788. Did you go as president of your union?—No, I went as a delegate.

6789. You were selected?—Yes, I was selected out of the whole body as a delegate.

6790. Who went with you at any time?—Barlow and I have gone together.

6791. Had you often been before this occasion of Jump's murder to meet those delegates?—I cannot say that I had been often; I might have been twice before.

6792. Did the other unions generally send one or two delegates?—Some sent two and some sent three, according to the number of members that they had in their union.

6793. Where did you meet?—Well, we met at Manchester.

6794. Then they all came to Manchester?—Yes.

6795. Where did you meet?—We met at the Manchester club-house.

6796. Did you meet at the brickmakers' club?—Yes.

6797. Was that at a public-house?—Yes.

6798. What was the name of it?—It was the "Crown and Cushion," I think.

6799. The delegates of all those unions, which I think are eight in number, met together at the "Crown and Cushion"?—Yes.

6800. Was that a regular thing every six months?—Every six months while it lasted.

6801. And they were all brickmakers' unions?—Yes.

6802. How long do you think it had lasted before

SIXTH DAY.
T. Harrison.
11 Sept. 1867.

this murder of Jump's?—I cannot tell you, to tell you the truth, how long it lasted.

6803. Was it several years?—I do not know whether it did get into several years or not.

6804. What time in the year did you meet?—Once in the winter and once in the summer.

6805. Did you discuss at that meeting with the delegates all the matters over the country, and the districts in which those unions were?—I do not understand you.

6806. What did you do when you met together?—When we met together we were devising plans of how to combine ourselves as one, to take from one society to the other; that is, if I wished to change from Ashton to go to Manchester or to Liverpool. We were met on getting into those things. It had not got into full working order before it broke up.

6807. But the system was that you were to meet together, and that if a job was to be done in the Sheffield district you might go there and do it, and they might come here?—I do not remember at any of those meetings that being discussed. When I was there we were always on the foundation of getting a committee like, you know, of the bodies together; I never went to one that we were doing anything but collecting and getting into one another's ways and manners, to get to one another's moneys to bring to the amalgamated fund and get it deposited, and getting members to pass from one place to the other. Nothing at all did I ever hear of those outrages being mentioned as to payments when I have been there, not to my knowledge.

6808. Then was the object that you as an Ashton man might go to St. Helens, we will say, and work there?—Yes.

6809. That the members of the different unions might work in the different unions as they pleased?—Yes, to bring a straight card with them. If I change from Ashton I take a clear card to St. Helens, and if they wanted men of course I got employment.

6810. You met regularly for the purpose of carrying out that object?—Yes, when I was there mostly.

6811. And was it proposed to carry out by union the objects of your different societies?—Yes, of course if any society came into difficulties this amalgamated fund helped them.

6812. Then if any of the members of either of the unions got into difficulties in carrying out the objects of the society you were all to help one another?—Yes, of course.

6813. By kind means if you could, and if not, as you could?—Well, I did not hear persecuting means ever get a majority of the meeting.

6814. But they were always in the minority, were they?—Well, I cannot say that they were.

6815. Was the matter discussed?—Yes.

6816. And the proper mode, I suppose, of carrying out your general objects was discussed. When you all met together, did you discuss the proper mode of effecting and carrying out your objects for the protection of your labour?—Yes, of course.

6817. And it was understood that if any of you got into difficulties the other unions were to help you?—Well, it was understood to that effect.

6818. Had you often applied for assistance?—No.

6819. Had they ever applied to you?—No, not at that time. I do not know that they had.

6820. Just think a little, had they never applied to you for help out of some of the difficulties which you say they might have got into?—They might have done, but I cannot say for that length back. I cannot say whether they applied or not. They might apply and men to be there at all at the meeting, and not knowing anything at all of it.

6821. Of course you would not, but still you might be there?—Exactly, but I say I cannot remember.

6822. Do you remember a delegate from Sheffield ever coming over and saying that he had got into a difficulty?—No, I do not.

6823. When you had got into difficulty in the carrying out of your objects for the protection of your labour, in reference to Jump's case, that was the time for action, and you went about then to get some money from those different societies, did you not?—Yes, of course we did.

6824. And that is one of the sort of difficulties which you met?—Yes.

6825. Well, then having got into this difficulty, what did you do? Were you one of the delegates who were then appointed to seek for assistance?—Yes.

6826. Was John Barlow with you?—Yes.

6827. Where did you go, what measures did you take?—Well, we went and asked them.

6828. You "went and asked them," did you call a meeting of the unions?—Yes.

6829. Did they all respond and come to your meeting?—Yes.

6830. Did the meeting take place?—The meeting took place.

6831. Where did the meeting take place?—Well, the meeting took place——

6832. At the "Crown and Cushion"?—We did not call an amalgamated meeting together, as I am informed.

6833. You got into this difficulty; what did you do upon that?—Well, we got meetings at their own societies.

6834. Then did you send round?—We both sent round and went to some of them.

6835. You sent round to all those unions?—Yes.

6836. And you went to some?—Yes.

6837. Did you both send and go, or what did you do?—Well, I went.

6838. Where did you go?—Well, I went to St. Helen's and I went to Manchester.

6839. You went to St. Helen's; who went with you?—John Barlow.

6840. Whom did you see at St. Helen's?—We saw their president and secretary.

6841. Who was the president?—I cannot tell you.

6842. You knew him, did you not?—No, I did not.

6843. What is the name of the society at St. Helen's?—The brickmakers' society.

6844. Did you see them at a general meeting, or did you see them privately?—We went and saw them privately and asked them to call a meeting, and they did so.

6845. You stated your difficulty?—Yes.

6846. And then, of course you did not attend the meeting, did you?—Yes.

6847. You did, and you then stated your complaint?—Yes.

6848. Was it a large meeting?—Well, it was middling. There are but a little few of them.

6849. Are there 100?—No, I think there are not 100. I think there are about 30 odd.

6850. You were then the spokesman, did you explain your difficulty to them?—Well, of course I did as well as I could.

6851. Then you stated fully your difficulty, and you told them that these men had been taken into custody?—Yes, we told them that those men had been taken into custody.

6852. And you had no doubt whatever at that time that those men had been concerned in it?—That we did not know.

6853. But had you the slightest doubt at that time that those men were the men concerned in it?—Well, I had slight doubts at first.

6854. But you could not have had any doubts at that time?—No, I do not know that I had.

6855. You having no doubt that Ward and Burke were the men concerned in it, stated your difficulty at the meeting?—Of course.

6856. And you asked them to assist you with money?—Yes.

6857. Did they take it into consideration and come to a resolution upon the subject?—They took it into consideration, and said they would write.

6858. They came to no resolution at the moment?—No; we told them what we had got to say, and they

said they would write to us, and we had to leave them on those conditions.

6859. After that did they write to you?—Yes.

6860. Did they do something a little better than writing; did they send you a little money?—Of course they did.

6861. How much did you get from the St. Helen's union?—Well, to tell you correctly, I do not know.

6862. Take care! Our promise of indemnity is only conditional upon your telling us the whole truth. How much did you get from the St. Helen's union?—I am telling you the truth; it is a long time since, and I have no papers or anything of that sort.

6863. But you know very well how much you got from St. Helen's, or pretty near it?—Well, I do not know, I am sure.

6864. Did you get 10*l.* or 20*l.*?—Yes, I think it is somewhere between that, it might be that perhaps.

6865. Having got that money from St. Helen's, what other place did you go to?—We went to Oldham and Stockport.

6866. Did you go to Oldham?—Yes.

6867. Did John Barlow go with you?—Yes.

6868. What union did you go to there?—To the Stockport union.

6869. At Oldham?—I am saying Oldham union.

6870. But who was the person you saw at Oldham?—We went and saw the president and secretary.

6871. Had you known them before?—Well, I do not know that I had. They changed, you know, and it was Richard Ackford in, and I went to Richard Ackford, and he was one.

6872. Was he president?—I do not know whether he was president or secretary.

6873. It does not much signify. He was one of the two?—Yes.

6874. Who was the other man that you saw?—I cannot think of his name; his name is William, I know; he is an aged man. He was in office and I went to him and they called a meeting.

6875. Did you attend that meeting?—Yes.

6876. And you explained then the difficulty you were in?—Yes.

6877. Was this after you had been to St. Helen's or before?—Well, I will not be confident whether I went to Oldham before we went to St. Helen's, or whether I went to St. Helen's before we went to Oldham; it was all at the same time.

6878. And then at the meeting you fully explained the subject, as you had done before?—Of course.

6879. Did they come to any resolution while you were there, because money was what you wanted?—Yes, money was what we wanted.

6880. Did they come to any resolution while you were there?—They both said they would send, and they gave us the sum of 10*l.* then and there at Oldham.

6881. What were they to send about afterwards?—Whether they would arrange to give us any more or not.

6882. Did they send any more afterwards?—Well, I believe they did.

6883. How much more?—Well, I am sure, to tell the truth I cannot tell you whether it was 5*l.* or 10*l.*

6884. Was it between 10*l.* and 20*l.* more?—Yes.

6885. Was it more than 20*l.*?—I think it did not reach more than 20*l.*

6886. How many people attended that meeting at Oldham?—There would be perhaps 40 or 50.

6887. You told me that they gave you 10*l.*, and my question was, how much more did they send you?—I say they sent over 5*l.* or 10*l.* more, but which I will not be sure.

6888. Who kept the money which they sent, where did you deposit it?—Well, it was deposited at our own clubhouse.

6889. In an iron box?—Yes.

6890. What was the next union that you went to?—We went to Stockport.

6891. You were on friendly terms with the Stockport union, were you not?—Of course. I do not know that we were on disfriendly terms with any of them.

6892. Stockport was nearer to you, and perhaps you saw more of them than the others?—I do not know that there was much more at that meeting than there was at the other.

6893. Did you see the president and secretary of the Stockport union?—Yes.

6894. Did they call a meeting?—Yes.

6895. And did you also attend that?—Yes.

6896. How much money did you get from the Stockport union?—I believe they sent us either 10*l.* or 15*l.*, but I will not be quite certain how much it was.

6897. What other union did you go to, Birkenhead or Liverpool?—I went to both Birkenhead and Liverpool.

6898. All those are brickmakers' unions, of course?—Yes.

6899. Did you see the president and secretary of the Birkenhead union?—Yes, they called what they call a council meeting.

6900. That consisted of a smaller number than the body, I suppose?—Yes.

6901. You stated your grievance to them, and did they pay you money?—Yes.

6902. How much did you get from them?—I think it was somewhere near the same as from Birkenhead.

6903. I am now speaking of Birkenhead?—Yes, somewhere the same as we got before.

6904. You say you went to Liverpool?—Yes.

6905. Did you see the president and secretary there?—Yes.

6906. Do you remember the name of the president?—No.

6907. Do you remember the name of the secretary?—No, I do not know anything of them; they were all strangers to me.

6908. Did they call a meeting?—Yes.

6909. And how much did you get from them?—Well, I believe Liverpool gave us somewhere above 30*l.*

6910. Did you go to Sheffield?—Yes.

6911. And John Barlow too?—Yes.

6912. Whom did you see at Sheffield?—Well, I believe his name was Stanley; I did not know the man.

6913. Was he the secretary?—Well, I did not ask what he was.

6914. Did you see the president also?—No, I did not know that we did.

6915. Do you remember in what part of Sheffield you saw him?—Yes.

6916. Where?—At the bottom of the Wicker.

6917. Did they call a meeting?—Yes, they called a kind of a meeting, at least he told us he would do so, and we came back on those terms.

6918. You did not attend a meeting there?—No.

6919. And you told them what you wanted?—Yes.

6920. How much did Sheffield send you?—I believe 10*l.* or 5*l.*, but I will not be confident how much.

6921. Then at the same time you went to all those places where the unions were?—Yes.

6922. And you got money from them all?—Yes.

6923. Although you cannot tell me exactly the amount you got from each of them, did you get as much as 300*l.* or 400*l.* altogether?—Yes, I should say we did.

6924. Your union subscribed some of that of course?—Yes.

6925. Was it about 400*l.*?—Perhaps it might be; I cannot tell you now exactly to tell you correctly.

6926. Out of that 400*l.* how much did your own union, the Ashton union, subscribe?—Well, I cannot tell you that; we made great levies.

6927. It was a very important occasion?—Well, of course it was. I suppose it was.

6928. You were president at the time. Can you give me any notion how much your union subscribed?—Well, our union might raise 20*l.*

6929. Not more?—I do not think we raised more than 20*l.*

SIXTH DAY.

T. Harrison.

11 Sept. 1867.

6930. John Barlow has given us a different sum from that?—He might do so; he is better able to tell you that than I, because I had no accounts at all. I was merely assistant; I had no writing to do.

6931. I am speaking now of the money that came from the union funds for the defence of these men?—Well, I should say it would be somewhere near what you say, but I am not able to say correctly what the sum was.

6932. I asked you if it was as much as 100*l.* which was subscribed by your union out of the whole 400*l.*?—I cannot say how much ours did.

6933. Might it be as much as that?—It might be. I will not say anything different to that, because I have no booking of the matter.

6934. It would not appear in the books, would it?—Well, it appeared on a sheet.

6935. A loose sheet?—It appeared on a loose sheet; what had come from each place of course.

6936. But it would not appear in the books?—No.

6937. Having got about 400*l.*, what did you do with it?—We had to pay for the defence with it.

6938. How much did you pay?—The better side of 200*l.*

6939. To whom did you pay the 200*l.*?—To Mr. Roberts.

6940. Having got 400*l.* and paid about 200*l.*, what did you do with the other 200*l.*?—We had a deal to pay to that "Big Johnny," as I told you.

6941. I thought we were coming back to "Big Johnny." What do you pay him for?—Well, he came to me at Manchester, and I do not know anything more; I do not know anything at all about him.

6942. Was this after Jump's murder?—Yes. I do not know anything about the man. He came right to me and he said, "Is your name Harrison?" and I said, "Yes." "Well," he says, "I suppose there is a cure."

6943. What for?—That is all what he gave me.

6944. But what did you understand the "cure" was for?—That he had the men right for going away.

6945. The "cure" was to get the men out of the country?—Yes.

6946. Who were the men that he spoke of; were they Toole and Ryan?—No.

6947. Who were the other men?—Ensor and Gregory.

6948. So there was to be a "cure" for them, was there?—Yes.

6949. Go on and tell us what else he said?—He said nothing, only he wanted some money.

6950. And you understood that that was what he meant?—Yes.

6951. And Ensor and Gregory had not been taken into custody, had they?—No.

6952. And I suppose that "Big Johnny" told you he knew where they were?—Yes.

6953. And the "cure" was to get them quietly away?—Yes.

6954. And it was for that that he asked for the money?—It was for that that he asked for the money.

6955. Did he say where he would get them to?—No.

6956. That you left to his discretion?—Of course I had enough without that.

6957. The burden upon you was to pay the money, I suppose?—Yes.

6958. And how much did you pay "Big Johnny" for the "cure;" you had 200*l.* in hand?—I paid him 30*l.*, I think, down there.

6959. In Manchester?—Yes. Then he came again and I paid him 30*l.*

6960. What did he say he had done with the first 30*l.*?—I did not understand anything. He told me at once that he should want some more, and that was all the answer that he gave me.

6961. Then you asked him no questions as to what he had done with the 30*l.*?—No, I did not.

6962. You knew how to trust him?—Aye, when we was like.

6963. Do you mean that you could not help trusting him?—That is it, I think.

6964. You had known him some time, had you not?—No, I never saw the man before.

6965. Who had given him an introduction to you?—He came there to me; I never saw anybody direct him to me. He came right to me and asked me my name, and I told him.

6966. Did you ask him his name?—No. I asked a man what he was called, and he said he was "Big Johnny."

6967. And from his general appearance you thought he was the right man to have the 30*l.*?—Yes; from his general appearance he looked quite the man for it.

6968. So you at once gave him the 30*l.*?—Yes.

6969. And then he came back to you, and you asked him no questions as to what he had done with it?—No.

6970. But you understood what it was for?—Yes.

6971. How long was it before he came back after saying that he had spent the 30*l.*?—I had to find him 30*l.* in the course of four days.

6972. After you had given him the first 30*l.* four days elapsed, and then he came back for another sum?—Yes.

6973. Did he not tell you what he had done?—No, he did not tell us what he had done; he told us he should have to have some more before it would be completed.

6974. Did he say how far he had got on with his job?—No, he never gave me any information of that sort at all.

6975. You trusted him altogether?—Yes.

6976. And then you gave him another 30*l.*?—Yes.

6977. For the same purpose?—For the same purpose.

6978. Only to make those two safe, Gregory and Ensor?—Yes.

6979. Then did he go away with that second sum of 30*l.*?—Yes.

6980. Did you see him again?—Yes, I saw him again.

6981. How long after this last time?—Well, I think there was nobbut about four days elapsed again.

6982. And then he came for some more, did he?—Yes, he had two 30*l.*, and then I think I gave him two 20*l.*

6983. You gave him the two 20*l.* on the third occasion, did you?—Upon the third occasion.

6984. Do you mean to say that you gave him this money without asking him any questions as to what he had done with it?—Yes, we never asked him at all.

6985. Who was present at those interviews?—Nobody was there but him and me. He would not have anybody to go in to see me pay him the money.

6986. Did you pay him the three sums at the same place?—No.

6987. The first time you paid him, where did you meet him?—In Manchester.

6988. But Manchester is a big place. Where was it?—At the "Crown and Cushion."

6989. Where were you when you paid him the second sum?—I was at Liverpool; I had gone down to Liverpool.

6990. What had you gone to Liverpool for?—I had gone on that meeting that I have told you about.

6991. Did he know you then that he came to you at Liverpool?—How he got to know it I do not know, but he came to me at Liverpool.

6992. Where did he find you at Liverpool?—He found me at the club-house at Liverpool.

6993. He came to you there?—Yes.

6994. Did they seem to know him at the club-house at Liverpool?—I do not know, I am sure. They did not say anything to me about him.

6995. What is he?—All that I could get to know about him, as far as I could get any information whatever, was that he traded in wheat about the docks in Liverpool, and the last news I heard of him was that he had been transported for stealing wheat. I never knew the man nor knew anything at all of him.

6996. Then he came to you to Liverpool?—Yes.

6997. And there you gave him 30*l.*?—Yes.

6998. Where were you when you gave him the

two 20*l.*?—I gave him another 20*l.* at Ashton and another 20*l.* at Birkenhead.

6999. Then he followed you to Birkenhead?—Yes.

7000. And found you at the club-house there?—Yes.

7001. Where, at Ashton did you pay him?—I paid him in the street at Ashton. He said he had not time to stop or nothing.

7002. Do you mean to swear that this man was not recommended to you and that you knew nothing at all about him, and that on his only coming up and saying that he knew a "cure" you paid him the money?—Yes, I did not know the man nor who had engaged him, or anything at all about it.

7003. Of course you mentioned it to your other friends?—Yes, I told Barlow that, and I would always have the sum put down that I gave him.

7004 Who put it it down?—Himself.

7005. "Big Johnny" put it down?—Yes; if it was 30*l.* he put 30*l.*, and if it was 20*l.* he put 20*l.*, it being private, and he would not have anybody else with him, I would not pay the money unless he gave me the sum I paid him, and then I could show it Barlow, and Barlow could put it on the sheet, and we might know where the money had gone.

7006. Did you pay him any more after those two 30*l.* and two 20*l.*?—No, not just then.

7007. When did you next see him?—Well, I saw him again when we were down at Liverpool with the trial.

7008. That was in the summer, was it not?—Yes; in August, I believe, if I mistake not.

7009. "Big Johnny" was there, was he?—"Big Johnny" was there.

7010. Had you no talk to him about having made Ensor and Gregory safe?—He told me they were gone; that was all he said to me.

7011. Then what else passed between you?—Well, he said he had got the other two.

7012. Was that the first time he had mentioned the other two?—That was the first time he mentioned the other two, that he had got the other two, and that they were in the same way, and I had to pay him the same again.

7013. The other two were Toole and Ryan?—The other two were Toole and Ryan.

7014. Then he told you at the time of the trial at Liverpool in August that he had got the other two?—Yes.

7015. And you trusted him again?—Of course.

7016. What did you give him then?—He had the same sum again.

7017. 30*l.*?—Two 30*l.*

7018. Giving you a receipt for it?—He gave me no receipt, only just the figure of 30*l.*

7019. And you thought that was enough?—Of course it was enough to show that "Johnny" had received the money off me.

7020. But how did the figures show that he had received it?—Well, of course I could not write like it, and of course he took my word.

7021. You seem to have taken his?—We took his, and of course "Johnny" took mine.

7022. He took the money?—Yes, he took the money.

7023. Did you afterwards pay him something more?—I paid him another 30*l.*

7024. Where did you pay him that?—In Liverpool at the time that the trial was going on.

7025. And where did he come to you?—He was in the court.

7026. Was it in the court that you paid him the money?—No.

7027. Where did you pay him the money?—I cannot tell you the name of the public-house for I did not take that notice of it.

7028. Was there a similar transaction; did he give you a paper with the amount written down?—Yes.

7029. How many days was that after you had paid him the first 30*l.*, was it four days?—No, I think not; I think it was nobbut two days before he was on us again.

7030. Did he then come to you for something more?—Yes.

7031. Was that at Liverpool?—Yes.

7032. Before the trial was over?—Yes.

7033. How much did you pay him then?—I paid him the same as before, two 20*l.*

7034. That is, another 100*l.*?—I believe it was 200*l.* I paid him altogether; I did not take particular notice of the amount.

7035. And did he tell you that Toole and Ryan were made safe?—Yes, he told me they were gone.

7036. The person you told of all this was John Barlow was it?—Yes.

7037. That you swear, will you?—Yes.

7038. And he made a note of these payments upon the loose sheet?—Yes, of course he did.

7039. So of the 400*l.* you have mentioned, 200*l.* went to Mr. Roberts, and the other 200*l.* went in the way you have just told us?—Yes.

7040. For whom else of your union was it talked about besides John Barlow; it must have been mentioned, you know?—It was never mentioned; there was no secret at all as to what we had paid; there is no single person about it.

7041. It was well known to all your men?—Of course.

7042. The money that was received, and the mode in which it had been paid away were well known?—Yes.

7043. It was not put upon the books of the society, but only upon this loose sheet?—It was on this loose sheet, and passed away.

7044. This loose sheet is not existing now, I suppose?—No, I have none of it.

7045. Was this occasion of Jump's murder the only occasion when you went round to get assistance from the other unions?—That is the only occasion that ever I went.

7046. When have you known others go?—Well, I do not know that I have known others go.

7047. Just be careful.—They might have gone and I not know anything of it.

7048. But as it was common talk, and no secret, you must know whether at other times they had not gone round and got money for other things?—They had not done so that I am aware of.

7049. Will you swear you never heard of their going round at other times and getting assistance from the other unions?—Not to my knowledge; I do not remember it.

7050. Have you heard of it?—I might have done, and not thought of it.

7051. Have you heard of it?—I cannot tell you distinctly, to tell you the truth, whether I have.

7052. But it was common talk; had you heard of their going on other occasions to get money?—Well, I might have done so.

7053. Have you any doubt about it?—No, it might be so, and we not know about it.

7054. Of course; but you have no doubt about it, have you?—I have no doubt about their going at all.

7055. It was a common thing to go and get money from other unions?—Yes.

7056. And upon those occasions?—Yes.

7057. Have you ever sent any money to Sheffield?—No, not that I am aware of.

7058. May you have done so?—We might have done for anything I know.

7059. Do you remember the Reddish outrage, when Wild was beaten?—I remember hearing of it.

7060. It was a matter of common talk, surely?—Of course there was a talk about it.

7061. It was in the Stockport union district, was it not?—Yes.

7062. Did your union help the Stockport union with money upon that occasion?—Yes, I believe we did.

7063. How much did you give them?—I was not there, and I do not know.

7064. You were not there, but you heard it discussed. You say there were no secrets; how much

SIXTH DAY.

T. Harrison.

11 Sept. 1867.

was it?—I have heard it said that they gave them something, but I cannot say how much it was; I could not tell you the sum.

7065. Would it be about 20*l.*, or 30*l.*, perhaps?—No, I do not think it would.

7066. Not as much as that?—No.

7067. But, however, it was something?—Perhaps it might be 10*l.*

7068. But you have no doubt that money was given?—I believe money was given.

7069. Was that to meet the expenses of the defence of the men who had committed the outrage?—It was for the defence of the men.

7070. Have you often heard of your union paying for the defence of men who have committed outrages elsewhere?—No.

7071. Not often?—No.

7072. You were never present at any other but the one you have mentioned?—No.

7073. You have told me how you disposed of the 400*l.* Was the payment or the distribution of the 400*l.* entrusted to you, or was it brought before a regular meeting?—It was entrusted to me.

7074. By a resolution of the meeting?—We never had 400*l.* at once.

7075. Not at once, I know that; but whatever money was collected altogether was the distribution of it entrusted to you and Barlow?—Yes.

7076. Did you consider you were carrying out the purposes for which the money had been entrusted to you by paying this 200*l.* in the way you have mentioned to "Big Johnny?"—Yes, of course.

7077. Who first gave you the information that part of the money should be spent in that way?—We did not get any information.

7078. Nobody suggested it?—No, there was no suggestion about it.

7079. Of course you had heard that expression, "Is there not a cure," before?—No, I did not say a cure, "he had them secure."

7080. Had you paid money for purposes of that sort before?—No, never in my life.

7081. How did you know to what he alluded when he came and said, "Can you have them secure?" or "Will you have them secure?"—I well knew that the men had gone off, and that was all that I wanted.

7082. How did you know that this man alluded to that when you first saw him, before you gave him the money; how did you know that the man "Big Johnny" alluded to taking Slater and Ensor away and making them secure? Had you been told beforehand that somebody would come and make a proposal to you?—No, nothing of the sort was said to me, but as soon as he came in and said the words I had an idea what he meant.

7083. How came you to have an idea of what he meant; you had never seen him before?—I cannot say.

7084. He came to you to the "Crown and Cushion?"—Yes.

7085. Were you sitting alone in the room?—No, I was not in the room. I was going into the house, and as soon as I entered the house he entered it.

7086. Were there any other people at the time?—Yes, a great many.

7087. Could they have heard what he said to you?—No; he get hold of me. He said, "Thomas, is not your name Harrison?"

7088. Then he knew you?—Yes, he seemed as if he knew me. He said, "Is not your name Thomas Harrison?" I looked at him and said, "Yes."

7089. You say he called you Thomas and knew you?—He called me my proper name. Somebody had told him my name, or he would not have known it.

7090. He knew you?—Yes.

7091. Will you swear that you did not know him?—No, I had never seen him in my life before.

7092. Had nobody suggested to you that anybody would come to you with a proposal of that sort?—No.

7093. Had you talked over at the meeting that it was desirable to make these men secure?—No, not that I know of.

7094. It was considered between you and John Barlow?—I am not aware that it was mentioned at all. I cannot bring it to memory that we thought of such a thing at the time.

7095. Had you the 30*l.* in your pocket ready at the time?—Yes.

7096. How came you to have as much as 30*l.* in your pocket?—I had just drawn it, and as soon as I drew it he must have known that I had drawn it; but where he got this information I cannot say.

7097. Who told him?—I cannot say who told him.

7098. How came you to draw 30*l.*?—I was given it.

7099. You say you drew it?—Yes.

7100. How came you to draw the 30*l.*?—Have I not just told you?

7101. No, you have not.—I told you we went to some society.

7102. You had just drawn the 30*l.* from some society, and had not paid it over?—No.

7103. And by a curious accident Johnny was at the door?—Yes.

7104. And you had not the slightest expectation of it?—No.

7105. You never saw him before in your life?—No.

7106. He knew you as Thomas, and asked you for 30*l.* for that purpose. You understood it and gave it to him?—Yes, of course I did.

7107. How long before had you drawn the 30*l.*?—It was about 11 o'clock when I saw him, and I drew it between 9 and 10.

7108. Where?—At Manchester.

7109. Had you seen him at the place where you drew the money?—No, I never saw him till I saw him as I entered the door.

7110. A perfect stranger called you by the name of Thomas and asked you for 30*l.*, and you gave it immediately?—He did not ask me in there. He got me in by the shoulder and took me, and we went into the room, and he said, "The men are secure, and I shall want 30*l.*"

7111. Did it not surprise you that a man should take you by the shoulder into a private room and ask you for 30*l.*?—Yes.

7112. You knew nothing about him before?—No, I knew that the men were gone.

7113. Gone out of Manchester?—Yes.

7114. But not gone away?—I could not say whether they had gone away or not. I paid him 30*l.*

7115. For aught you knew the men had completely gone away, and nevertheless you gave him, a stranger, 30*l.* to get them away?—Yes.

7116. (*Mr. Chance.*) Had anybody told you when you drew the 30*l.*, or before you drew the 30*l.*, that somebody was to meet you that day?—No, they had not said a person would meet me, but they said when I drew the 30*l.* that it should not be long before I should have to part with it; that made me aware of the matter at once that I should have to part with it as soon as I drew it.

7117. Who told you that?—I have tried to bring my memory to it, but I cannot bring my memory to who it was said those words, because we were just all crowded. There had been a meeting, and the house was completely crowded, and we were all of a lump, and I could not tell who the man who told me was.

7118. Were the men who formed the lump members of your union?—No, the Manchester union.

7119. Was not your curiosity rather excited when a man told you that when you got the 30*l.* you would soon have to part with it?—Of course it was.

7120. Cannot you remember who it was?—No, I cannot remember who came out with the words. He made answer just like this, "You will not be long before you have to part with it."

7121. Had you seen the man before who told you this?—He did not tell me personally; I drew it. He said, "You will not have long to hold it."

7122. Where did you draw it?—At Manchester.

7123. What union did these people belong to?—

The Manchester union; we met at the Manchester club-room. He said, "You will not have long to hold it." As soon as the man came up to me in the way he did he took me into the room and said, "They are secure, and you will have to give me 30*l.*"

7124. How did you know that he was called "Big Johnny"?—By the name I got at Liverpool.

7125. Somebody pointed him out to you as "Big Johnny," who was that?—To tell you correctly I cannot say who pointed him out as "Big Johnny."

7126. Was he well known as "Big Johnny"?—Yes, he was well known as "Big Johnny" the same as his proper name.

7127. You have not heard his regular name?—Yes, I cannot think of it; I had a card once of his name, but I cannot think of it.

7128. Think for a moment what it was?—If I did know it I would tell you.

7129. He was transported for stealing wheat?—For having stolen wheat on his premises.

7130. How long ago was that?—Four or five years since.

7131. You say that when these outrages were committed at the instance of your society Ensor generally received the money?—Yes.

7132. We were told the other day that generally speaking after an outrage there was a meeting called of the members of the union?—No, I did not say so; I do not remember any meetings being called after an outrage.

7133. Do you remember the blowing up of Tetlow's house?—I remember hearing of it.

7134. After it was done was there not a meeting called of your union?—Not that I am aware of.

7135. Was there not a meeting called to consider whether money should be paid?—No, not that I am aware of.

7136. We were told by Thomas Barlow that a meeting was called after Tetlow's outrage, and others too?—I cannot say that there was or not.

7137. Would it be your ordinary course to call a meeting of the members of the union after an outrage of that kind?—No, I think not.

7138. Would Ensor have the power of paying whatever money he chose to pay for an outrage of that kind when it was committed?—Yes.

7139. Was the amount to be paid left entirely to his discretion?—Yes.

7140. Was not the subject afterwards at all brought before the members of the union in a general meeting?—No, not in a general meeting. When the accounts were audited up of course he had to answer for what money he had drawn; he had to satisfy the auditor of the book what he had done with the money he had drawn.

7141. The auditors knew that money had been paid for these outrages?—Yes, he put it to them that he had spent so much money, and then our accounts were against him.

7142. Was no mention made at a general meeting of the members assembled as to the moneys that had been paid for the outrages?—To tell you correctly I do not know whether the moneys would be mentioned openly or not.

7143. You do not know it?—No, not whether they were opened or not.

7144. (*Chairman.*) You said that "Big Johnny" had been tried and transported?—Yes, a person told me so.

7145. Do you remember where he was tried?—At Liverpool.

7146. When?—I do not know

7147. How long ago do you think it is?—It would be somewhere about four or five years ago.

7148. In the summer or the winter?—I cannot tell you that.

7149. But you are sure that he was tried at Liverpool?—A person told me that he was transported for having stolen wheat.

7150. And that he was tried at Liverpool?—Yes.

7151. Do you remember whether it was for stealing wheat at Liverpool?—I do not know where he got his wheat.

7152. You do not know where he was committed?—No; I only know that he was tried at Liverpool.

7153. I think you said that you understood "Big Johnny" to be a man that lived at Liverpool?—Yes; it is some such name as Haley or Hale; he always went by the name of "Big Johnny."

7154. You have got very near it by studying a bit?—I have got near it; I should have brought his name if I had got it.

7155. (*Mr. Barstow.*) What countryman was he by his speech?—I thought that he was an Irishman; whether he was or not I cannot say. It was some such name as that, but it is so long since I cannot say.

The witness withdrew.

CHARLES BARLOW sworn and examined.

7156. (*Mr. Barstow.*) I believe you are a brickmaker at Droylesden?—Yes.

7157. Are you father of the John Barlow whom we examined the other day?—Yes.

7158. He was secretary of the Ashton brickmakers' union?—He was president at the time.

7159. Do you know a man named Taylor, who lives at Cockbrook?—Yes.

7160. Is he a master brickmaker?—Yes.

7161. In 1859 was he in dispute with the union?—I believe he was.

7162. Did you, in company with some others, do some malicious damage to his property?—Yes.

7163. Who were those, John Ensor and Isaac Schofield?—Isaac Schofield was not there.

7164. Who were they?—John Ensor; it is so long since, I forget their names; I know John Ensor and me was there.

7165. Was a man named Bradshaw there?—Yes.

7166. William Bradshaw?—Yes.

7167. Was a man named Goodwin there from Manchester?—Richard Goodwin?

7168. Yes.—Yes, he was there.

7169. Was there a man named John Brierley there?—I cannot swear to him.

7170. How many do you think there were altogether?—I think there was another or two with us, but I cannot say; I cannot really think of their names the time has gone by so long.

7171. There would be six of you altogether?—I think there was another or two, I will not be certain.

7172. You went together to Taylor's brickyard?—Yes.

7173. Had you any arms with you of any sort?—Not one.

7174. Not a bludgeon?—No, I believe there were no bludgeons that night.

7175. When you went to Taylor's yard what did you do?—We got up materials inside and poured naphtha on them.

7176. What do you mean by materials?—Barrows and some boards.

7177. Trestles, tables, and wheelbarrows?—Yes, we put them inside the sheds that the bricks are made in.

7178. And you poured naphtha on them and set them on fire?—Yes.

7179. You got something for that, did you not?—Yes.

7180. How much?—I cannot be sure, but I think it was somewhat about 1*l.*

7181. Who paid you?—I was paid by John Ensor.

7182. What time of the year was this?—I cannot be exact what time of the year it was; Mr. Taylor will be able to tell the time of the year.

7183. Did you destroy any bricks?—What were inside the shed.

SIXTH DAY.

C. Barlow.

11 Sept. 1867.

7184. Nothing else?—Nothing else that I am aware of.

7185. Do you know Mr. Tetlow?—I do not remember ever doing any harm to Mr. Tetlow.

7186. Were you ever at Mr. Tetlow's house?—I never remember it, but I will not swear either way, whether I were there or not; if I was there it is unknown to myself.

7187. It is an extraordinary thing; it is one of the most wicked outrages I ever heard of?—The time is so long gone by; if I was there I have forgotten it.

7188. It is not 10 years ago?—No, but we have been connected so much in doing this sort of work that I have forgotten.

7189. You must remember whether you were there or not?—I cannot remember.

7190. Nonsense, I will not take an answer of that sort; it was an attempt to commit arson, and, perhaps, murder; if you were there, you remember it?—I do not remember being there.

7191. Nonsense, you must remember?—I shall not alter if you keep me here till 6 o'clock at night.

7192. We cannot take such an answer?—I never remember being at Tetlow's house.

7193. Will you swear whether you were there or not?—I would rather do neither; I have been concerned in so many, it has slipped my mind if I was there.

7194. Have you on any other occasion attempted to burn a man's house?—Yes.

7195. Do you remember a man named Rogers?—Yes.

7196. Was he in dispute with the union?—Yes.

7197. Did you go with some others to his yard?—Yes.

7198. Who were they?—Ward and Ensor.

7199. Ward is the man who was hanged?—Yes.

7200. Was Burke there?—And Burke.

7201. That is the man who is now in custody?—Yes.

7202. He is sentenced to penal servitude for life?—Yes.

7203. Was Jonathan Acton there?—Yes.

7204. Were there any more that you are aware of?—I do not know.

7205. (*Mr. Chance.*) Was Ryan there?—I do not remember Ryan.

7206. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Were there others there, or is it that you do not know their names?—How many have I mentioned?

7207. You have mentioned four, and yourself makes five.—Yes, there would be more than that.

7208. How many more?—There would be one or two more, but really the time is gone and I cannot think of their names. I am not ashamed of telling if I could think of their names.

7209. You may forget a man's name, but that you forget whether you tried to burn a man's house down I will not believe. You went to Mr. Rogers's yard?—Yes.

7210. What took place there?—We went to destroy the bricks.

7211. What did you do to destroy the bricks?—Trampled on them, likewise there was a watchman there.

7212. Do you know his name? Was it Samuel Newton?—Newton is the man's name, and a little dog came out of the shed, and a little time afterwards three came out.

7213. What did the little dog do?—He barked at them.

7214. And then the watchman came?—Yes, after that the watchman came.

7215. What did he do?—He came out and made his way somewhere, and there was a scuffle, and two were shot.

7216. What do you mean by that?—I was a few yards from them.

7217. The watchman came up to you?—No, he came out of the shed.

7218. Where did he come to; did he come to you after you had destroyed the bricks?—No, we had destroyed no bricks then. He came out, and Burke and Ward stood at the place where the little dog came out of.

7219. Burke and Ward were close to the shed?—Yes, and Acton was close to them, and he got some little distance away and fired at him.

7220. How do you mean he got some little distance away?—He was going away from them and some one fired at him.

7221. He turned to go away from them?—Yes.

7222. Did you see who fired?—I believe it was Acton and Ward who fired. It was so dark and I was five or six yards off them.

7223. Had you any arms yourself?—No.

7224 Did you see any arms in the possession of the party before?—No.

7225. Did you know that there were any arms till you saw the pistol-shots?—Yes, I knew that Ward had one. I did not know that Burke had one.

7226. You knew there was one pistol and that it was in the possession of Ward?—Yes.

7227. You say two shots were fired; some one else must have had a pistol?—I understood it was Ward and Acton that fired.

7228. Did you see them fire?—It was dark and I was about six yards off them. I saw two pistols fired, but I could not take my oath, but those were the two we understood had fired.

7229. You heard afterwards that they had fired?—Yes.

7230. Was the watchman hit?—I believe he was.

7231. Where was he hit?—Somewhere in the head; the watchman got out of the way and he was not molested any more.

7232. The watchman got out of the way?—Yes.

7233. He was not killed?—I am sure he was not killed.

7234. Did you go on destroying the property?—No, we went right away.

7235. Do you know a man of the name of Wylde?—Yes, a brick master.

7236. Where is he a brick master?—In Ashton.

7237. Do you remember his being in dispute with the union?—Yes.

7238. When was that?—I cannot speak to the time; it was not far from that time—they were near together.

7239. Would that be in 1859 or 1860. I cannot say; it would be near that time. I forget to a year or two.

7240. Do you believe that it was about 1860?—Yes.

7241. Was there a strike in your trade at that time?—Yes, we struck at 2*s*.

7242. And all these masters were making bricks with non-union men, were they?—Yes.

7243. That was the cause of their dispute with the union?—Yes.

7244. Do you remember going with some others to Wylde's yard?—Yes.

7245. Who were with you?—Ensor and Ward.

7246. Was Burke there?—Yes, Burke was there.

7237. Who else?—I am sure I cannot say exactly.

7248. How many others?—I cannot say how many there were of us.

7249. You can tell us about how many there were—I fancy there was another or two there.

7250. Can you tell us who were these other two; were they the same men in each case or were they different men?—I cannot say.

7251. What did you take with you there?—We took some needles with us then.

7252. Did you take any arms with you?—Yes.

7253. What arms did you take first?—Ward had arms with him. I do not know whether anybody else had or not.

7254. Ward had firearms?—Yes.

7255. A pistol I suppose?—I do not know whether it was a pistol or a gun.

7256. Had any of you staves or anything of that sort?—I believe not in that case. We only went there simply to needle this clay.

7257. You took needles?—Yes.

7258. Where did you get your needles?—I cannot say. Ensor and Ward got the needles.

7259. Who gave you your needles?—Ensor gave them to me; they were not delivered up till we got on the clay.

7260. He did not give them to you till you got in the yard.

7261. How did you put the needles in the clay?—In various ways.

7262. How did you put your needles in?—I had a stick and made some holes in the clay and put them down in it, and I believe the others did likewise.

7263. Was this the tempered clay?—The clay that was cast ready for tempering, but it was put in both where they had one bed tempered, it might be perhaps ten or a dozen thousand. I cannot speak to that, there were some needles thrown on that.

7264. What is the effect upon the workmen of throwing needles in the clay?—To prevent the non-union men from working the clay.

7265. Of course they do not see that the needles are in the clay?—No.

7266. Then they go to work the clay of course?—No, they cannot.

7267. They go to their work as usual?—Yes.

7268. They did not know that there were any needles there?—Yes, they found it out at Wylde's as soon as it was done.

7269. Without any one being hurt?—Yes.

7270. But you did not mean them to find it out?—Not if we could have hindered it.

7271. Supposing they had not found it out, what would they do?—Go on with their work as usual.

7272. How would they have worked the clay?—As long as the clay——

7273. What would they have done with the clay? I am not a brickmaker and I do not know how they do these things?—It is worked and moulded by hand; it affects only the moulder.

7274. He takes the clay and puts it into a mould?—Yes.

7275. I suppose he forces it into the mould?—Yes.

7276. Of course if there were any needles in the clay they would run into his hands?—Yes.

7277. Do they injure the hands permanently?—In some cases, and in some cases the clay gets made up.

7278. In some cases the men are never able to work at the trade again?—I never knew one that was injured to that extent.

7279. It stops them for a long time?—Sometimes it does and sometimes it does not.

7280. I suppose so, but sometimes it does stop them for a long time?—Yes.

7281. A man is prevented earning his living for a long time?—Yes, in some cases I have heard tell of it.

7282. Sometimes it only gives him a slight prick and he finds it out, and in some cases it goes with violence into his hands?—Yes.

7283. Did you do anything more on this occasion?—Yes.

7284. What was that?—I believe there was something done to the watchman there; we went up to the shed after the clay was destroyed.

7285. What did you do then?—Burke went to the shed door.

7286. What did he go to the shed door for?—To see whether there were any watchmen in, and he found the watchman in the shed. We had spoiled the work then.

7287. Burke went to find out the watchman?—Yes.

7288. No dog came out?—No dog came out. The watchmen said, "Who is there?" and Burke said, "A friend." He came to the door and Burke and him had a scuffle on the floor, and then he got up and Ward fired at him.

7289. What made him run away?—Because there were so many of us there. The man saw he was in danger and got up.

7290. And ran away?—Yes, and he might be 30 or 40 yards off when Ward fired at him; I believe he only had one shot fired at him.

7291. Was he hit?—No, I do not think he was hit.

7292. However he was fired at?—Yes, he was fired at.

7293. What did you get for that job?—Somewhat similar to the other.

7294. About 1*l.*?—Yes.

7295. Were you paid by Ensor as usual?—Ward paid me on different occasions.

7296. What did you get for the job at Rogers's?—Very little; I do not know how much it was for a job, it varied much, from 1*l.* to, I would say, a few shillings.

7297. You were always paid either by Ensor or Ward?—I was always paid either by Ensor or Ward, nobody else ever paid me.

7298. What did Burke go to the shed for?—He went to see whether there was a watchman or not.

7299. That could hardly have been the reason for going to the shed?—We all went to the shed.

7300. What did you all go to the shed for?—Not to do any damage, we had nothing with us to do any damage with.

7301. Did you not want to burn the shed?—No.

7302. And you had no naphtha?—No.

7303 If you had found anybody there would you have done any injury to the shed?—No we had nothing with us to do the injury.

7304. You had some matches?—We had some to light our pipes.

7305. They would light a shed as well as light a pipe?—It is a different thing to light a shed unless you have something else with you.

7306. You can easily find something else?—It is a difficult thing to find anything in the dark.

7307. Do you know Kirk?—Yes.

7308. Is he a master brickmaker?—Yes.

7309. Where?—At Ashton.

7310. He was in dispute with the union at this time for the same cause?—Yes.

7311. You went to his yard?—We went to his house.

7312. Who went with you?—Ensor and Ward Burke, Robert Ryan, JosephFrith, and myself.

7313. That is all?—Yes.

7314. Where was his house?—I cannot say; it stands at this side of Ashton, I believe it stands in it, but I never was at his house before that night, and I have never been since, I cannot tell the place exactly; I do not want to tell any stories.

7315. You do not know what they call his house?—No.

7316. What did you take with you?—Ward had a bottle with him.

7317. What bottles do you mean?—Filled either with powder or combustibles.

7318. Did you see them filled?—No, they were ready filled when I got there.

7319. What was the appearance of the bottles?—They did not appear to be a very great size what I saw of them.

7320. You saw them?—Yes, I saw them when they pulled them out of their pockets.

7321. Were they stone bottles?—I cannot say what they were made of, it was dark.

7322. Had you one in your had?—No never.

7323. Could you tell us what had been in the bottles before from the shape of them?—No, I cannot.

7324. Do you know a blacking bottle?—I think they were a little larger than blacking bottles, I am not sure.

7325. Cannot you say whether they were stone or glass?—No, having nothing to do with them I cannot tell you, but I was there.

7326. Can you tell us whether there was a fuse to them?—Yes.

SIXTH DAY.

C. Barlow.

11 Sept. 1867.

7327. You took these bottles with you; when you went to Kirk's house what did you do with them?—Ward took the bottles.

7328. What did Ward do with them?—When I got there and all was silent we lighted them, I believe one was sent through his window, and another caught something in the window and broke outside.

7329. Did you see who threw the bottles?—Ward cobbed one, and Ryan the other.

7330. What do you mean by "cobbed;" do you mean threw?—Yes; I cannot swear whether Ward or Ryan threw the two.

7331. Ward and Ryan each threw one?—Yes.

7332. But what were you doing?—I stood at one side, and Burke stood at the gate with a pistol for protection.

7333. Had any of the others pistols?—No, that was the only firearm I saw on that night.

7334. Had you staves or anything of that sort?—No, I do not remember having any that night.

7335. What happened when Ward and Ryan threw the bottles in?—We ran away then.

7336. As soon as ever they were thrown you ran away?—Yes.

7337. Will you swear that no more than one bottle was thrown into the house?—I cannot swear that; I am not sure, and I cannot swear whether there were one or two thrown.

7338. They were both intended to go into the house?—No doubt they were all intended to go through that were thrown at the window.

7339. Do you know of any other outrage; have you ever thrown any bottles into anybody else's house except Kirk's and Taylor's?—No.

7340. You say distinctly that you were not at Tetlow's?—I can never remember being at Tetlow's. I am satisfied of that, though Tom and Fred gave evidence against me; but I cannot bring my mind to that point.

7341. What did you receive for this business; 1*l.* again?—It was somewhat similar to 1*l.*; there was not much difference.

7342. It was paid you by Ward and Ensor?—Yes, nobody else paid me.

7343. You have told us of burning Taylor's sheds, and shooting Rogers's watchman, and putting the needles in Wylde's clay and shooting at his watchman, and an endeavour to set fire to Kirk's house; you do not know whether Kirk's house was set on fire, and you do not know what damage was done?—Not much damage was done.

7344. Are those the only outrages at which you were?—Yes.

7345. Taylor of Cockbrook's job, shooting Rogers's watchman, putting needles in Wylde's clay and shooting at his watchman, and endeavouring to set fire to Kirk's house; those are four cases?—Yes.

7346. Do you know of any other; it is for your good to tell us; you may be prosecuted for anything if you do not tell us?—I will tell you the truth.

7347. You had better?—I cannot remember any other at present.

7348. Will you swear that you were not at any other except those four?—Yes; I was at Newton Woods.

7349. What made you go to Newton Woods?—There was a quarrel there with the master and the brickmakers, the same as the other.

7350. What did you do there?—Spoiled a quantity of bricks.

7351. Who were with you, do you remember?—I can remember some of them, but I cannot remember them all now; there were Ward, Ensor, Hipwell, and I believe Barlow with me, but I am not sure.

7352. What Barlow is that?—Thomas.

7353. Any other names?—I am sure I cannot call one to mind just now.

7354. You spoiled a lot of bricks?—Yes.

7355. You did not shoot at the watchman there?—There were none to shoot at there.

7356. Did you take any arms with you?—Yes.

7357. If there had been a watchman you would have shot at him?—I do not know; I never carried a pistol with me; through all my deeds I never carried one.

7358. Do you know whether in these cases information was given to the police?—No, not that I am aware of.

7359. Did you ever see the walls of the town placarded with a reward for these outrages?—Certainly; I have seen it in the newspaper.

7360. Rewards were offered in these cases?—In a great quantity of them.

7361. Did you ever hear of any one being apprehended for any of these cases, that you have told us of?—No.

7362. You have told us now of five or six people in each, on an average?—Yes; I will not be particular to one, I will not tie myself to one.

7363. You do not know of anyone being apprehended?—I do not know of anyone being apprehended.

7364. Can you think of any other case that you have been engaged in?—No, I have been in no more.

7365. In most of these cases you were engaged generally by either Ensor or Ward?—Yes.

7366. (*Mr. Chance.*) What kind of house was Kirk's; was it a one or a two-storey house?—A two-story house.

7367. Where the bottles thrown in at Kirk's bedroom?—I believe they were.

7368. Do you know whether Kirk was living in the house at the time?—I believe he was, but I am not accustomed to that end of the town; it is a part that I am very little in.

7369. Is it your belief that he was in the house?—I believe he was.

7370. Was it spoken of amongst you at the time that he was in the house; when you were there with the men was it well understood amongst you that Kirk was in the house?—It was never mentioned.

7371. Do you know whether Kirk was married?—I do not know whether he was married or single; I do not know to-day.

7372. You told Mr. Barstow that in Rogers's case the watchman turned to go away, and that then he was fired at?—Yes.

7373. Then there was a deliberate attempt to shoot him at the time he went away?—He was making his way away.

7374. He was fired at by two men, Acton and Ward, though he was actually going away from the spot?—Yes.

7375. There is one man that you have omitted; was not Thomas Robinson also at Barlow's?—I cannot say.

The witness withdrew.

F. Hipwell.

FREDERICK HIPWELL recalled and further examined.

7376. You remember Smethurst's case, do you not?—Yes.

7377. Was not that on the night before Jump's case?—Yes.

7378. You were not present at it I believe?—No.

7379. Was it the watchman that you fired at in Smethurst's case?—I believe it was the burner.

7380. Do you remember seeing Ward either that same night or the night after?—It was the night after he got shot at.

7381. Did he say something about Smethurst's case?—Yes, he said a few words to me.

7382. What was it that he said?—As I was going past Smethurst's yard he said to me, "Fred, here. It "was hot here last night. Me and Jonathan Acton "had to run;" and he said, "With running I tumbled over a ditch:" this was all he said to me about that.

7383. That was the night of the affair of Jump's murder?—Yes.

7384. And this had happened the night before that had happened?—Yes.

7385. Were you concerned in the Newton Wood case?—Yes.

7386. Who were concerned in that case?—There was myself, Thomas Barlow, John Ward, John Ensor, Robert Ryan, Michael Burke, John Toole, and Jonathan Acton.

7387. Do you know what has become of Acton?—I do not know.

7388. Did you all meet the night it was going to be done?—Yes.

7389. Where did you meet?—A little below Guide Bridge.

7390. Then I suppose you all arranged what to do?—Yes.

7391. Who was the manager of that?—Ensor and Ward.

7392. And then you all went to the place, I suppose?—Yes.

7393. Do you remember what you did?—We went with the intention to burn a shed down.

7394. What did you take with you for the purpose?—Naphtha.

7395. Who took that?—Well, I carried one bottle a little way myself.

7396. How many other bottles were there?—I do not know how many there were altogether.

7397. Did you take anything besides naphtha?—No.

7398. Did any of you take any pistols?—No, not that I am aware of.

7399. You had all sticks, I suppose?—Yes.

7400. What time of the night was it when you got there?—About 11 o'clock, as near as I can say.

7401. Was there any watchman there?—Yes, at the factory before you get to the shed.

7402. Would you pass the factory before you get to the shed?—Yes.

7403. But did you discuss beforehand the probability of the watchman seeing you as you passed the factory before getting to the shed?—Yes, we did.

7404. What were the measures that you were to take if the watchman came out?—I cannot say that anything particular was said.

7405. You had your bludgeons with you?—Yes.

7406. And you would have used them upon the watchman if he had come out to prevent you?—Of course.

7407. However, he did not see you?—Not that I am aware of.

7408. At all events, you were not interfered with?—No.

7409. When you got to the shed what did you do?—We got the materials, and put them in the middle of the shed.

7410. Were those wheelbarrows?—Yes, wheelbarrows and planks.

7411. You put them well in the middle of the shed?—Yes.

7412. So that if you set them alight the whole thing would go?—Yes.

7413. How many barrows do you think you put there?—Well, I cannot exactly say.

7414. All that you could find?—All that we could find about the shed.

7415. What else besides barrows did you put in the middle of the shed?—There were planks and any timber that we saw.

7415*a*. And I suppose you made a good pile in the middle?—Yes.

7416. Who had the match or the dark lantern?—The fire was fetched out of the fire-hole in the shed.

7417. There was a fire-hole in the shed, was there?—Yes.

7418. You knew that beforehand?—I never knew it till we got there.

7419. Then the fire was got out; you poured some naphtha on those materials?—Yes.

7420. And then you set it alight?—Yes.

7421. It made a pretty good blaze, did it not?—Well, the materials were wet.

7422. But I suppose it did light?—Yes, it did light.

7423. And sufficiently for your purpose?—Yes, and then we went away.

7424. You saw the fire had got well ahead and then you went away?—It did not get so much ahead.

7425. Not so much as you wanted?—No.

7426. And then you went away?—Yes.

7427. You were not disturbed at all?—We were not disturbed at all.

7428. How much did you get for that job?—I cannot say how much it was, but we received something.

7429. Rather more than 1*l.*?—I cannot swear what it was, but I know I received something for the job.

7430. Did Ensor pay you?—Yes.

7431. Was Ensor at that time the president?—No, I rather think not.

7432. You do not remember who was president at the time?—No, I do not.

7433. However, you were paid in the regular way?—Yes.

7434. Have you ever had the acquaintance of a gentleman of the name of "Big Johnny?"—Not that I am aware of.

7435. You do not remember "Big Johnny" at all?—No, I do not know that I do.

7436. You never heard of him, did you?—No.

7437. Do you know a man of the name of John Daly, or Johnny Daly or Haly?—I believe I have heard the name, but I cannot bring it to mind.

7438. Which do you think you have heard?—Johnny Haly.

7439. A man that lived in Liverpool?—No, I cannot say that I knew anyone living in Liverpool except my wife's brother.

7440. But have you ever heard of him in connection with union business?—No, I cannot say that I have.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. Joseph Barlow sworn and examined.

Mr. J. Barlow.

7441. (*Mr. Chance.*) Are you a master brickmaker?—Yes.

7442. Where do you live?—At Droylesden.

7443. Are you any relation to Thomas Barlow who has been called as a witness here?—I am uncle to him.

7444. What relation are you to John Barlow?—Uncle.

7445. Are John and Thomas brothers?—No; one is the son of James Barlow and the other is the son of Charles Barlow.

7446. You are related together, Charles, Thomas, John, and yourself?—Yes.

7447. How long have you been a master brickmaker at Droylesden?—Well, I have been at Droylesden about 25 years.

7448. And were you a journeyman brickmaker before becoming a master brickmaker?—I was not a brickmaker, but I was a wheeler.

7449. Were you a member of any union?—Yes.

7450. On becoming a master brickmaker did you cease to be a member of the union?—Yes.

7451. Is there any other union of which you are a member as master brickmaker?—No, I am not a member of any union either of masters or men.

7452. Do you remember in the year 1861 having a dispute with the union?—Yes.

7453. With the Ashton-under-Lyne union?—Yes; with the Ashton-under-Lyne union.

7454. What was the nature of the dispute which you had with them?—The nature of the dispute was because I was not employing any union men at that time.

SIXTH DAY.
Mr. J. Barlow.
11 Sept. 1867.

7455. Did the union send any delegates to you in consequence of that?—Yes, I believe I was warned.

7456. I suppose they came to ask you to employ union men?—Yes.

7457. Did you comply with their request or did you refuse to employ them?—Not at that time. I went on with non-union men.

7458. Are you speaking now of the year 1861?—Yes.

7459. Did they make more than one application to you?—No, I think they made but one application at that time.

7460. Do you remember in what parts of 1861 it was when this application was made to you?—Well, I believe it would be commencing in January.

7461. After this refusal to employ union men did anything happen to you?—Yes; they attempted to throw some bottles through my bedroom window.

7462. Was that done at night?—Yes, it was in the night.

7463. About what time?—It would be from 12 to 1 o'clock.

7464. Is your bedroom window above the ground?—Yes.

7465. Is it one or two windows above the ground?—It is the second window above the ground; two storeys.

7466. Was anybody in the room besides yourself?—Yes, my missus.

7467. Anybody else?—No, except a child that we had in bed.

7468. How many bottles were thrown into the room?—They did not throw any through. It happened that they caught the woodwork and that prevented the bottles from coming into the room, and they exploded outside.

7469. Did you hear anything of the explosion that night?—Yes, I heard two bottles explode that night.

7470. Did you hear them go against the house outside?—I heard one come against the window, but I did not hear the other come against anything.

7471. Did you hear the one which you heard come against the window explode?—Yes.

7472. Did it explode outside?—Yes.

7473. Did the explosion damage the window?—No.

7474. On hearing this did you get up?—Yes.

7475. Did you go downstairs?—Yes.

7476. Did you go out?—Yes.

7477. What did you find?—We could not find anything that night; it was too dark when we went out.

7478. Did you see any men?—No, we could not see any men.

7479. Did you look about the yard?—Yes.

7480. And you could find no one?—No, we could find no one.

7481. Next morning did you examine underneath the window against which those bottles had been thrown?—Yes.

7482. Did you find the two botttles?—Well, we found parts of them, and one bottle we found which had not exploded. They had not lighted it, it appears.

7483. Was that broken, too?—No.

7484. Then can you tell us what became of that?—No, I could not. I gave it up to the sergeant of police at the time and it appears that they made it away; but it appears that it was loaded with powder and a kind of little cinder, or something of that sort.

7485. Did you hear that from the policeman?—Yes. I think that Mr. Harrop can tell you about it.

7486. Had it slugs, or nails, or anything of that kind in it?—No.

7487. Was it like a ginger-beer bottle?—Well, it was larger than a ginger-beer bottle.

7488. Was it made of stone or glass?—It was stone.

7489. Was the one that had exploded made of the same materials?—We could not see anything. It was all exploded and there was nothing by the fragments of the bottle.

7490. But the fragments of the bottle would tell you what the bottle was made of: was that stone too?—Yes.

7491. Did you ever hear the reason that this outrage was committed upon you?—I could never hear except the dispute with the union.

7492. Do you believe that it was in consequence of this dispute with your union that those bottles were thrown at your bedroom window?—Yes.

7493. You have not heard of anyone who did it?—No, I have not heard who did it.

7494. How long after the dispute was it that it took place?—The dispute took place before the bottle was thrown.

7495. I know it did, but how long before?—Well, it might be a couple of months, but I could not say exactly.

7496. Did not this take place in January 1861?—Yes.

7497. Would not your dispute take place in January also?—It took place I think about a month or two before then.

7498. Can you tell me how long after the delegates came to you it took place?—I cannot say exactly.

7499. Could you say about how long afterwards it was?—I could not really tell how long it was.

7500. The delegates came to you I suppose sometime after the dispute began?—Yes.

7501. So that there would be a less time intervening between the coming of the delegates and the throwing of the bottles at your window?—Yes.

7502. Would it be a month do you suppose?—Well, I cannot say.

7503. Did you give information to the police and endeavour to find out who had done it?—Yes.

7504. But you heard nothing more of it?—No, I did not.

7506. On any other occasion has any injury been done to you?—I think the next was that they put some needles in my clay.

7507. When was that?—That was in the year 1861.

7508. Had there been any other disputes between the throwing of the bottles into your window and the putting of the needles?—No, no dispute of any sort.

7509. Had you had any communication with the union?—No.

7510. Were you still employing non-union men?—Yes.

7511. How many non-union men were you employing?—About six in number at that time, six men and about four boys.

7512. Tell us about those needles?—They came and made holes into the clay and did it with some kind of instrument, and put the needles down into the clay.

7513. Was that when the clay was soft before moulding?—No, it was clay that they were agait casting ready for tempering.

7514. And how much clay was treated in this manner by putting needles into it?—Well, I should say there were nearly 400,000.

7515. Was there clay sufficient to make 400,000 bricks?—Yes.

7116. How could they put the needles in the clay?—It appeared by what I could see that they had them in packets and undid the packets and put them in the holes, and then trampled them in with their feet.

7517. Is the result of needles being put in to destroy the bricks?—No, it is not to destroy the bricks, but it is to stop the workmen.

7518. But does it destroy the clay altogether?—No.

7519. Then if the workmen mould it afterwards it cuts their hands?—Well in some cases it might do, but I do not know that I ever heard of anyone happening of any such misfortune.

7520. But you suppose that to be the object with which the needles are put into the clay?—Yes, certainly that would be the object.

7521. But it does not necessarily hurt them?—Well, it did not hurt any of the men.

7522. How was that?—I do not know, but it did not catch any of them.

7523. Did they find it out?—Yes, they found it out.

7524. Supposing that they had worked it with the

needles in, would it not then have hurt them ?—Well, I do not know, it might have done.

7524. Surely if they had worked the clay with the needles in they must have cut their hands ?—They might work a great while without coming in contact with the needles.

7525. But still if their hands were to come into contact with the needles they might enter their hands ?—Yes, it might injure them seriously.

7526. Would not that be the reason, according to your opinion, why the needles were put there ?—No.

7527. Supposing the needles were left there and the bricks made, would that injure the quality of the bricks ?—No.

7528. But when the needles are put in the clay, do you try to get the needles out, or do you work them up with sticks ?—Well, they hunt and get them out as well as they can with spades or anything when they find they are put in.

7529. Then a great deal of labour is consumed in getting the needles out ?—Yes.

7530. Have you any notion where they get those needles from ?—No, I could not say.

7531. What kind of needles are they ?—It appeared to me that they were damaged needles.

7532. Have you any notion what quantity of needles were put into the clay ?—I could not say.

7533. I suppose that if they were good needles it would be some expense, would it not ?—I should say it would.

7534. Did you examine them ?—Yes.

7535. And they appeared to be damaged ?—Yes, they did.

7536. Could those be got in this neighbourhood, or where could they be got from ?—I could not say, I had no idea where they could get them from.

7537. But is it your belief that putting needles into the clay resulted from your employing non-union men ?—Yes.

7538. Now can you tell us any other instance in which damage has been done to your property ?—Not just lately, not within the last six or seven years.

7539. Could you go back as far as eight or 10 years ?—No, it is above 10 years since I had had damage done before.

7540. Then those two occasions in 1861 are the only two occasions in which you have suffered any injury at the hands of any unions ?—Not exactly, but I think that is what I have suffered under Ashton union.

7541. Have you suffered any injury at the hands of any other union ?—I have, as far as my bricks being stopped from sending them into any other district. I do not think that the Ashton union has had anything to do with it.

7542. You have been prevented from sending bricks into other districts ?—Yes.

7543. Into what districts have you been prevented from sending your bricks ?—Into Manchester.

7544. Is it a rule among the Manchester brickmakers, that brickmakers at Ashton shall not send any of their bricks into the Manchester district ?—Yes, it is their rule not to allow them to come in.

7545. And have you tried from time to time to send your bricks into the Manchester union ?—Yes.

7546. And how have you been prevented ?—Well, I have had my carts stopped from tipping them and made to bring them home again.

7547. Do you know who stopped the carts ?—Well, not exactly.

7548. Do you know inexactly ?—I think that James Kay was in one case.

7549. Do you know that of your own knowledge, or have you simply heard of it ?—I know it from the description the carter gave me.

7550. What is the carter's name ?—William Taylor.

7551. Were your carts turned back ?—Yes.

7552. Was that the only mode which was adopted for the purpose of preventing your sending your bricks into Manchester ?—Well, they have gone round to different parties and told them that they must not buy any of me, and that they should not allow them to be used.

7553. Have you ever received any injury to your property, or any threats of injury from anyone connected with the Manchester union ?—Yes, but this is some time since.

7554. How long is it since ?—I should say it is 15 years since.

7555. I am speaking now of anything that has happened within a period of 10 years. Have you ever had any threat from Manchester men that injury would be done to you or your property if you continued to send bricks into their district ?—No, they never used any threats publicly. What they have done has been stopping me from sending bricks.

7556. But have they ever threatened to do you any injury if you did send bricks ?—No, they never threatened me, they threatened the carter that they would throw him into a pit if he brought any more.

7557. Is that William Taylor ?—Yes.

7558. When was it that any of those threats were used to William Taylor ?—It would be about 12 months last June, I believe.

7559. Is William Taylor here ?—He is not here, I believe.

7560. Have you heard of any other threats being used to Taylor ?—No, I have not.

7561. Do you know who used the threat ? Was it Kay or somebody else ?—I do not know.

7562. Is that all you have to tell us about any injury to your property, or any threat of injury ?—Yes, that is all, I think.

7563. Is it all that you know ?—No, it is not all that I know, but I do not think you will get any further at it by my telling you anything more.

7564. But do you know of any injuries to your property within a period of 10 years other than what you have told us ?—No.

7565. (*Chairman.*) Have you a watchman ?—I have none now.

7566. Have you had one ?—Yes.

7567. What is his name ?—Butterfield.

7568. Had he a horse injured ?—Yes.

7569. How many ?—One.

7570. It was hamstrung, was it not ?—Yes.

7571. When was that ?—In 1861.

7572. Was the horse on your premises ?—No.

7573. Where was he ?—In his own stable.

7574. Was he your watchman ?—Yes.

7575. Was he your watchman at the time ?—Yes, he was on my premises watching at the time.

7576. He was upon your premises watching at the time, and they went upon his premises and hamstrung the horse ?—Yes.

7577. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Do you employ union men now ?—Yes.

7578. How long have you employed them ?—I have employed them from about June 1861.

7579. How did you come to employ them ?—On account of the damage and one thing and another that they were always agait with me.

7580. Did you turn away your non-union men ?—Yes.

7581. You turned away the men who struck by you ?—Yes.

7582. And you took the men who did the damage to your property ?—Yes, I was obliged to do so.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. Joseph Smethurst sworn and examined.

7583. (*Chairman.*) Are you a master brickmaker ?—Yes, in connexion with Mr. Martin. Martin and Smethurst is the firm.

7584. But you are a master brickmaker ?—Yes.

7585. In partnership with Mr. Martin ?—Yes.

7586. Where are your works ?—At Guide Bridge.

7587. Have you been a master brickmaker long ?—Since about 1861.

SIXTH DAY.

Mr. J. Smethurst.

11 Sept. 1867.

7588. In the year 1861 or 1862 did you employ non-union men?—Yes.

7589. In 1862 had you any complaints made to you by the union that you were so doing?—No, I had no complaints addressed to me at all.

7590. Nor to your firm?—Nor to the firm.

7591. About how many hands did you employ in April 1862?—Well, there might be eight or nine.

7592. Do you remember several of your bricks being destroyed in April 1862?—Yes.

7593. How many bricks were destroyed?—There was somewhere, I think, between 5,000 and 10,000.

7594. They were destroyed I suppose in the night-time?—Yes, they were destroyed in the night-time by trampling upon them.

7595. Could you form an opinion from the foot-marks and so on how many men were employed in doing it?—No, I should think perhaps three or four.

7596. Had you a watchman on your premises at that time?—No, I had not at that time.

7597. Was that all the damage which they did at that time?—Yes, I believe it was.

7598. In August of the same year had you some more damage done to your premises?—I do not remember that we had.

7599. You remember Jump's case, do you not?—Yes.

7600. That was in June. Do you remember whether you had some damage done to you in June, the night before Jump's case?—Just previous to Jump's being shot there was an attempt.

7601. Had you at that time a watchman?—Yes, I had a watchman at that time.

7602. What was his name?—Dunning.

7603. Do you remember whether he was shot at that night?—No; Dunning was not shot at; the kiln burner was shot at.

7604. What was his name?—I think his name was Jones.

7605. He was shot at that night just before Jump's case?—Yes, the night before.

7606. Was he the only man upon your premises that night?—Yes, there was a watchman and another man along with the burner.

7607. And the burner was shot at?—Yes, the two men at the kiln were shot at, but it took effect upon one to some slight extent.

7608. Which was the one who was hit?—Jones.

7609. Were there more shots than one fired?—Yes. I have understood from the report from them that there were two or three shots fired.

7610. While they were watching your premises at night?—They were working, and the watchman was at the other end of the yard———

7611. Were you at the time employing non-union men?—Yes; at the time that the man was shot at the watchman was intent upon a man who was standing on the railway bridge very near to the rails, within a yard or two of the fence.

7612. Then those two men were fired at, you say, two or three times?—Yes, at the other end of the yard, while the watchman was intent upon this man.

The witness withdrew.

J. Kershaw.

JAMES KERSHAW sworn and examined.

7613. (*Chairman.*) What are you?—A brick-maker.

7614. Are you a member of the Manchester union?—Yes.

7615. How long have you been so?—24 or 25 years.

7616. What office do you fill now?—I am president at the present time.

7617. Who is secretary at the present time?—Henry Green.

7618. Where does he live?—I do not know his residence, but he works in Cheetwood.

7619. Who is the treasurer?—We only came in office on the 7th, and we have none.

7620. We understand that you have an iron box belonging to your union?—Yes.

7621. Who keeps the keys of it, do you keep one?—No.

7622. Who has the key of it?—The key was in my possession when your officer came on Tuesday night, and at that time he could have got the keys, and we would have given them to him; but, however, since that we have turned them over to our legal adviser, and I am not certain whether he is in possession of them or not.

7623. Then you would be willing to open the box if your legal adviser gave you up the keys?—We would have been willing to have opened it the night they were there, but instead of asking for them in our presence they came afterwards and took the box and the whole contents away without our knowledge. We were willing to deliver anything up that they might want.

7624. How many of you kept the keys?—There are five keys belonging to the safe.

7625. How many keys are required to open the iron box?—Six.

7626. Whose duty is it generally to keep those keys?—The keyholders.

7627. Who are the keyholders?—The keyholders are six in number.

7628. Who are they?—I could not answer them all.

7629. You as president would be one?—No.

7630. But you told me that you had the keys till you gave them up?—I gave them up.

7631. Could you have opened the box if it had not been for giving up the keys?—No.

7632. What keys had you?—The keys which I had were two in number.

7633. What keys were they?—The keys of the safe, two of them.

7634. And how many keys were necessary to open the safe?—Six.

7635. Yours were two of them?—Mine were two of them.

7636. Who had the other ones?—Green had three.

7637. That is five; who had the other one?—The landlord of the house.

7638. What is his name?—I do not know.

7639. Is it not Samuel Wood?—I do not know; he has been there so short a time that I cannot answer.

7640. You would have been willing to open the box, but you were advised not to give up the keys?—We would have been willing to have opened the box had one of your superior officers asked us to do so, but we did not do so.

7641. Were you there to be asked?—Yes.

7642. Were you away at the time they came, or were you there?—They were with us, and in two hours afterwards they came and took the boxes away.

7643. But the officers did not see you?—Not at the time that they fetched the boxes, we were not there at the time, but we were there at the time those two officers came, and we were so familiar the one with the other, that one of them actually treated us to a shilling's worth of beer, and he should have had the boxes if he had asked for them then.

7644. You were in a good humour then. Who was the officer?—We call him "Jack Tar" for a nick-name.

7645. When he came there you saw him?—Yes.

7646. And if he had asked you to open the box you would have done so?—Decidedly.

7647. Was Green there?—Yes.

7648. And Samuel Wood?—No, but he was down-stairs, that is if his name was Wood, I do not know whether his name is Wood or not.

7649. But, however, all those men who had the six keys were then in the house?—Yes, the keys were there.

7650. When did you give up your two keys?—I

believe it was yesterday morning ; no, it was last night.

7651. To whom did you give them ?—We were all of us there together, and I threw mine down on the floor, and said anybody could have them.

7652. You and Green were there ?—Yes.

7653. And Samuel Wood ?—I did not see Wood.

7654. You have been served with a notice to produce your books, have you not ?—Yes.

7655. And you would produce them if you had the keys ?—We should have produced them if we had been asked for them.

7656. Would you produce them now if you had the keys ?—I do not know but what I should, but I do not feel inclined.

7657. Were you advised for the purpose of preventing you from producing the books to get rid of the keys ?—No, I was not advised in any shape concerning it ; the reason was that after their coming and taking the boxes we got, and thought within ourselves that it was committing an outrage upon us to take our property away without asking our permission.

7658. And was that the reason that you threw down the keys ?—Yes.

7659. Who picked them up ?—I cannot tell.

7660. Will you swear that you do not know who picked them up ?—I swear I do not know who picked them up.

7661. Was this in a public-house ?—Yes, it was in a public-house.

7662. Did Green throw his keys down ?—That I cannot answer.

7663. But you were there, you know ?—I was there, but I did not see him.

7664. And is the reason that you cannot now produce the books that somebody has taken the keys which you threw down ?—Yes.

7665. Now tell me who picked up the keys which you threw down ?—I cannot tell ; I never saw them.

7666. You threw them down and then looked the other way ?—No, we were in a jocular mood at the time, and that was the way I parted with them.

7667. You threw them down and then looked the other way ?—I might have done or might not have done, but I did not see anyone pick them up.

7668. Who was in the room besides Green ?—There was Green and me and Barker ; that was three at all events.

7669. Who else was there ?—I cannot remember.

7670. Yes, you can ?—I cannot.

7671. Oh yes, you can ; come, you are on your oath, you know. You remember who was there ?—Green and Barker.

7672. You stated at first that you gave them to your legal adviser ?—No, that was a mistake.

(*The shorthand writer read the following answer given by the witness :* "The key was in my possession when your officer came on Tuesday night, and at that time he could have got the keys, and we would have given them to him ; but, however, since that we have turned them over to our legal adviser, and I am not certain whether he is in possession of them or not.")

7673. Is it true that you turned them over to your legal adviser ?—I did not.

7674. But you have sworn that you did ?—It is a mistake of mine then. I threw them down and I thought he picked them up.

7675. Was your legal adviser in the room ?—No.

7676. Then what did you mean by saying you turned them over to your legal adviser ?—It was a mistake on my part. I threw them down, and I was given to understand afterwards that our legal adviser had picked them up.

7677. Whom do you mean by your "legal adviser" ?—Mr. Roberts.

7678. And you will swear he was not there at the time ?—Not at the time I threw my keys down.

7679. Who told you he had got them ?—We talked it amongst the others.

7680. This was only last night ?—Yes.

7681. Who told you ?—Green and Barker.

7682. And you did it for the purpose of preventing access being got to the box ?—I threw them down ; but I must tell you that the real truth was because I was vexed that they did not give us the chance of our opening it ourselves.

7683. You would have preferred the box being opened by yourselves ?—Yes, decidedly. I think more credit would attach to ourselves if we had brought the box here ourselves.

7684. And you would have preferred our having the books from you to our getting at them ?—Now that you have got it it does not make any difference to me.

7685. What other boxes have you ; have you any wooden boxes ?—We have five wooden boxes, if my memory serves me right. I will not be certain about there being five, but I think there are five.

7686. Are all the keys gone now ?—Yes.

7687. You have thrown them all away ?—Yes, we are stark naked now.

7688. You have got rid of the keys of the iron safe ; have you got rid of the keys of the wooden boxes also ?—When they had got the boxes safe I could not see that the keys were any use to us, and that was the reason that I threw them down.

7689. Did you have the keys of the wooden boxes ?—No.

7690. Then you have all the keys of the wooden boxes ?—Yes.

7691. How many keys had you ?—Three.

7692. Were two of them belonging to the iron safe, and did the other key open the wooden boxes ?—No.

7693. Had you the key which opened all the other five wooden boxes ?—I had the key which would open five of the wooden boxes, but not the principal one, not until it was given on the night when we had our friend "Tar" there, and then they gave it to me, and said that if he requested it I was to give to him.

7694. Who said that ?—Green and Barker.

7695. You had a key which opened one of the locks of the iron safe ?—Yes, after they gave it to me, but it is not usual for me to have it.

7696. That is one key ; then you had a key which opened four of the wooden boxes ?—Yes.

7697. Then had you afterwards, either by their giving it to you or otherwise, a key which opened the fifth wooden box ?—No.

7698. You had two keys ?—Yes.

7699. One opened one lock of the iron safe, and the other opened four of the wooden boxes ?—Yes.

7700. Who had the key that opened the fifth wooden box ?—Green would have that, I think.

7701. You said that six keys were necessary to open the iron safe ?—Yes.

7702. What did you generally keep in the iron safe ?—Banking books ; I do not know anything else.

7703. Do you keep any money in it ?—Well, sometimes we have 50*l.* or 60*l.* in ; just according to what we have collected on Saturday night to meet funeral expenses.

7704. Merely for the night ?—For the week.

7705. What is there in this iron box now ?—Well, I should think there would be from 6*l.* to 8*l.* in money.

7706. And the banking books ?—And the banking books.

7707. Are there any other books ?—I do not suppose there would be.

7708. What would be in the wooden boxes ?—One of them contains the regalia they are two large flags, Union Jacks.

7709. Are there any fine clothes ?—You might find some if you searched the corner of it I daresay. There are two swords and a wig or two.

7710. Is there anything else ?—No.

7711. Who wears the wig ?—They are old furniture that we have dispensed with for years. I do not suppose that they have been seen.

7712. Who wears them ?—They did formerly in our forefathers' days.

SIXTH DAY.

J. Kershaw.

11 Sept. 1867.

7713. Did they belong to the club so long ago as all that?—Yes, I do not suppose they have been opened these ten years.

7714. What is kept in the other wooden boxes?—Old ledgers, and what we term waste books.

7715. Where do you keep the present books of the society?—We keep them in the biggest box.

7716. The biggest of those wooden boxes; are they there now?—Yes.

7717. You have not taken any away?—Not that I know of.

7718. Is the minute book there?—Yes.

7719. The minute books of your meetings?—For anything I know of.

7720. You are not aware of anything being taken out?—I am not aware of anything being taken out; you know I took office on the 7th.

7721. You have a book I suppose in which you keep the account of your receipts and disbursements?—Yes.

7721*a*. Is that book in the large wooden box?—Yes.

7722. It is not taken away?—It is not taken away that I am aware of.

7723. You have not torn any leaves out?—No.

7724. Nothing of the sort?—No.

7725. How long have you been president?—Since the 7th of this month.

7726. Who was president before?—It would be Lomas.

7727. How long had he been present?—He would be president three months.

7728. We understand that they go out every three months?—Yes.

7729. Who was the secretary before this present man Green?—Barker.

7730. What is his christian name?—I believe it is Robert; I will not be confident, but I think it is.

7731. Do you remember who was president before that?—No, I cannot tell, my memory would not serve me for that.

7732. So you do not care now what becomes of your boxes?—Not at all, if they will bring them back again.

7733. But you do not want to get at the books now at all?—I wish it so far as this, there are two or three books that we shall want on Saturday.

7734. But up to that time you do not care about them?—Up to that time I do not care if they never come back.

7735. And you would just as soon the box should be broken open as not?—Decidedly.

7736. You are aware that notice was given on Monday that if the keys were not produced the box would be broken open?—I saw it in the paper.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. J. Smethurst.

Mr. Joseph Smethurst recalled and further examined.

7737. (*Chairman.*) You were mentioning the night just before Jump's case, when I think you said shots were fired at one of your burners?—Yes. I was saying that the watchman was at the further end of the yard looking at a man who was walking about as if he was on the watch. The watchman was expecting the man to get over the fence to attempt to destroy the bricks when he heard the report at the other end of the yard of the shots that were fired at the burner. He immediately fired (he had firearms, and he was prepared), and the moment the shots went off the other man that he was looking at darted across the railway bridge and he fired after him.

7738. Who fired after whom?—The watchman fired after him, and he made some noise after the watchman had fired, either in pain or defiance or something of that kind. But, however, early in the morning Sergeant Grimshaw, of the county police, and myself went across the bridge, and traced the marks into a black ditch, and the railings adjoining to a garden were soiled by his climbing over the rails. We followed the marks through the garden into a street where Ward lived, and on the latch was the same kind of dirt and similar marks to those we had seen on the garden fence. Sergeant Grimshaw knocked at the door and Ward's wife opened it, and he asked her where Ward was, and I believe she said that he had been away a day or two.

7739. Then you traced the footmarks to Ward's house, or near it, did you?—Yes, and the dirt from the ditch was on the door handle. It was of a bluish colour, and we could tell it as we went along. After that I do not know that we had much more damage done, except some needles thrown into the clay.

7740. When was that?—That was the summer afterwards.

7741. Were you still employing non-union men?—Yes. I may say that at the commencement I thought perhaps they would not interfere with us because ours was not a sale yard: we were simply making them for our own use in building a cotton mill. We thought that it would matter very little to the trade whether we had union men or non-union men.

7742. What do you employ now?—We have not made any bricks this summer.

7743. That was in 1862?—Yes.

7744. What year was it when the needles were put into your clay?—I think it was the year after.

7745. How long did you continue employing non-union men?—Until the latter end of last year. I may just say that a very short time after Ward's wife left the house a woman who was sent in to clean the house found some needles and a bullet-mould.

7746. Where?—Under the sink.

The witness withdrew.

R. Dunning.

Richard Dunning sworn and examined.

7747. (*Mr. Barstow.*) What are you?—A gamekeeper.

7748. In 1862 were you watchman to Joseph Smethurst?—Yes.

7749. Do you remember being on watch in his yard on the 27th of June of that year?—Yes.

7750. That I believe was the night before Constable Jump was murdered?—Yes.

7751. Your attention was called to a man who was on the railway bridge?—Yes.

7752. Whilst watching that man did you hear a report of firearms?—I was watching that man a little and then they went out of my sight; there were two of them. I saw first one man and then two came to the rear of the kiln, and they went away from the rear out of my sight, and I saw one man near the kiln and one came nearer to me, and I saw him shooting at the man that was burning.

7753. There was one man upon the railway bridge?—Yes.

7754. You also saw a man besides the man on the railway bridge?—Yes.

7755. That man came to the rear of the kiln and you saw him shoot at the man who was burning the kiln?—Yes.

7756. What did you do upon that?—The other man was nearer to me, and as soon as the man shot I fired at him.

7757. As soon as the man shot at the man burning the kiln you shot at the man upon the railway bridge?—Yes.

7758. And he ran away?—Yes.

7759. That man who shot at the man burning the kiln ran away?—Yes.

7760. Did you run after him?—No, I ran after the other.

7761. You did not catch him?—No.

7762. You came back, I suppose, from running after him?—Yes.

7763. What did you do then?—I ran and looked round the kiln to see if there were any more in the field, and then I went back and saw the man who was shot. They had him stripped, and were looking at the shot; it went into his back.

7764. What was the name of the man who was shot?—I do not know; the first name was John.

7765. Was it Jones?—Yes, I think it was.

7766. Did you tell Mr. Smethurst?—Yes.

7767. Did you assist him to trace the man who ran away?—As soon as it got light I traced him back from the kiln, away through the field with the ditch, and then I saw a dark stuff on the door of the place I traced him to.

7768. Whose house was it?—It was Ward's house.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. JOHN ROGERS sworn and examined.

Mr. J. Rogers.

7769. (*Mr. Chance.*) Are you a master brickmaker?—Yes.

7770. Where is your brickyard?—It was on Oldham Road. I am not making bricks now for myself.

7771. Were you making bricks in the year 1861?—Yes.

7772. Where were you making bricks then?—On Oldham road.

7773. That is in the Ashton-under-Lyne district?—Yes.

7774. About that time had you any dispute with the union men?—Yes.

7775. What was the nature of the dispute you had with them?—It was a turn out they had for an advance of wages.

7776. They asked you to give higher wages than you consented to give?—Yes, I wanted to divide with them, and they did not seem willing to do so.

7777. Did they strike in consequence of your objecting to pay the demand?—Yes.

7778. Was there any deputation of the union to you upon that subject?—No, they did me no damage, though they attempted to do so.

7779. Did they attempt to do you any damage?—Yes.

7780. How long after the dispute about the wages was it that the attempt was made?—About two months.

7781. About what time in the year 1861 was it?—It was in the year 1861.

7782. About what time in the year 1861 was an attempt made?—The 16th of November.

7783. What was the nature of the attempt made upon you?—A number of men came into the yard on purpose to destroy my property and my bricks, but I had a watchman in the yard.

7784. What was the name of your watchman?—Samuel Newton.

7785. Had he a dog?—Yes.

7786. A small dog or a large dog?—A small dog.

7787. At what time of the night did the men come?—About half-past 1 in the morning; from 1 to half-past 1.

7788. You live near to the brickyard?—Short of half a mile off.

7789. Did you hear anything of the attempt that night?—No, not when I went home; I went home about 1 o'clock.

7790. Did you hear of it the next morning?—Yes, I heard of it before I got in bed; a policeman and the watchman came to me.

7791. When they came to you what did you do?—Then I went with them to look for the parties that we thought had done the depredation.

7792. Did you find anything about them?—No.

7793. Had they destroyed any of your bricks?—No.

7794. Did the watchman Newton tell you what had occurred?—Yes, he told me all about it.

7795. Is he here to-day?—Yes.

7796. Did you ever hear who the men were that stopped the watchman?—No, only by hearsay. I never had any foundation for my belief.

7797. Did you employ non-union men at that time?—Yes.

7798. Had you taken non-union men into your employ because the union men struck?—Yes.

7799. Do you believe that to have been the reason why the attempt was made upon your property?—Yes.

7800. How many non-union men did you employ at that time?—About six.

7801. Was the watchman the only man upon the premises when the attempt was made?—Yes.

7802. Has any injury or attempt at injury been made upon you since then?—No.

7803. Is that the only occasion that you suffered injury either before or after that, and during the term of 10 years?—Yes.

7804. Have any threats been held out to you?—Never since.

7805. Was the watchman much injured?—He got shot in the head.

7806. Where?—In the forehead, and it lodged in the top of the scalp of his skull; they balled him.

7807. Was the ball afterwards abstracted?—Yes, the third day.

7808. Was it a ball or a slug?—A ball and a slug, a ball about half an ounce weight.

7809. Did any men wait upon you as coming from the union about this?—Yes.

7810. Do you know who they were?—Yes, John Ensor was one. I did not know the others. There was one man from Manchester; I do not know his name. There were three of them.

7811. Did they tell you they were sent by the union?—Yes.

7812. How long after their waiting upon you was it that the attempt occurred?—It was as soon as I commenced working with the non-union men; it would be about three weeks afterwards.

7813. (*Chairman.*) Have you shutters to your windows?—Yes.

7814. Did you put them up for fear of damage?—Yes.

7815. Did you consider that your safety required that you should have shutters put up to your windows?—Yes.

7816. Were you warned upon the subject?—Yes, I was warned, and I thought it requisite to protect myself.

7817. And in that way?—In that way.

7818. Were you a contractor for a main sewer?—Yes.

7819. Where was that?—I have been contractor for a main sewer about 14 years.

7820. Is that for some street in Ashton?—Yes, in different streets.

7821. Did you order any bricks for that purpose from anybody?—Yes, that is within these two years.

7822. You ordered some bricks within the last two years from whom?—A man of the name of Pollit, in Guide Bridge.

7823. While you were using them were you waited upon by any deputation?—Yes.

7824. A deputation from whom?—From the Ashton union men, the brickmakers' union.

7825. What did they say to you?—They told me I must not buy any bricks from Mr. Harrison, and if I did I should not get them anywhere else.

7826. Were you buying them from Mr. Harrison?—No.

SIXTH DAY.

Mr. J. Rogers.

11 Sept. 1867.

7827. You had ordered them from Mr. Pollit?—Yes.

7828. They came to warn you against buying them from a person of the name of Harrison?—Yes.

7829. Did they tell you why?—Yes, because he did not employ union men.

7830. Where is Harrison's brickyard; is it near Guide Bridge?—Yes, the other side of Guide Bridge.

7831. In consequence of that information were you put to any inconvenience?—Yes, Mr. Pollit's bricks did not suit me and therefore I had to go to other places.

7832. Mr. Pollit's bricks did not suit you, and you could not go to Mr. Harrison in consequence of this threat?—Yes.

7833. Were Mr. Harrison's bricks cheaper than the others?—Yes.

7834. Where did you go to to get them?—From Mr. Hodgkinson on Oldham Road.

7835. Was it further off?—No, but a much higher price considerably.

7836. That was in consequence of this deputation from the union coming to you?—Yes.

7837. Did you know the people who waited upon you?—No, they were strangers to me.

7838. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Did you continue brick-making after this affair in 1862?—I gave it up in 1861.

7839. You gave up brickmaking in 1861?—Yes.

7840. What made you give it up?—Because they broke me up.

7841. They broke you?—Yes, standing the turn-out. I stood it till I could not stand it any longer, so I was compelled to give it up.

7842. You did not continue to employ union men?—No.

The witness withdrew.

S. Newton.

Samuel Newton sworn and examined.

7843. (*Chairman.*) What are you now?—A watchman.

7844. Are you still watchman for Mr. Rogers?—No.

7845. Were you watchman for Mr. Rogers in 1860?—Yes.

7846. Do you remember where you were as watchman in November 1860?—Yes.

7847. Were you up at night on the 15th or 16th of November?—Yes, both nights.

7848. Were you alone?—Yes, only the dog.

7849. You were in your master's yard?—Yes.

7850. Did you hear anybody come into it?—Between 12 and 1 o'clock I heard someone about the shed. I was inside; they were making an attempt to loosen the boards from the bottom of the shed. I listened something like 10 minutes or a quarter of an hour; I then came out. In going up the end of the shed I came in contact with a man, and I asked him what he was doing there.

7851. Had you a lamp?—Yes, I put my lamp in his face close to his face, close in his eyes. I asked him what he was doing there. I told him there was no road, he might get into the brick pits or something of that. He made no reply but fired at me.

7852. When you were so close to him?—When I was so close; the shot went past the left side of my head. I then stepped back.

7853. It went past the left side of your head?—Yes.

7854. Did it not hit you?—No. I said, "This is nice work shooting at a man and not speaking to him." I then stepped back and drew a pistol out of my pocket which was loaded with an intent to fire at him. I saw another man springing up from the back of the shed, and as my pistol went off the other fired and hit me.

7855. Where did it hit you?—In the head; a ball entered here and a slug, and Drs. Vernon and Hunt took them out a few days after.

7856. A ball and a slug?—Yes.

7857. How long were you under medical treatment—I daresay although it was somewhere about 11 weeks before they would consider I was fit for work.

7858. You have mentioned these two persons who fired at you; did you see any other person about?—Four ran out of the yard as I was knocked down. I sprung to my feet and followed, and I saw four men running, but the two that fired had their faces either blackened or they had masks on.

7859. You had no personal quarrel with anybody?—No, not at all.

7860. Do you know of any other reason except that which your master has just given, namely, that he employed non-union men?—That was all.

7861. There was no other reason that you know of?—No, not at all.

7862. How many non-union men had he at that time working for him?—Five or six I should say.

7863. Do you remember meeting a body of men on the road?—As I was coming to my work the night before a man came up to me whom I took to be a collier going to the coal-pit, and he said, "You are going to your work I see," I said, "Yes," and he said, "You had better stop at home," I said, "What for?" he said, "Something might happen to you."

7864. That warning was given to you the night before?—Yes.

7865. Did you go back and serve Mr. Rogers after you got well?—No.

7866. (*Mr. Chance.*) You were not running away when the shot was fired?—No, I was not; I did not run away till after I was shot, and I followed the men out of the yard.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. W. H. Wylde.

Mr. William Henry Wylde sworn and examined.

7867. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Are you a master brickmaker?—I am not in the business just now.

7868. In February 1861 were you a master brickmaker?—Yes.

7869. Where were you carrying on your business?—At Turner Lane, Ashton-under-Lyne.

7870. At that time had you a dispute with the union?—Yes, they struck for an advance of wages.

7871. In consequence of that did you employ non-union men?—Yes.

7872. Some time after you employed non-union men did you find anything done to your clay?—There were needles and broken glass put in.

7873. You found that needles and broken glass had been put into your clay?—Yes, in February 1861.

7874. Had you in your employ a man named Moorehouse?—Yes.

7875. In what capacity was he in your employment?—He was what they call a waller, he walled the bricks that were made in the shed.

7876. Do you remember anything happening to him?—Yes, he was badly beaten one morning.

7877. Do you remember about what time?—Between 2 and 3 in the morning.

7878. I mean what time in the year?—It was the 19th of February 1861.

7879. I believe Moorehouse is not in this country now?—I have not seen him for some time.

7880. Did you see him after he was beaten?—Yes.

7881. Can you describe the injuries?—He seemed to be severely cut about the head, and he was bleeding very much when I went out in the morning. One of the workmen came to the house between 7 and 8 in the morning and told us that some of our men were hurt. I went out and saw him, and asked him how it occurred. He said that he was in the shed, and four or five men with their faces blackened came about the

place and knocked at the shed door, and he heard a noise, and he went to the door and said, "Who is that?" He said, "Is it you, Ned?" meaning the watchman, and one of them said, "Yes." As soon as he opened the door he fired a pistol, I believe, but it missed fire, and then he believes he struck him on the head with it?

7882. Was that all?—He struggled and got away, and they fired at him as he was running away.

7883. Did they come up with him?—No.

7884. He got away?—He got away.

7885. According to that the only blow in the head that he had was the one that he got with the pistol?—He had several cuts on his head.

7886. Was that the only time that he was assaulted whilst in your service?—Yes.

7887. Had you received any warning before, that these needles were to be put into your clay?—No, I had not been threatened; they had called upon me a time or two, union men had called upon me.

7888. When they called upon you they never threatened anything of this kind?—No.

7889. You had not been threatened at all?—No.

7890. You have now given up business?—Yes.

7891. When did you give up business?—Nearly four years ago.

7892. Was the reason that you gave up business anything to do with the trades union outrages?—Yes.

7893. Just tell us what it was?—I was tired of it; it got to that pitch that nothing could be done with it.

7894. Had you any malicious damage done to your property after this time?—No.

7895. In what respect were you injured?—After it settled down, of course the union men came back again.

7896. The union men came back again?—Yes, five or six months after that.

7897. What am I to understand; that you sent away union men?—They either left on their own account, or were enticed away by the union men.

7898. You had no trouble with the union after the union men came back again?—No.

7899. No damage being done to your property?—None.

The witness withdrew.

Joseph Bamforth sworn and examined.

7900. (*Mr. Chance.*) Are you an inspector of police?—I am.

7901. Where are you stationed?—In Ashton-under-Lyne borough.

7902. Were you stationed there in the year 1861?—Yes, I was.

7903. Do you know a brickyard belonging to the last witness, Mr. Wylde?—I do.

7904. You remember the night of the outrage in September 1861?—Yes.

7905. How far from his brickyard were you on duty?—I was not in charge of the borough during that night, but he came down and reported the circumstances next morning.

7906. But how far from that brickyard were you on duty that night?—I was not on duty that night.

7907. You heard of it next morning?—Yes.

7908. At what time the next morning did you hear of it?—At 29 minutes past 9.

7909. On hearing of it did you go to Mr. Wylde's brickyard?—I did.

7910. Did you make an examination of his clay?—Yes.

7911. What did you find there?—I found a large quantity of needles which had been mixed with the clay; they appeared to have bored holes and filled the holes with a large quantity of needles.

7912. Did you find anything else?—I received a pistol the next day or so.

7913. Was that a horse-pistol?—Yes.

7914. Whom did you get it from?—I do not remember his name.

7915. A man of the name of Bottrell?—Yes.

7916. Who is he?—A factory operative; he is since dead.

7917. When did you receive the pistol?—Two days after; he had had it some time.

7918. Where did he give it to you?—At the town hall.

7919. Did he tell you where he found it?—He did.

7920. Where?—Three quarters of a mile from this place at least.

7921. There was no peculiarity about the pistol? No, there was not. He found it three quarters of a mile from Wylde's brickyard.

7922. Did you find also any papers containing needles?—This person also produced to me some papers similar to those that I found amongst the clay at Wylde's brickyard.

7923. Did they contain needles?—They were only papers.

7924. Had you an opportunity of examining the needles to see what kind of needles they were?—Yes.

7925. Were they damaged needles?—They appeared to be waste or damaged needles, unfit for sale, those that I saw.

7926. How many did you find there?—I should think there would be half a bucket full.

7927. It was a very large quantity?—Yes, a very large quantity.

7928. Did you hear at all who committed the damage?—We did not hear who had done it. I suspected who had done it and inquiries were made, but nothing resulted from it.

7929. Nobody was apprehended?—Nobody was apprehended.

7930. Did you see the person that you suspected?—The brickmakers' union men generally were suspected.

7931. The brickmakers of Ashton-under-Lyne?—Yes.

7932. But you did not apprehend anybody upon suspicion for that affair?—No, not for that affair.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. John Kirk sworn and examined.

7933. (*Chairman.*) Are you a brickmaker?—I have been a brickmaker.

7934. Were you so in 1861?—Yes.

7935. In January 1861 do you remember an attempt being made to blow up your house?—Yes.

7936. How was it done?—It was done by throwing bottles through the window.

7937. How many bottles were thrown, do you remember?—Yes; there were two glass bottles with corks in, and the third was a stone bottle with a fuse in the top; the fourth came in contact with the window and burst. I heard it, and I got up then.

7938. How many bottles came into the house?—Three.

7939. Which room did they go into?—The front chamber.

7940. Were you sleeping there?—I was sleeping in the back chamber.

7941. Was there any one sleeping in the chamber into which the bottles were thrown?—Yes, my father-in-law, a man 82 years of age.

7942. He was sleeping in that room into which the bottles were thrown?—Yes, and a sister-in-law was also sleeping there, and my wife and I were in the adjoining room.

7943. How many bottles were thrown into that room where your father-in-law was sleeping?—Three.

7944. Did they go off?—There were three bottles

SIXTH DAY.
Mr. J. Kirk.
11 Sept. 1867.

of naphtha spilled on the floor, and the one that had powder in it did not go off, because the fuse was not lighted. The fourth bottle that was sent came in contact with the window frame and burst outside, but it filled the room with smoke.

7945. Did the third bottle which had a fuse which was not lighted appear to have been lighted, but to have gone out?—I think it had not been lighted.

7946. You think so, you are not sure?—I gave it up when the policeman came to me.

7947. Which policeman was that, Bamforth?—Yes, that was the man.

7948. Did the naphtha get spilled about the floor?—Yes, and fragments of bottles were all over the room.

7949. The naphtha was spilled about the floor, and one came against the window?—Yes.

7950. Was it in the middle of the night that this happened?—It was a little after 1 o'clock.

7951. Had you at that time any non-union men working for you?—Yes.

7952. Do you know of any other reason why damage should be done to you, except that?—No, I never had any threats given.

7953. Had you also union men working with you?—No.

7954. How many non-union men had you at that time?—I had five or six men working with me at the time.

7955. In consequence of that did you discharge the men or alter your mode of business?—No, I let them go on.

7956. Did you ever again have any attempt made to do any other damage to you?—Yes.

7957. When?—In the following April.

7958. What was that?—Needles were put into my clay.

7959. In how many places were the needles put?—They were put into what was tempered and ready for going to the mill, and that which was put up ready to be tempered.

7960. Did that spoil the working of it; how did they manage?—We peeled about an inch off it, and picked as many out of it as we could do besides, in order that they might make it.

7961. Can you at all say how many needles had been put in, were there many thousands?—Thousands were put in, there was a man gathered a pint. I do not know how many there was in it, I did not count them.

7962. Did you see whether they were refuse needles?—Yes, they were needles that were without eyes, a sort of waste needles.

7963. Have you had any more damage done to you besides that which you have mentioned?—No, nor never had any intimidation.

7964. Do you know the nearest place where needles of that sort can be got?—No, I do not. I know nothing about it, I never looked after such things as those.

7965. You do not know, you have not heard, the nearest place where such needles as that can be procured?—No, I never heard anything of that sort.

7966. (*Mr. Chance.*) I suppose needles in large quantities like that must be obtained from some manufactory?—Yes, I suppose so.

7967. Is there any manufacturer of needles anywhere in that neighbourhood?—No, there is none nearer than Sheffield; there is no manufacturer about me.

7968. Nor in Manchester?—I do not know anything of Manchester.

7969. Do you know whether there are any needle manufacturers at Sheffield?—I have heard them say so.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to to-morrow at 11 o'clock.

SEVENTH DAY.

Assize Courts, Manchester, Thursday, 12th September 1867.

PRESENT:

PERCIVAL ANDREE PICKERING, Esq., Q.C.	GEORGE CHANCE, Esq.
THOMAS IRWIN BARSTOW, Esq.	JAMES SHEIL, Esq., Secretary.

PERCIVAL ANDREE PICKERING, Esq., Q.C., IN THE CHAIR.

SEVENTH DAY.
W. Tetlow.
12 Sept. 1867.

WILLIAM TETLOW sworn and examined.

7970. (*Mr. Chance.*) Are you a brickmaker?—A brickmaker; my father is the master, and he puts me in to look after the business.

7971. Are you living at Hurst?—Yes.

7972. Is that near Ashton-under-Lyne?—It is within half a mile of it.

7973. Is it within the district of the Ashton-under-Lyne union?—No; it is out of the district of the borough.

7974. In whose service were you in the year 1861?—I was in my father's service.

7975. Is your father a brickmaker?—Yes.

7976. And you were in his service as a brickmaker?—He puts me in to look after the business, you know. He is a good age, the old fellow; he is 73 or 74 years old.

7977. Do you reside at Hurst?—Yes.

7978. And you reside near your father's brickyard?—Well, within 200 or 300 yards.

7979. Are you a member of the Ashton-under-Lyne union?—No.

7980. Have you ever been a member of that union?—Well, it is some time since; it was before ever we had a brickyard.

7981. How long is it since you were a member?—Happen 20 years, or somewhere thereabouts.

7982. You have ceased to be a member you say for 20 years?—I mean to say it is 20 years since I was a member.

7983. And why did you cease to be a member?—It is 20 years since I left, before ever we had a brickyard.

7984. But you say you were a member once?—Yes.

7985. Why did you give it up?—Because my father had been a brickmaster before, and they would not take him into the union because he was getting an aged chap.

7986. Is that the reason that you gave up being a member of the union?—Yes; we have had union men working with us since we started, and we have had non-union men.

7987. At one time I suppose you paid to the union?—Yes, it is 21 years ago.

7988. And then you gave up paying?—I gave up paying because they ill-used me.

7989. That was what I wanted to know. In the year 1861 you were not a member of the union, were you?—No.

7990. About that time did your father have any men turn out for the 2*s.* a thousand, for the masters' dispute with the union?—Well, no more than two attended a meeting, and the men had meetings, and it was agreed on that they would give them 1*s.* 10*d.* if they would take it; they objected to taking it, and still they all agreed to give it, and so one gave it, and another gave it; and when we started the club men were a bit awkward with us. We said we would give what the brickyards on either side of us gave.

7991. Were some of them union men who were working with your father?—They were working before this, but still they never came after.

7992. Were they members of the Ashton union?—Before this they were.

7993. Were the men you are speaking of members of the Ashton union?—No, not afterwards I believe.

7994. Your father had men working with him, had he not?—Yes.

7995. Were those men that worked with him members of the Ashton brickmakers' union?—No.

7996. Were they members of any union?—I believe one of them had been at Sheffield, that was tempering for me, according to what he told me.

7997. Were all the men who were working with your father non-union men?—Non-union men, but one of them had been a union man awhile since, according to what he told me.

7998. Who was that?—I cannot rightly tell you his name, the secretary can tell you more about him than I can; that is Harrison.

7999. Then you say that they wanted an advance of wages?—Yes.

8000. Did your father agree to give them the advance?—My father agreed to give them 1*s.* 10*d.* the same as the others.

8001. Did they accept that?—No.

8002. They refused it?—They refused it.

8003. Upon refusing did they strike work?—To be sure; they never started at work. We had to ask anybody we could get on.

8004. Then what was done after their striking work?—Some needles were put in the clay.

8005. How long after they struck work were the needles put in the clay?—I cannot rightly speak how long they were, but I can tell you about the time.

8006. When was it?—In 1861, I believe.

8007. About what time in the year?—Some time in May, I believe.

8008. Were there a great many needles put in the clay?—About 100,000.

8009. Do you know who did that?—I do not know who did it, only I expect the brick chaps had done it, you know.

8010. Do you remember some bottles being thrown into your house once?—Yes.

8011. When was that?—Well, I am no scholar, you must bear in mind, but I have a note here that will tell me.

8012. Then look at your note and tell me?—I cannot tell when I look at it.

8013. How long was it after the needles were put into the clay that the bottles were put into the house?—I cannot rightly tell. Father gave me this note to come here.

8014. You told us that needles were put into the clay somewhere about 1861?—Yes.

8015. Was it about the same time that the bottles were thrown into the house?—Well, it was after the needles were put in.

8016. When?—I cannot rightly say.

8017. Would it be about the same time?—I believe it would, but I cannot rightly be sure.

8018. Was it some months afterwards?—It was many months afterwards I should say, but I cannot rightly speak.

8019. Had the non-union men been working for your father after the needles had been put into the clay?—No.

8020. Then had not your father any men to work for him then?—We had it mostly amongst ourselves, we agreed that we would do as much as we could amongst ourselves just to keep quietness.

8021. Whom do you mean by yourselves?—My father, myself, and a cousin of mine, and a chap as wed my wife's sister.

8022. You did the work amongst yourselves?—Yes, as much as we could do.

8023. Did your father advise you to take any union men?—I told him we did not care whether they were union men or what they were, if we gave them the price that was right.

8024. But did you offer to take any union men?—We offered to take them, but none of them came near us.

8025. Why?—I will show you the difference now between the union men and the others. In winter time, when there is little business, if you are employing club men, they want their share of the work, wheelers and temperers, and you cannot pay them their wages because you cannot do work regularly in the winter time. If we employed them in the summer time they would look for their work in the winter time when I could work myself.

8026. Then you have not sufficient work in the winter time to give them?—No.

8027. Is that the reason why you would not employ the union men?—Yes, it was as much that as anything. We have not made 100,000 this summer. My father does not care, nor do I care what sort they are; we only want to get a living out of this brickyard.

8028. Quite right; but, as a fact, did you or did you not employ union men at this time?—No.

8029. For the reason you have just given us?—Yes.

8030. But have union men ever applied to you?—I have offered Isaac Scholefield happen three months, or something like that. He was talking to me, and I told him he could come to his work and I would give him the same price as anybody else.

8031. Did he refuse to come?—He started talking about some clay, and I said any extra work I would pay him for.

8032. Now come to the time when those bottles were thrown into your house; was that at night-time?—It was on Monday morning about 1 o'clock as near as I can think.

8033. Who was living in the house at the time?—There were only me and my wife.

8034. And no children?—No children.

8035. There was nobody except you two?—Nobody near, except next door.

8036. Now tell us what happened?—I heard something about these here bottles. They bottled Kirk, I believe before, and the first bottle that ever came through the window I was frightened, and my wife said to me, "These brickmen are throwing bottles at the window!" I said, "Oh, never heed them, it is all nonsense." Some were thrown, I believe, through the house window first, and then they threw some through the chamber window.

8037. What do you mean by the house window; do you mean the window below?—Yes.

8038. Where does that lead into?—It leads into the back room.

8039. What was there in the room into which that bottle was thrown?—I was keeping a beer shop, and there were glasses and all sorts of things in the bottom, you know.

8040. Was there furniture?—Yes, and tables and chairs and pictures, the same as any other house.

8041. A sofa?—Yes.

8042. And things that might be set on fire?—Yes.

8043. How many bottles were thrown into that room?—Well I cannot rightly speak, I daresay there were three, or four, or five bottles thrown into that room.

8044. Did you find next morning what bottles had been thrown into that room?—I found as soon as I got up that I could not get downstairs for smoke and this like.

SEVENTH DAY.

W. Tellow.

12 Sept. 1867.

8045. What bottles did you find there?—I found the top of an empty bottle.

8046. Could you tell what it had contained?—I could not tell.

8047. Was there any smell about it?—To be sure there was.

8048. What did it smell of?—It smelt of naphtha and powder, and one thing and another.

8049. I am speaking now of the bottle that was thrown into the room underneath?—I found a bottle neck; they were broken.

8050. But still you could tell that naphtha had been in the bottle?—Yes.

8051. Was there more than one bottle thrown into that room?—Yes.

8052. How many bottles were thrown into that room?—Three, I should say. I could not take notice how many. I had not presence of mind.

8053. One of the bottles you say smelt of naphtha?—Yes.

8054. Were the other bottles broken or whole?—The bottles were broken, because you know there was fuse put to them, and it was all in a flame.

8055. Was it one of the bottles that you found in the room underneath?—Yes, but you know it was all of a flame when we came downstairs; it started us out.

8056. What kind of bottle was it that you found there?—A bottle neck.

8057. Then how many bottles were thrown into the bedroom?—Well, I should say there were two parts of bottles. They did not go inside, they caught the window frame, and the fuse was outside, and the bottle was outside, and all the remainder of the stuff went inside.

8058. Inside the room?—Yes.

8059. Did not the bottle explode in the room?—Not in the chamber.

8060. It exploded outside?—The bottle which exploded exploded in the bottom room.

8061. But I am speaking now of the bedroom. I want to know if either of the bottles thrown in there exploded in the room?—No.

8062. Did you hear them explode outside?—I heard them explode inside the bottom room.

8063. We will leave the bottom room for a moment. I want to know whether you heard any bottles explode in the bedroom?—No, if they had done we should have been all a-fire.

8064. I only want to know what the fact was. Do you know how many bottles were thrown at the window?—One or two were thrown at the bedroom.

8065. Did they strike the window or did they strike the window sill?—They struck the window frame, you know.

8066. Then did you find the bottles next morning underneath the window?—There were plenty of bottle necks picked up.

8067. Did you find anything in the shape of nails or anything of that kind about?—We found something in the shape of a piece of iron and all sorts of stuff; the policeman picked two or three things up that he said he would put on one side.

8068. Was the floor of the lower room wood or brick?—It would be flag.

8069. If the bottle of naphtha had taken fire in the lower room, would it have set the house on fire?—It did take fire.

8070. Then did it burn anything in the lower room?—It burnt, the naphtha, and it set the window blinds on fire a little bit; there were good stiff strong window blinds, and they would not let the bottle go so far, and it dropped down below, but it was a job to get it out, I can tell you; it was just alongside; there were pictures broken with the explosion on either side of the house, and glasses and gill glasses and all were broken.

8071. How much damage do you suppose was done altogether in that room?—I mean to say, speaking within bounds, and taking the repairing windows and one thing and another, and after we had window shutters inside, so that they could not send them in (we had five shutters), it cost many a pound for shutters and one thing and another.

8072. But that was all the damage done to that room?—To that room; if it had exploded upstairs, as this had exploded below, it would have done more damage.

8073. Was the window of your bedroom broken?—To be sure, all the framing was broken; I had to have a joiner and glazier for a good bit, and then I had to have window-shutters put.

8074. (*Chairman.*) Have you, since this time, been threatened at all?—They threatened me and ill-used me shameful.

8075. Since those bottles were thrown into your window, have you been threatened?—We have had some bricks spoiled since then.

8076. How long afterwards was it that your bricks were spoiled?—It may have happened four or five times.

8077. Since that time?—Well, not since that time, but twice since that time, since Jump was shot.

8078. Since that poor man was murdered you have had your bricks spoiled?—Yes.

8079. And how often before have your bricks been spoiled?—Three or four times the bricks have been spoiled, or four or five different times; I cannot speak exactly.

8080. Did they spoil all they could each time they came?—One time they spoiled upwards of 20,000.

8081. At other times did they spoil pretty well all they conld?—They came on purpose.

8082. No doubt they did, but did they spoil all they could?—Yes, they did.

8083. Have you been threatened besides?—Yes.

8084. Who threatened you?—They threatened me when there has been a company concerned, and they have shouted out and ill-used me shameful.

8085. Who shouted out?—Well, I cannot rightly speak, to speak the truth, who they were, because they have done it when there have been bodies of men standing in the street.

8086. What have they shouted out?—Well, "knob-stick," and one thing and another.

8087. They called you "knob-stick," did they?—Yes.

8088. Then you say you have been ill-used?—To be sure I have been ill-used in our brickyard when we took it this last time. We have had this brickyard 16 or 17 years, and Tom George has taken part of this brickyard that we have been paying for. There was some bother about the water and so they put some water in, and they ill-used me terribly.

8089. But I want to know when it was you were ill-used?—Well, it was this summer that they ill-used me.

8090. Now just attend to the question. Where were you when you were ill-used?—There has been some disturbance over this water, as you can see yourself.

8091. Never mind that. Where were you when you were ill-used?—I was ill-used in the brickyard.

8092. Was that last summer?—This summer.

8093. How many men were there who ill-used you?—Timothy Burns ill-used me, but he pretended it was only about the water.

8094. Who else were there when you were ill-used? My wife was there.

8095. But what other man was there helping to ill-use you?—Henry Watson.

8096. Just tell me what they did to you?—They cut my lip till I had to go to the doctor.

8097. What did they cut it with?—With their fists.

8098. Which was the one that hit you with his fist?—Burns.

8099. Watson was by at the time?—Watson came and asked me about this water. I said, "It is our water," and he said that Tom George said he could not have a bloody drop of water out of that pit; he talked like that, you know.

8100. Was it because you had taken the water that they ill-used you?—They had been always doing it so that I could hardly go down the street for them.

8101. Are Watson and Burns union men?—Yes, I

expect so, but they will not tell me anything about it, you know.

8102. Besides hitting you on the face, what else did they do ?—They did all they could do.

8103. What else did they do besides hitting you on the face ?—At first Watson came and said, "What are you taking their water for," and I said, "Well, I have authority to take it," and he sprung on to me and Burns came up. The two of them came up together you see, and he sprung on to me.

8104. Who sprung on to you ?—Watson, and he thought of getting me into the water. He tried to get me into the water, I expect to drown me, or something. I cannot tell any different from that.

8105. Was the water deep ?—It was not so deep, but I was down and he being above me he would have overpowered me.

8106. Did you fall into the water ?—No, they put me down as near as they could. They put me into the water.

8107. Which part of your body did they put into the water ?—My legs and my body were in the water.

8108. When you were in the water what did they do ?—Watson thought he could master me, but instead of that I got the upper hand of him, and with that he shouted out for Burns to help him, so when Burns came he showed no mercy I can tell you.

8109. What did he do ? He hit you on the lip you have told us. What else did he do ?—He knocked all my teeth loose.

8110. Had they either of them any sticks ?—No.

8111. What else did he do ?—I believe they would have ill-used me worse, but my wife started talking to him, and Burns said he would throw her into the pit. He nipped hold of her to throw her into the pit.

8112. Did he hit her ?—No.

8113. What else did they do ? Did you call out anything ?—I did not.

8114. Did they say anything more that if you went on employing non-union men you would lose your life, or anything of that sort ?—They said this : Watson told it in a public-house outside where I lived, at the "Seven Stars," according to what I have been told, that they would take my life before the summer was out.

8115. Did you understand the reason to be that you were not employing union men ?—I did understand it to be for not employing union men.

8116. You were not employing union men ?—No.

8117. And do you consider now that you are in great danger from the union men because you are not employing union men ?—Yes ; I offered Isaac Scholefield some weeks ago to come, and we would pay him the same price ; we did not want anything different, only we wanted a bit of work in the winter time. We want to get a bit of a living out of it ; that is all we want.

8118. Have you yourself been ill-used any time except this time you have mentioned ?—I have been regularly shouted at when I have gone out, so that I am afraid to go down the street.

8119. You say you have not been beaten at another time than this one occasion which you have mentioned ?—No.

The witness withdrew.

TIMOTHY BURNS sworn and examined.

T. Burns.

8120. (*Chairman.*) What are you ? — I am a temperer at present.

8121. Have you been so long ?—Yes.

8122. For whom do you work ?—I work for Thomas George.

8123. Is he a master brickmaker ?—He is.

8124. How long have you worked for him ? — I have worked for him about three months.

8125. Are you a member of a union ?—Yes.

8126. Which union ?—The Ashton union.

8127. Have you been so long ?—Yes.

8128. Did you attend their meetings pretty regularly ?—Yes.

8129. I wish to tell you that if you make a full and true disclosure of all you know, of whatever kind or nature it may be, you will be entitled to have, and you certainly will have, from us an indemnity against any sort of proceedings of any kind whatever for anything you may have done ; but it is expressly on the condition of your making a full and true disclosure that such indemnity will be given. I do not say that you have done such things, but it is right for your own sake that you should know it. You say that you have been a union man for some time ?—For 17 or 18 years.

8130. Does your master, Mr. George, employ only union men ?—Yes, he employs all union men.

8131. It is one of the rules of your union to look after those people who employ non-union men, is it not ?—Yes.

8132. If any master is employing non-union men, I suppose it is a matter of discussion at your meetings ? —Yes.

8133. And there are men regularly set to work to go round and gauge the bricks, and see what masters are at work, and what men they employ ?—Yes.

8134. And that has been so ever since you have been a member ?—Yes.

8135. And during that time you have known frequent disturbances of course about matters of this description ?—Yes.

8136. And you have been acquainted, I suppose, of many outrages, or have heard of them, at all events ?—I have heard of them.

8137. And discussions about them have taken place of course at the general meetings ?—Yes.

8138. We have just been told about some dispute which took place between you and Tetlow ?—Yes.

8139. We understood that there was some dispute about taking water from a pit ?—Yes.

8140. Was that pit between you, adjoining his land, or your master's, or how was it ?—Well, as far as I could learn, after what took place, the pit belonged to Tetlow, but he allowed our master water out of it on conditions that we filled it again, but we were not aware of that.

8141. We will come to that presently ; but the pit belonged to Tetlow, and he allowed your master, whose name was George, to take water out of it upon condition that he filled it again ?—Yes.

8142. You were at that time working for George ? —Yes.

8143. And was Watson working for him ?—Yes.

8144. I suppose there was not a very good feeling between you and Tetlow. He employed non-union men ?—No, there never was any dispute between me and Tetlow or his father either.

8145. But generally speaking he was not looked upon very favourably by you because he employed non-union men ?—Perhaps that might be.

8146. Do you remember any outrage which took place at his house of throwing bottles in ?—I have heard speak of it.

8147. Was this disturbance between you and him about this water after or before that outrage ?—After that ; this is lately.

8148. We understand that it was this very summer ? —Yes.

8149. Do you remember that outrage being discussed at your meeting ?—No.

8150. You were not present ?—No.

8151. Then there was this dispute about the water ; that was this summer you say ?—Yes.

8152. Were you present when the dispute began ? —Yes.

8153. How did it begin ?—Well, there was a man came and called me out of the clay-hole to go and stop Tetlow from taking this water. Our understanding was that the water belonged to us ; we were only new

SEVENTH DAY.

T. Burns.

12 Sept. 1867.

on the job you know, so we went up. This Watson went first and I followed him, and Tetlow was cutting a grip to let the water off. Had he let it off, it would not have run to us and we should have had to stop that evening. It was Friday evening. Watson went to him and I heard him saying, "You must not take this water, Tetlow." Tetlow made answer and said, "What have you got to do with it?" and they began fighting.

8154. Was Mrs. Tetlow there?—Mrs. Tetlow was not there when they commenced, but I was, and this Watson had got Tetlow down on his back.

8155. In the water?—In the grip which he had cut to let the water off.

8156. But it was full of water I suppose?—There was some water in it; they were struggling in it, and this Watson was a cripple.

8157. Was Tetlow undermost?—Tetlow was undermost in the water.

8158. And Watson on the top of him?—And Watson on the top of him, and Watson could not hold him, and Tetlow was struggling with him, and he put his arm round his neck and was warding him over into the pit.

8159. Did you mean to say that he would have pushed him into the pit?—Tetlow was undermost and he brought his arm over him, and he would have gone into the pit, and he shouted to me and I loosed his arm; then Tetlow's wife came up and asked me if I was going to murder her husband and I said,—No, I was only going to part the men. So with that she hit me in the face twice.

8160. Did she box your ears?—Yes.

8161. She said, "Are you going to murder my husband?" and boxed your ears?—Yes.

8162. You are a big man; what did you do?—I got hold of her by the arm and shoved her on one side; I did not hit her.

8163. And having got your arm free by having got rid of her, what did you do with it?—I did nothing. These men got up, and Tetlow said he would strike me in spite of every one who was in the yard, and with that he came round the rail, and he came round to strike me and then I struck him.

8164. With your fist?—Yes.

8165. Where did you strike him?—On the face.

8166. Did it make him bleed?—Yes.

8167. And after that what more did you do?—Well I hit him twice with my fist.

8168. Both times in the face?—Yes, and I gave him a kick in the backside when he was going.

8169. And what else did you do?—That was all.

8170. And what did Watson do?—Watson did nothing after.

8171. Did you do nothing after?—No.

8172. Did you go back to your work?—Yes.

8173. And is that the only quarrel you ever had with Tetlow?—That is the only quarrel that I ever had with him.

8174. At that time?—At that time, or any other time.

8175. Did you ever call him a "knobstick"?—Never.

8176. Have you ever heard him called so?—I do not know that I could say I never called him a "knobstick."

8177. But you have heard him called so?—Yes, I have heard other men saying that he was a "knobstick."

8178. And have you heard other men speak of him or threaten him in any way?—No.

8179. Have you heard Watson do so?—No.

8180. That you will swear, will you?—Yes.

8181. When a man is called a "knobstick" is he not in danger of being attacked?—I do not know.

8182. Have you ever known people who were called "knobsticks" attacked in any way?—No, I have not seen it.

8183. But you have known of it?—Yes, I have heard about it.

8184. "Knobsticks" are generally thrashed, are they not?—Well, sometimes they are.

8185. And you have heard him called so often?—Yes, I have heard men saying that he employed "knobstick" men.

8186. Have you ever been concerned in any outrage?—Never in my life. I never believed in it, and consequently I was no use to it, and I was never solicited for anything of the sort.

8187. You say you never believed in it; do you mean that you never believed in the effect of it?—No I never believed in spoiling property, or in any outrage whatever.

8188. You never believed that it did any good?—I never did.

8189. (*Mr. Chance.*) You say you never believed in outrages, but you know that outrages have taken place?—Yes, I have heard of them taking place.

8190. You have heard of them in connexion with your union?—Yes.

8191. You know pretty well that they have taken place?—Yes, but I never had any hand in them, and never was asked to.

8192. Were there any other men besides you three there when you and Tetlow and Watson began to quarrel?—No, there were other people watching.

8193. And did you not know at that time that it was Tetlow's water?—No, it was a misunderstanding.

8194. Had you not been told from time to time that it was his water, and that he let Mr. George have it?—No, they never spoke to me at all about it. I had only been there nine days,

8195. But had not Mr. George told you that it belonged to Tetlow?—No, he told me afterwards that he was very sorry it took place.

8196. You are a bigger man than Tetlow?—Yes.

8197. But do you not think it rather a cowardly thing to strike an old man like that?—He struck at me first.

8198. There were two of you against him?—The other man was a cripple, and he could do nothing against him.

8199. He got him down in the water at any rate?—Yes.

The witness withdrew.

H. Watson.

HENRY WATSON sworn and examined.

8200. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Are you a member of the Ashton brickmakers' union?—I have been.

8201. Are you so now?—No.

8202. Are you a brickmaker now?—No.

8203. As long as you continued to be a brickmaker were you a member of the union?—Yes.

8204. Were you working for Mr. George?—Yes.

8205. That is the next yard to Tetlow's?—Yes.

8206. Do you remember Tetlow cutting a grip to a pit of water?—Yes.

8207. What did you do?—Well, we were both using this pit at the time in both yards.

8208. But I ask you what you did to Tetlow?—I did nothing until he hit me first, and then I hit him back.

8209. This took place in his yard I understand?—No, it was in our yard. The pit was not in his yard at all.

8210. It was his water at any rate?—Our master told us it was our water, and he was letting it off for spite.

8211. What did you do to Tetlow, you went up to him I suppose?—Yes, I asked him what he was letting the water away for spite for.

8212. What did you say to him?—I said that, I never said anything but that.

8213. What words did you use to him?—I said,

" William, what are you letting that water run away " for spite for ?"

8214. What did he say to that?—He said it was his water, and he would do what he had a mind with it.

8215. What did you do then ?—I did nothing, I said, "You must not let it run away for spite, never " mind whose water it is."

8216. Do you mean to say that you did not take hold of him ?—No, not till he took hold of me, he struck me first.

8217. With what did he strike you ?—With his fist.

8218. Where did he strike you ?—He struck me in the mouth.

8219. What did you do upon that ?—I struck him back.

8220. Did you close together ?—Yes.

8221. Did you both come down—Yes.

8222. Which was undermost ?—Him.

8223. You got him down undermost ?—Yes, he fell first.

8224. He is a very much older man than you, is he not ?—I do not suppose he is any older.

8225. He looks much older ?—I am 40, and I do not suppose he is much older.

8226. You had him down undermost, and what happened then ?—Then we got parted.

8227. But what did you do with him when you got him down ?—I never hit him while he was down, I held him down as well as I could.

8228. And you kept him down ?—Yes, until we were parted ; he would have done the same with me if he had got the sense.

8229. Then did some one else come up to you ?—Yes, they came up.

8230. Burns came up to you ?—Yes.

8231. What did he do?—He challenged Burns out and called him——

8232. What did Burns do ?—Burns did nothing till he challenged Burns.

8233. Do you mean to say that while Tetlow was under you he challenged Burns to fight ?—No.

8234. What did Burns do ?—He parted us.

8235. How did he part you ?—He pulled me off him.

8236. What did Burns do then ?—Burns did nothing; he called Burns out of his name for his country for one thing.

8237. Then Tetlow was down on the ground, and Burns was standing by the side of him I suppose ?—He was on the top when he challenged Burns ; it is about four or five feet off the road, down to where the grip was.

8238. But you told us just now that Burns took you off Tetlow ?—Yes, down the grip.

8239. Then I suppose Tetlow was down on the ground ?—Yes.

8240. Was it then that he challenged Burns ?—No.

8241. Was it after he got up that he challenged Burns ?—Yes.

8242. Did you see Burns strike him ?—Yes, I did.

8243. How often did he strike him ?—Only once to my knowledge.

8244. You will swear that he only struck him once ?—That is all to my knowledge.

8245. Will you swear that Burns did not strike him when he was on the ground ?—Yes.

8246. And he did not kick him when he was on the ground ?—Never.

8247. How long have you known Tetlow ?—20 years.

8248. We know that he is not a union man ?—Yes.

8249. Have you ever heard him spoken ill of by union men ?—No, I never heard.

8250. Did you never hear him called a "knobstick"?—Oh, yes, I have heard him called a " knobstick ; " but nothing any further.

8251. You know, of course, that he does not employ any union men ?—Yes, he has done.

8252. But he was not at this time employing them ?—No.

8253. Have you known " knobsticks " ill-used at all ?—Yes, I have seen them.

8254. I do not know whether you have ever spoilt any bricks yourself ; have you ?—Never, not one.

8255. Have you ever spoken ill of Tetlow ?—No.

8256. Never ?—No, I never had a word with Tetlow in my life before this.

8257. Not with him, but of him ?—I was always friendly with him till just before that water falling out.

8258. Have you ever said that he deserved to have something done to him ?—No.

8259. Have you ever heard his life threatened ?—Never to my knowledge.

8260. Have you ever said that you have heard his life threatened ?—No.

8261. Will you swear that you never said that there were persons appointed to take Tetlow's life ?—Yes, I will swear that I never heard that in the world.

8262. You never have said so ?—No.

8263. Have you ever heard anybody else say so ?—No.

8264. Nor words to that effect ?—Nor words to that effect of any sort.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. James Taylor sworn and examined.

Mr. J. Taylor.

8265. (*Mr. Chance.*) Are you a master brickmaker ?—Yes.

8266. Do you live at Greenfield ?—Yes.

8267. Near Saddleworth ?—Yes.

8268. How far is that from Ashton-under-Lyne ?—About 5½ miles, between 5 and 6 miles.

8269. In the year 1859 had you a brickyard at Cockbrook ?—Yes.

8270. Is that in Ashton-under-Lyne ?—Yes.

8271. And had you in your employ several brickmakers ?—Yes.

8272. Were the names of those men George Pierce—— ?—Yes.

8273. James Haslam ?—Yes, Haslam worked for me.

8274. And John Bridgewood ?—Yes.

8275. And John Brierley ?—Yes.

8276. Had you any other man whose christian name was Charles ?—William Brierley.

8277. Had you any other man in your employment then ?—There was a man named Charles, but I do not know his other name.

8278. Was there any brickmakers' union at that time ?—Well, I believe there was not in Ashton. They were just forming one. There had been one formerly, but I think it got broken up and they were just forming it again.

8279. Was that the Ashton-under-Lyne union ?—The Ashton-under-Lyne union.

8280. Did your men join the union ?—Well, I suppose they were entering at that time.

8281. Do you remember their stopping their summer's work ?—Yes, they did not go on with the work as they ought to have done all that summer. I had a good demand for bricks, and so on, but I could not get the work done properly. When the summer work was over, I was determined to do away with them and get a fresh set of men, some that I thought would answer my purpose.

8282. Did you in consequence of that discharge them ?—They had finished their work and I paid them off and I had nothing else to do with them, so I employed a fresh set of men, who I thought would suit me.

8283. How long after they had finished their work was it that you employed this fresh lot of men ?—About a fortnight.

8284. How many men did you employ on the second job ?—Thomas Barrett, James Grafton, James Clifford, and several more. Clifford will tell you all the men that I had working for me at the time.

SEVENTH DAY.

Mr. J. Taylor.

12 Sept. 1867.

8285. About how many were there?—Six or seven.

8286. Were they non-union men, or were they men who were joining the new union?—There were none of that union that I know of, there might be, but I was not aware of it.

8287. Do you know as a fact whether they were union men or non-union men?—I think they were not joined at that time when I employed them.

8288. Did you pay them the same wages that you paid the men that you employed before?—Just the same money.

8289. Are you clear from what you have heard them say, that they were not union men?—Well, I understood that they were not union men that I employed after.

8290. And how long did those men continue to work for you?—All the winter, and some of them in the summer.

8291. Was anything said to you by any union men about your employing those non-union men?—Well, there were two men came down to my house and asked me to take those men back, and I said I thought I should not yet.

8292. When was this?—It was in October 1859.

8293. Do you remember who the two men were who came down?—Well, I suppose that Thomas Harrison was one man, but I did not know the other. I thought it was him, but I was not certain.

8294. Is that the secretary to the Ashton union?—Well, I understood that he was once, but I do not know anything about him.

8295. Do you know who the other man was?—No, I could not tell him if I saw him again. He was a lusty man.

8296. When they came to you and asked you about employing union men what did you tell them?—I told them that I would keep my men that I had employed last as long as I thought proper.

8297. Did they say anything to that?—Well, I understood that one of them said that I must take what followed then, but I do not know which of them it was.

8298. Was that said to you?—It was one of them, but I do not know which of them.

8299. But was it said to you?—Yes.

8300. And was it said to you upon that occasion?—They said that I must take what followed, and I said that I should take pot-luck then.

8301. But was that said to you when they called upon you?—Yes.

8302. Did they call upon you more than once?—Yes.

8303. When was the second time that they called upon you?—Well, I do not know when it was. I cannot recollect their ever coming above once.

8304. Was it soon after the first time?—They never came only once to me.

8305. I thought you told me they came twice?—No, they only came once; two of them came together.

8306. Do you remember, in November of that year anything happening to you?—Yes.

8307. Will you tell us what it was?—It was a fire burst out in the night time.

8308. Do you remember the day upon which it occurred?—Yes, the 4th of November.

8309. Where was the fire?—It was in the brickyard.

8310. Did you live at the brickyard or near the brickyard?—I lived very close by it, within a very few yards of it.

8311. When did you hear of it?—Between 1 and 2 o'clock in the morning.

8312. Did you go to the brickyard?—I got up and went out as fast as I could get.

8313. Will you tell us what you found?—I found a large fire. I ran to the top end of the shed and pulled seven or eight boards off, so that the fire could not get any further, and that saved the top end of it, six or seven yards perhaps, at the top end. While I was splitting those boards up the fire could get no further.

8314. Did that stop the fire in the shed?—Yes, that stopped the top end of the shed; all the rest was burnt down.

8315. What was the size of the shed?—It would hold 2,300 bricks every day.

8316. Was the greater portion of it destroyed?—Yes, all of it, only the top end.

8317. Did you find anything else on fire?—I was putting a new shed up, and I had all the boards and spars laid by ready to put on the day following. They were all taken and piled inside the shed, and I cannot tell how many planks, but planks without number, and nine barrows and screens were all burnt.

8318. Were they all piled up together?—They were all piled up in a heap inside. We found three gallon bottles, and it is supposed that two of them had had naphtha in them and the other one oil.

3319. Could you tell from the smell that they had had naphtha in them?—Yes, I took them up to the police office, and they examined them there.

8320. When you found them were they quite empty?—They were quite empty, all empty.

8321. And you could ascertain from examining them that one had contained naphtha and the other oil?—Yes.

8322. Had you any bricks destroyed that night?—All that were made the day before; all that were on the floor were trampled.

8323. But how were they destroyed?—By walking on them and piling this timber up; they could not pile the timber in the shed without treading on the bricks.

8324. But had the bricks been trampled upon?—Yes, with walking in and out, carrying the timber in. The bricks were on the floor, and you could not come in without treading on them.

8325. They walked over the bricks for the purpose of making the fire?—Yes, carrying the timber in.

8326. Could you tell from the number of footsteps how many men had been engaged in the work?—The man that came and alarmed me about the fire said he saw two or three running away as he came up.

8327. But could you tell from the number of footmarks whether there had been more than three men?—No, we could not tell much about it because it was getting all trampled down with people coming and looking at the fire, and one thing and another. It was all trampled over, and you know it was dark when the fire was, and then the people round about came, and a deal of them got up to look at this fire, and came down looking as well as us to see how it got agait. I did not know how it got agait, and I thought it must have caught fire.

8328. At what do you estimate your loss that night? Well, at about 40*l.*

8329. Who called you up that night?—A man of the name of Martin Rogers.

8330. Was he one of your workmen?—Yes, an old man that used to turn bricks and look after the fires sometimes.

8331. Did he sleep on the yard?—He did not sleep on the yard, but he had to go in sometimes at night time to turn the bricks over. If they are not turned over on the hot floor it curls them up, so I have them turned at night time.

8332. Then he was on the premises that same night?—He was on, but they came while he was away; he was not on all night, but he came at a certain time to turn those bricks over, and then he went home again.

8333. You told me that he saw three men running away?—Yes, he lived close aside, and he saw them through his window as he was getting up to go and turn the bricks.

8334. Do you remember on the morning of the same day meeting John Brierley?—Yes, I had been up at the town hall; it was about 8 o'clock, and I met him and he looked very rough and dirty, you know, but I could not swear that he had done anything.

8335. What had you been to the town hall for?—About the fire.

8336. To give information?—Yes.

8337. Was he one of the union men that worked for you in the first instance?—He was one that worked for me before the fire happened in 1859.

8338. He was one of the men who, after finishing the job, you refused to employ again?—Yes, he was one.

8339. Did you notice anything about his appearance?—Well, I thought he did not look so very well, you know, as I passed him.

8340. In which direction at that time was he coming; where was he coming from?—Well, he lived not far from there; he was like standing.

8341. Did you say anything to him when you met him?—Well, I cannot recollect saying anything, but something crossed my mind that he did not look so very well that morning.

8342. Did he say anything to you?—No, I cannot recollect whether he said anything or not.

8343. Just think, because meeting him that morning very likely you would have said something to him?—Well, I do not know; I cannot swear whether I said anything or not; it is a long time since.

8344. What do you believe to have been the reason of that damage being done to your property?—Well, I could not tell. When I got up and saw the fire I ran to see how it had got agait; I thought it had got agait itself, for I never had any wrong words with my men.

8345. But upon seeing the premises you had reason to alter your opinion?—Yes, I did that when the fire had got quenched; when I found those hoops and those bottles, you know, then I saw that it had been set on fire.

8346. Do you believe it to have been in consequence of your refusing to employ union men?—Well, I do believe it was through not employing those men that I had on in the summer.

8347. Had you any quarrel with any man?—No, I had not any quarrel.

8348. Had you no private quarrel with any of them?—No, only I did my best to get my work done.

8349. Is that the only cause that you can assign for the damage done to you?—Yes.

8350. Did you offer a reward to find out the perpetrators?—Yes, I offered 5*l.* reward.

8351. And did you ever hear of anyone who had done it?—I have never heard anything since, not a word.

8352. And did you suffer great loss to your trade in consequence?—I did, I had several orders that I could not fill up.

8353. Did you afterwards leave the district in consequence?—In 1864 I sold all my materials and left it. I thought I would try something else.

8354. Was that in consequence of the damage that had been done to you?—I worked the yard up to 1864. I went on comfortably after.

8355. After the year 1859, did you ever have any other damage done to your property?—No, nothing; I never received anything after.

8356. That was the only occasion on which you ever had any damage done to you?—Never after that time.

8357. Have you ever had any threats of damage?—No, never after that time; never any threats or anything, only that time when those two men came to my door and wanted me to swap my men.

8358. Then you continued your brickyard up to 1864?—Yes.

8359. During that time did you continue to employ non-union men?—I employed non-union men till about the latter end of 1861, and then I employed union men afterwards.

8360. You employed those men till 1861 and then you employed union men?—Yes, that was because I wanted the work to go on comfortably.

8361. You gave up employing the non-union men because you wanted to be more comfortable?—Yes, I wanted my work to be going off.

8362. Were you afraid of further damage being done to your property if you did not employ union men?—Well, I was not safe you know.

8363. But if it had not been for that would you have continued to employ the non-union men?—Yes, I believe I should.

8364. Have you found them as good workmen as the others?—Some of them; there are good and bad.

8365. You discharged the non-union men and took the union men for fear of damage being done to you?—Yes.

8366. Then you say you left in 1864?—Yes.

8367. Was there any particular reason for your leaving?—No, I gave up of my own accord, to start other business, but I proved unfortunate, and I had to turn to my old trade again. I am making bricks up in Saddleworth, in Yorkshire.

8368. (*Mr. Barstow.*) You did not tell us what damage was done to you the first time your shed was burnt?—40*l.* worth of damage.

8369. Your shed was burnt twice, I think?—Only once.

8370. Was the new shed the only one that was burnt?—They piled the timber that was ready to put in the shed inside the old one.

8371. You never had but one fire on the premises?—Only one fire, but they burnt the other shed, it was at one time.

The witness withdrew.

JAMES CLIFFORD sworn and examined.

J. Clifford.

8372. (*Chairman.*) What are you now?—A brickmaker.

8373. Did you work for Mr. Taylor, the last witness, in 1859?—Yes.

8374. Where was that?—In a place called Cockbrook, near Ashton.

8375. How far is it from Ashton?—About half a mile. It is in the borough of Ashton.

8376. Were you there in the summer of 1859?—No.

8377. But, however, you were there in 1859?—Yes.

8378. Do you remember at that time that there was a union of brickmakers about to be formed?—Yes.

8379. Did you join with them?—No, not at that time.

8380. You say that there was a union formed and that you were working for Mr. Taylor; were all the men employed by him non-union men?—When the union was formed I was working for Mr. Harrison at Stalybridge.

8381. But after the union was formed were you working for Mr. Taylor?—Yes.

8382. Were the men who were employed by Mr. Taylor non-union men?—Yes, at that time when I worked.

8383. Do you remember some union men coming to to the yard?—There was only one that came to me.

8384. What did he do?—He asked me if I would join the union and I said I did not know.

8485. Do you know who the man was?—Yes.

8386. What is his name?—Henry Marsden.

8387. He came to you?—Yes.

8388. And were there other union men who went to other men who were working?—No, he was the only man that came.

8389. Did he go to the others?—Yes, he came to me and the wheeler, and he went to another old man.

8390. Did he ask you then if you would join the union?—Yes, and we all made one answer that we did not know.

8391. Do you remember working, or was it at the same time that you were working, with persons named Shields, Barrett, Gratton, and Johnson?—Yes.

8392. Were they working with you for Taylor?—Yes.

8393. At that time did any number of union men

SEVENTH DAY.

J. Clifford.

12 Sept. 1867.

come and stop your working?—No, not that I am aware of.

8394. Did the union men come at all at that time?—Not in 1859; not to me, with the exception of the one that I have told you about.

8395. Do you know anything of those men whom I have just mentioned, Shields, Barrett, Gratton, and Johnson; had you been working with them?—Yes.

8396. Where had you been working with them?—At Mr. Taylor's; Shields worked with me the summer before for Mr. Harrison, at Stalybridge.

8397. Do you remember at any time while you were working for Mr. Taylor, the union men coming and taking the hands off?—No.

8398. Not in 1859?—No.

8399. Afterwards?—In 1860 they came and took them men off.

8400. Then in 1860 who came?—Well, I do not know.

8401. Did several people come or one?—There were many a lot.

8402. What, union men?—Yes; and stopped us. We were union men at the time.

8403. And were those others whose names I have mentioned union men at the time?—Yes.

8404. Why did they stop you?—They were going to call a general meeting and going to Hyde.

8405. What were they going to call a general meeting about?—I do not know; I never could get to know from that day to this.

8406. What did you do and the other four men whom I have mentioned?—We all went forward to Hyde.

8407. What did you do at Hyde?—We did nothing, only we sat down in a very large room in some public-house there.

8408. Was there a meeting?—Yes, there was a meeting.

8409. What passed at the meeting?—I do not know.

8410. You were there, were you not?—Yes, I was there, but I paid no attention.

8411. What was settled at the meeting?—It was something over some money affair between some masters and men.

8412. What do you mean by some money affair between some masters and men?—There was a dispute between the men and the masters.

8413. About wages?—Yes, about wages.

8414. And that was settled at that meeting?—Well, it was called to settle it.

8415. But was it settled at that meeting?—I cannot say.

8416. You mean to say that you left your work and attended this meeting, and that you have not the slightest notion of what passed?—No, I have no notion, because I was not interested at all in it.

8417. Did you shut your ears all the time?—No, but I was in and out all the time.

8418. And you never heard what passed?—No, because I never went any more after that.

8419. Did you leave the union after that?—Yes.

8420. Were you at Taylor's in 1859 when anything happened to his property?—Yes.

8421. You were one of the men working there then, were you?—Yes.

8422. They were all non-union men then, were they not?—Yes.

8423. Do you remember the shed being fired?—Yes.

8424. And the wheelbarrows and things were put together so as to make the fire effective, was that so?—Yes.

8425. Was there any watchman out that night?—No.

8426. He was not in the habit of having a watchman, was he?—Not at that time; but he had one afterwards.

8427. How many men did he keep at that time?—There were eight altogether, and old Martin that turned the bricks up made nine.

8428. Has Mr. Taylor's shed being fired more than once?—Not that I am aware of. It was only fired once while I was there.

8429. Did you continue to work for Taylor or had you ceased to work for him before the shed was set on fire?—I continued from some time in October 1859, I believe it was, but I cannot exactly tell what day, till towards the latter end of May 1860.

8430. What made you leave?—On account of this meeting.

8431. Of the union?—Yes.

8432. You attended this meeting you say and knew nothing of what took place; did you attend any other meeting with equal success?—No.

8433. Did you attend any other meeting at all of thn union men?—Yes.

8434. And you were equally inattentive perhaps?—No.

8435. You did not attend?—No.

8436. Your object perhaps was to hear nothing?—I did not attend.

8437. What did you go for?—I must either go or pay a sovereign.

8438. Is that the rule?—Well, it is the rule.

8439. And you took care not to attend to anything that passed?—I never took any notice of what passed.

8440. And you have not the slightest notion of what passed?—No.

8441. Who was in the chair; that you do not know perhaps?—Yes, I can tell you who was in the chair that night, Thomas Harrison.

8442. Was that the first meeting or the second?—That was the last.

8443. Then Thomas Harrison was president at the second meeting?—Yes.

8444. Who was president at the first meeting?—I cannot say.

8445. Who was secretary at the time of the second meeting?—Well I almost think that John Barlow was.

8446. Do you almost think the same about the first meeting; who was the secretary then?—I believe he was secretary all the time that I was in.

8447. So you attended one meeting and the other without having the slightest notion of what took place?—No, I never paid the slightest attention.

8448. What did you do with yourself at the meeting; did you merely sit quiet?—I sat quiet and sometimes I went out.

8449. Did you go back to Taylor's after having left him in May?—No.

8450. Then the fire took place while you were there, somewhere between October and May?—The fire took place on the 4th November 1859.

8451. When did you cease to be a union man?—In 1860.

8452. After you ceased to be a union man did you continue to work for anybody?—Yes.

8453. For whom did you work?—I worked for my brother afterwards.

8454. Have you ever been since that time asked to become a union man again?—Yes, many a time.

8455. Have you always refused?—Yes.

8456. Has anything happened to you in consequence?—No, not to me personally.

8457. Then to whom else has it happened?—It has happened to my masters as regards spoiling bricks and burning sheds.

8458. Which masters?—Mr. Joseph Clifford and Mr. John Clifford.

8459. You worked for them, did you?—Yes.

8460. And you were at that time a non-union man?—Yes.

8461. And though it did not matter to you personally, they came and damaged the bricks of your masters?—Yes.

8462. Were they partners or separate masters?—Separate masters.

8463. Was it done more than once?—Oh, yes.

8464. Five or six times?—Yes.

8465. Both together, or all at once?—Both together,

8466. Was that because they were employing non-union men?—Yes.

8467. Have you yourself ever been threatened?—Not at all.

SEVENTH DAY.

J. Clifford.

12 Sept. 1867.

8468. No money has been demanded of you?—No.

8469. Do you remember who asked you to be a union man?—Yes; the last man that came was just before last Christmas; his name was Thomas Barrett. The other party that was with him I do not know.

8470. What is Thomas Barrett; is he an officer of the union?—That I cannot say.

8471. And that is the usual thing, is it, that if you are warned to attend a meeting and you do not attend you are fined a sovereign?—If you happen to work.

8472. What did you subscribe a week when you were a member of the union?—I did not subscribe much, for I was not in it long. I think I paid 5*s.* altogether.

8473. When did you first join the union?—It was in 1860.

8474. How long did you continue a member of it?—Perhaps a few weeks, five or six, or perhaps six or seven weeks; I cannot say to a week or two.

8475. Had you any particular reason for leaving it?—Well, I had the reason that I did not like it.

The witness withdrew.

J. Butterfield.

JOHN BUTTERFIELD sworn and examined.

8476. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Are you the son of a man named John King Butterfield?—Yes.

8477. What are you now?— I am a greengrocer.

8478. You have nothing to do with brickmaking?—No.

8479. What was your father?—He was a greengrocer, but at times he was watching for Mr. Joseph Barlow, and he used to cart bricks.

8480. When was that?—That was in February 1861.

8481. Where was Mr. Joseph Barlow's brickcroft?—It was about, I should say, 50 yards from our house at Droylesden.

8482. Do you remember anything happening to him?—I remember nothing happening to him, but I do to his horse.

8483. He had a horse, had he?—Yes.

8484. Was that the horse which used to carry about his vegetables and the like?—Yes, and cart bricks and coal, and anything that there was.

8485. Where did he keep it?—He kept it at his own stable close to the house. The stable-door was close to the back door.

8486. Do you know whether he had ever been threatened about being Joseph Barlow's watchman?—No, not that I am aware of; not but once. Some men came to our house, but I cannot just remember who they were, when he started watching, and they threatened that if he went they would do something to him.

8487. Did you hear them?—Well, I was at the house, but I did not take any notice, but I believe Joseph Barlow has the statement written down.

8488. But do you know yourself what they said?—No; I was in the house at the time, but I did not take any notice what they said.

8489. They called your father out?—No, they were in the house, but they kicked up a regular row.

8490. You heard them kick up a row?—Yes.

8491. I suppose you heard them say something?—Well, I can only just remember what they said.

8492. But what do mean exactly by kicking up a row?—They said if he went a firing up they should do something to him; he went a firing up first.

8493. You heard them say so?—Yes, but I cannot just remember what they said they would do.

8494. Did they say anything else?—Not that I can remember; not then.

8495. But I suppose that was not all they said?—Well, I do not know; I can remember naught more.

8496. How long did they stay?—They came about 9 o'clock drinking, and they stayed till shutting up time. My father had to go and tell the police to get them out.

8497. And they stayed from 9 o'clock to 11 o'clock?—Yes, two hours.

8498. And your father had to tell the police to get them out?—The police were there and he had to warn them so that he could get them out in time, so that they would not fine him.

8499. Did you hear them say that they would do something to him?—They said a good deal, but I did not take much notice.

8500. Were they threatening him the whole time?—Well, I cannot say.

8501. Were they trying to persuade him not to go?—No, they did not try to persuade him, but they said they would do something to him if he did go, so he went at night and put coal on the fire that night.

8502. I think after this something happened to your horse?—I think it did; they cut his legs and cut his throat.

8503. Was this before the horse was injured?—Yes, a good while before the horse was injured, when first he started watching.

8504. Can you give us any notion how long that was before?—I cannot give you any notion of that.

8505. Two or three months?—I do not know.

8506. Six months?—I cannot say.

8507. But it was a long time before?—Yes.

8508. In what state did you find the horse?—I went into the stable by the back door and I found his throat cut across; the cut in his throat was skin deep.

8509. Were there any other injuries?—His back legs were cut; his sinews were cut.

8510. Anything else?—Nothing else to the horse.

8511. I suppose the horse was rendered useless?—Yes, he had to be shot there and then.

8512. What was the value of the horse?—15*l.* was about the value of him.

8513. Do you know whether anything else happened to your father?—Nothing else happened that I am aware of.

8514. Did he continue watching and firing up after that?—Yes.

8515. He went on as before?—Yes.

8516. And you do not know of anything else happening?—No.

8517. Were the men on strike at this time?—Yes.

8518. Messrs. Barlow were working?—I do not know whether they were working or not.

8519. Your father was watching for them, was he not?—My father was watching for them; Mr. Barlow was working making bricks.

8520. Did you give any information to the police?—Yes, my father fired a revolver to give the alarm and Mr. Wylie came.

8521. Then you found the horse in the morning, I suppose?—Yes.

8522. And told your father?—Yes.

8523. And then he fired a revolver?—Yes.

8524. Did some of the police come?— Sergeant Wylie and another man.

8525. And they examined the horse and they examined the place?—They examined the horse and examined the place.

8526. Are you aware whether anyone was apprehended?—There was no one apprehended.

8527. At what time in the morning did you see the horse?—About half-past 12.

8528. In the daytime?—No, in the morning. We found him ten minutes after it was done.

8529. And at what time were the police on the spot?—Well, I should say it would be half an hour after, because I had to go to the brickyard to my father.

The witness withdrew.

SEVENTH DAY.

J. Frith.

12 Sept. 1867.

JOSEPH FRITH sworn and examined.

8530. (*Chairman.*) It is right to tell you that if you speak the truth, and make a full and true disclosure of all you know about matters concerning which you are asked, you will be entitled to and will have an indemnity from us, so that you will not be troubled with any prosecution for anything which you may have done. Are you a member of a union now?—Yes.

8531. Of the Ashton union?—Yes.

8532. How long have you been so?—Since this club started, and before time I have been on for something like 17 years altogether.

8533. You have filled some of the offices I believe, have you not?—Yes.

8534. Have you been president?—Yes.

8535. When were you president?—I think it was either in 1860 or 1861; one quarter.

8536. And also last year?—Yes.

8537. Have you been secretary and treasurer?—No, I have been president one quarter last year.

8538. We understand that you have been concerned in several of these matters?—Yes.

8539. We have had a full account of it, and I do not want to go through it all; but you were present at the time when Kirk had the bottles thrown, were you not?—Yes.

8540. You went there I understand with Ward, and Ryan, and Burke?—Yes.

8541. And with whom else?—Charles Barlow.

8542. Had you any bottles with you?—No.

8543. We are told that Ward had the bottles?—Ward had the bottles, and Ryan I believe had one.

8544. And Ward threw one bottle, is that true?—Yes.

8545. And Ryan threw another?—Yes.

8546. And Burke stood at the gate with a pistol?—Yes.

8547. What did you do?—I stood there.

8548. Were you with Burke?—Yes.

8549. Had you a stick?—No, I had no weapons at all.

8550. How much did you get for that, the same as the others?—Yes.

8551. How much?—I think it was something like 1*l.*, but I am not certain.

8552. Was Ensor with you?—Yes.

8553. Was Ensor at that time president?—Well, I cannot say I am sure.

8554. But, however, Ensor was the person to carry out the resolution of the meeting?—He was the man that received the money and paid us.

8555. We understand it was left to one person to carry it out, and Ensor was the person who frequently did that?—Yes, I believe he was.

8556. But you never had to keep the books, had you?—No.

8557. We understand that you were at Clifford's also?—Yes.

8558. There were two outrages at Clifford's; were you at both?—Only one.

8559. Which was the one; the one where the shed was fired, or when the materials were burnt?—The one when the materials were burnt.

8560. Were they burnt in a shed?—No, they were burnt outside.

8561. Ryan was in that, was he not?—Yes,

8562. And Ensor?—And Ensor.

8563. And Scholefield?—And Scholefield.

8564. And Acton?—And Acton.

8565. And Thomas Barlow?—And Thomas Barlow.

8566. Did Ensor pay you for that?—Yes.

8567. What did you take with you on that occasion?—I think we had no weapons at all that night.

8568. You must have had some in case you were attacked?—I had none, and I cannot remember anyone else having any.

8569. Had you any naphtha with you?—Yes.

8570. Who carried that?—I cannot say, but I believe it was Acton and Ensor.

8571. Was the reason for those two affairs which you have mentioned, Kirk's case and Clifford's case, because they were employing non-union men?—Yes.

8572. That was the reason, was it?—That was the cause of it.

8573. Do you remember Butterfield's horse being destroyed?—I remember it.

8574. Do you remember who did it?—No, I do not; I do not know who did it.

8575. You have heard of its being done?—Yes.

8576. Was that mentioned at a regular meeting?—No, not that I am aware of. I never heard it mentioned at a regular meeting.

8577. But had you heard that his master, Joseph Barlow, was employing non-union men?—Yes, certainly.

8578. And that was the reason why the horse was injured?—Yes, I suppose it was.

8579. Have you any idea who did it?—No, I have not.

8580. Did Butterfield live near Ward?—No.

8581. Then you have no idea at all who did it?—I have not.

8582. You remember its being done?—Certainly, I remember its being done.

8583. You have told us this. Now, what other cases are there?—I do not know of any others that I have been concerned in; that is all.

8584. You have never been concerned in any others but these?—No.

8585. That you are sure of, are you?—I am certain.

8586. When you were president did you pay any men?—Well, perhaps I might have done, but I cannot recollect. If any depredations were done at the time I was president very likely I should pay for them.

8587. I mean that that was the usual thing that the president paid the money?—I believe it was.

8588. Just recollect if you can. Although you may not recollect what you paid do you remember to whom you paid any money when you were president in 1860?—I cannot recollect paying any.

8589. Do you not recollect paying Ensor something?—Well, I hardly can at present, but I might have done; I could not swear that I did not.

8590. But might you have paid him as much as 10*l.* or 15*l.* for a job of this sort?—If I did pay him anything it would be something like that, I daresay, or perhaps more; I cannot say.

8591. What is the most you have ever known paid for a job of this sort?—I cannot tell.

8592. You have known 15*l.*, of course; we have heard of 15*l.* being paid?—I think there was 15*l.* paid for these jobs; those two jobs that I have been at.

8593. Then what share did you get?—I think I got 1*l.*

8594. But 1*l.* is a very little if there were only five or six of you, and 15*l.* was the amount?—I never got any more.

8595. Was it not usual to share equally?—It should have been.

8596. And you think that Ensor did not pay you as much as you were entitled to?—I cannot say that.

8597. Were you paid anything in 1861; you had better tell all, you know?—I will tell all I can recollect; I will not tell anything I cannot recollect. I cannot tell whether I was president in 1860 or 1861.

8598. You mentioned both as years in which you were president; but, however, take either 1860 or 1861. While you were president do you not remember what you paid; there were a pretty good number of jobs going on at that time, I suppose?—I cannot call to memory paying any money; it is a long while since I did.

8599. What was it?—I paid Ensor, I think, but I cannot say whether it was 15*l.* or 20*l.*

8600. Take either?—Let me see what that job was

for. (*The witness paused.*) I cannot recollect what it was for.

8601. Do you remember what it was about; was it destroying bricks, or setting places on fire, or shooting at a man, or "bottling," or what was it, because there is a great variety, you know?—If it was for anything I think it was for spoiling bricks.

8602. You think you did pay somewhere about 15*l.* or 20*l.* for that?—I think I did now I come to recollect.

8603. How did you manage when you had paid money of that sort; did you tell the auditor, or did you tell the secretary of it?—No, the secretary gave me the money and I paid it.

8604. Then he entered it as he thought right?—Yes, I suppose so.

8605. You had never anything to do with the books, I suppose?—No.

8606. And your course of business would be to get the money from the secretary, and then to pay it to the man who, as it were, carried the job out?—Yes.

8607. Have you paid anything lately, last year?—No.

8608. Was there nothing of the kind last year?—Nothing of the sort.

8609. How long were you president in 1866?—Three months.

8610. Are you sure you paid nothing then?—Yes, I was only president one quarter then.

8611. But a good deal may be done in a quarter?—That is all that I ever had anything to do with.

8612. You did not pay anything in that quarter in 1866, last year?—No, I was only the president in one quarter in that time, and I do not know whether it was 1860 or 1861.

8613. I understood you to say you were president in 1860 or 1861, you did not know which, and also in 1866?—Yes, I was treasurer one quarter last year and I was president one quarter last year. I was treasurer last quarter.

8614. As regards any money that was paid for anything of this sort, would the treasurer have anything to do with it?—I do not know that the treasurer would have anything to do with it.

8615. It would sound as if the treasurer kept the money?—The money is locked up in a safe.

8616. Who keeps the key?—Different people.

8617. But whose duty is it to keep the key?—There are men picked out every quarter to keep the keys.

8618. Does one man keep them?—No, there are four or five keyholders, I believe.

8619. Does that mean that there are four or five separate locks, or is it all the same lock, five separate people having a key?—No, five different locks.

8620. So that the safe cannot be opened unless all the five people are present with their five keys?—Yes, just so.

8621. Then if money is wanted, all those five have to come and money has to be given out, which they pass to the secretary, and then the secretary gives it to the man who does it; is that the way it is done?—That is something like it.

8622. Then I suppose it must be communicated what the money is wanted for?—I do not know for that.

8623. If the president asks for it is that enough?—Yes.

8624. His word is quite enough, and when the accounts are audited the sanction of the president is quite enough to justify the payment of the money?—The expenditure is put down in different ways.

8625. You have heard of "incidental expenditure" and things of that sort?—Yes.

8626. And the sums divided and so on?—I cannot say; I have never had much to do with it.

8627. You know how it is done, do you not?—No.

8628. (*Mr. Chance.*) Do you know of any money being paid during the last year for outrages?—No, I do not.

8629. You are a member of the union now?—Yes.

8630. Do you with the other witnesses approve of outrages?—I do not.

8631. You do not intend to commit any more?—No, I have never been at any since, and I never intend to go to any more, I can tell you; I have only been at two and I have had quite sufficient of it.

8632. Are you endeavouring as a member of the union to put down anything of this kind?—I should like to put a stop to it.

The witness withdrew.

JOSEPH FRITH recalled and further examined. *J. Frith.*

8633. (*Chairman.*) Were you at one time a master brickmaker?—Yes.

8634. Did you employ a carrier to cart your bricks?—Yes.

8635. When were you a master brickmaker, how long ago?—In 1862, 1863, and 1864.

8636. Were you at that time a member of a union?—Yes.

8637. Do you remember your carter being interfered with in carting some of your bricks?—Yes.

8638. When was that?—I cannot speak to the date.

8639. Was it in one of those two years?—1862 I believe, or 1863, I cannot swear which.

8640. Where was your carter carting bricks, from what place to what place?—From Denton down to the lower Belle Vue gaol.

8641. Where is Belle Vue gaol?—On the Manchester Road.

8642. Was he carting bricks from one union district to another?—Yes.

8643. That is against the rules of the union, is it not?—It was against us. I do not know whether it was against them or not.

8644. Was it against your rules?—It was against the Ashton rules.

8645. You were sending them out of the Ashton district into the Manchester district?—Yes.

8646. They were your bricks?—Yes, our bricks.

8647. Had you sold them?—We had sold them.

8648. To whom?—The first we sold was to a man of the name of Hatfield.

8649. Your carter had an order from you to take them from the Ashton district to where this man's building was?—Yes.

8650. What happened to your carter, was he interfered with?—I believe he got a good thrashing; so he told us.

8651. What was his name?—Edward Booth was one; there were two carts again.

8652. Did the other man get thrashed?—I believe he did.

8653. What was his name?—Samuel Lees.

8654. Samuel Lees and this other man both got thrashed for carrying your bricks from the Ashton district into the Manchester district?—Yes.

8655. Were they much hurt?—Not so very badly.

8656. Were they made to go back with the bricks?—No, they left their bricks.

8657. Were they thrashed as they went, or as they came back?—That I cannot tell you.

8658. That was because it was against the Ashton union rule was it?—It was against the Manchester union rule.

8659. So that the Manchester union was the union which thrashed the two carters?—Yes.

8660. Did that same sort of thing happen again with your carters?—I do not know whether it happened that they were thrashed, but I went down myself. I sold another man a quantity of bricks; his name was Piggott, in the Manchester district. I sold him something like about 40,000, all that we had of that kind of bricks. We had delivered a good

SEVENTH DAY.

J. Frith.

12 Sept. 1867.

quantity of them, something over 30,000, and one of my partners went down again, and we could not supply this man with all the kinds of bricks, that he wanted—common pressed bricks, seconds, and so on. We could not supply him with common bricks, therefore they stopped him having ours; he might not have any common bricks to set up with ours.

8661. What bricks did you send him?—Seconds.

8662. And because you supplied him with seconds he was not to have other bricks from anybody else?—Yes.

8663. When was that?—I cannot date it.

8664. Somewhere about the same time?—Yes, if I had had proper notice of this, I could have brought you all particulars. I dare say it is down in the books somewhere.

8665. There is no doubt about it happening?—It did happen.

8666. Did it happen again at any time?—No, not as long as I stopped in the yard; the yard is carried on by my partner now.

8667. Was it a common thing for the union to have recourse to these means to prevent it?—I will tell you what it was with the last two loads that I sent down on that order; he could not get any bricks to use with them; he had two loads which he had not used of our bricks, and he made them put the bricks up into the carts, and take them into the yard before he could have another load of bricks from any other man in Manchester.

8668. He had got some of your bricks?—Yes, and he made them load them up again, and bring them back again into our yard before he could have any bricks from anywhere else.

8669. Did that happen on more than one occasion?—No.

8670. That is a common sort of thing?—Yes.

8671. The union prevent one district sending into another?—That is just it.

8672. The Manchester district we understand extends somewhere about four miles round Manchester?—It extends four miles round Manchester.

8673. And within that distance you may not come with your bricks?—We come into our own district, not further.

8674. You may not sell out of your district into their district, which you say extends four miles from Manchester?—Yes.

8675. Is that the rule which has been going on, and is going on still?—It is going on at the present day.

8676. And whenever that rule is violated do things of that sort happen that the carters are thrashed and the bricks sent back?—Yes.

8677. That is a common affair?—They served us like that, in that manner.

8678. Is there any rule of that sort in your union? Supposing the Manchester people come to sell bricks in your union, what do you do?—We do not stop them, we never interfere with them.

8679. A Manchester man may sell bricks in your district?—We cannot stop them, they have larger powers than us, we cannot stop them.

8680. They bear you down?—They do to a great extent.

8681. How is it between you and the Stockport union district?—Stockport and us are right enough; Stockport sets our bricks and we set theirs.

8682. Can you sell into the Stockport district, and can the Stockport district sell into yours?—Yes, and we can send into the Oldham district, we can send into any district but Manchester.

8683. You can sell into the Stockport and Oldham districts, but they will not let you sell into the Manchester district?—No.

8684. They claim as their district a circle of four miles round Manchester?—Yes.

8685. How is that four miles calculated, from what point in Manchester?—They come up to the four-mile stone on our side, I cannot say how they come on the other.

8686. What part of Manchester is the four miles counted from?—I do not know what point they start from, but they come to the four-mile stone.

8687. The four-mile stone on your side?—Yes.

8688. That is a pretty large district, four miles on your side and the whole district of Manchester besides?—The extent of Manchester is six miles, they claim four and we have have only two, it is six miles altogether, they have 120 square miles to work on.

8689. That you understand to be their area, they claim 120 square miles?—Yes.

8690. And into that none of your unions can sell a single brick?—No.

8691. (*Mr. Barstow.*) No other district claims this monopoly except Manchester?—Not that I am aware of.

8692. I think you also said that they overbore you by force?—Yes, they are a great quantity to what we are; it is a general saying that the weakest always fall to the wall, and that is the way with us.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. James Harrison sworn and examined.

Mr. J. Harrison.

8693. (*Mr. Chance.*) Are you a master brickmaker?—It was about 12 months since, and from that to 18 months. My brother is carrying it on now in the same place.

8694. Did you give it up?—Yes, we have drawn out; we have given it up to him.

8695. How long were you in the trade?—I have been ever since I was nine or 10 years old, but I have been a master about nine or 10 years.

8696. Before you were master were you a journeyman brickmaker?—Yes.

8697. When you were a journeyman were you a member of any union?—Yes, at Ashton-under-Lyne.

8698. Did you continue to be a member of the union till you became a master brickmaker?—Yes, as long as there was any.

8699. The union was given up at one time, was it not?—At one time it broke down.

8700. That was in 1859?—I do not recollect the time much.

8701. Do you remember damage being done to some property of yours in April 1866?—Yes, it was the beginning of April.

8702. Previous to that had you any dispute with the union?—We were trying some experiment; we had some clay that was not so good, and we thought we would grind it and make it into front brick, and they objected to it.

8703. Why did they object to it?—They thought it was infringing on their labour, though they had their own tables and stools to work it.

8704. Did you grind it by machinery?—Yes.

8705. Was it the fact of grinding the clay by machinery which made them think that you were infringing on their labour?—Yes, we had no dispute respecting wages or anything of that sort.

8706. What ought you to have done, according to their idea, instead of grinding the clay by machinery?—They never told us to do anything, they only said we must not do it.

8707. Did they say that it must stay as it was?—Yes, we must carry on the old system, though they would not have been fit for use when they were made.

8708. Was there any hand process by which the same effect might be produced?—We tried it both by hand and by machine after it was ground, and we could not perfect it with the hand after it was ground, and we had to run it through a process the same as when making a draining pipe.

8709. Did they want it to be done by hand?—No, they objected to us altogether grinding it.

8710. And if you did not grind it it would have been entirely useless and thrown away?—Yes, the bricks

were worth nothing, there was a deal of lime in it, and it had broken the bricks when they were burnt.

8711. What quantity of clay had you then?—We might make 100,000 a year of it.

8712. Did their objection prevent your making bricks to the extent of 100,000 a year?—Yes, that sort of brick, we made different sorts of bricks besides them, we would have been paid for them the same as usual.

8713. Would you have got a greater profit by making these bricks?—No, I do not think we should have got any more profit, but there would have been a ready sale for them.

8714. Was there a considerable loss arising to you from not being able to make this kind of bricks?—Yes.

8715. When they made this objection what did you say to them?—We said we thought we should try it, we were only beginning upon it, we thought it would act. It was about the middle of the week, there came three men and they told us that we should have to give over work.

8716. Three of your men?—Two of our men and a delegate, a man that goes round measuring the moulds.

8717. What was his name?—They call him "Old Sack;" I do not know his other name. They told us that they should leave off and go away, and they should not work for us as long as we did them like that, and so we said we thought we should try it, and they went away. One of them made answer as he was going away; he said, "Come on! we have plenty "of money in the box, and thou wilt not always be "master." We took no notice of it, but put fresh men on our order. We recommended the men to keep a sharp look out; we thought they would be on us pretty quick. This was the middle of the week and on Sunday night at 12 o'clock the shed was on fire. We ran down, and the watchman happened to be up getting his supper at the time it was being done.

8718. Was that the watchman you employed?—Yes.

8719. Was he living on the premises?—No, near the premises, and we were living close to them. As soon as he saw it he shouted out and knocked at our door; two or three of us got up and ran down. It was only set on fire at one place. My shed was full of bricks, and they had trodden the bricks. There were three distinct shoe marks; there would be three men. We made draining-pipes in the shed, and we had it filled full of shelves where we could put the pipes in to dry; and they had crammed coal and chips and different stuff between the shelves and set fire to it; it was only just getting up top and trying to get through the roof.

8720. Did you find the remnants of chips and coal on the shelves when you got there?—Yes, it was not all burnt away, it was only just got again.

8721. Did you put it out?—Yes, there would be about 1*l.* or 30*s.* worth of damage done.

8722. If you had not stopped the fire it would have done more damage?—It would have been burnt down, there was a deal of timber in it, shelves about an inch thick put to dry the bricks on.

8723. How many bricks were destroyed?—Between 2,000 and 3,000 were destroyed.

8724. Do you know what caused the damage done to you?—Because we would not employ them.

8725. You had no quarrel with anybody?—No.

8726. Did you endeavour afterwards to ascertain who had done the damage?—We could not see any chance; I went to Sergeant Grimshaw, two miles off, I knocked him up and brought him to the place.

8727. You could not find out who had done it?—No.

8728. How many union men were you employing at the time?—We were employing three or four.

8729. That was the only dispute you had with the union?—That was the only dispute we had with them.

8730. At any other time had you any damage done to your property?—No, we had been fined by them and forced to pay.

8731. What had you been fined for?—For not stopping the moulds because they were getting a little old and a little out of shape, and we had not time to get new ones. There were new ones being made, but we did not like to stop till they were ready, they fined us 2*l.*, and we had to pay.

8732. You did not belong to the union?—No, but we had union men.

8733. The union fined you?—Yes.

8734. If you did not pay what would they have done to you?—We were employing 16 men, and we kept them out nearly a fortnight, and they were getting work elsewhere. We could not get fresh ones, and we thought we should gain most by paying the 2*l.* and taking them in.

8735. Was that the only occasion on which you were fined?—Yes.

8736. You had no other damage done to your property except what you have told us?—No, only a few weeks back my brother had a lot of hens poisoned in the yard; there is a foot road goes by, and five or six of them died in two days.

8737. This was about three weeks ago?—Yes, or a month or six weeks.

8738. Was that the place where he lives?—Yes, it is at the brickyard; there is a stable there and there they have to keep the watchman and the horses.

8739. Were they loose in the yard?—They ran loose in the yard, and there was a foot road ran by.

8740. Is the only reason why you think they were poisoned because you found them dead?—They never opened them, and they could not say whether they were poisoned or not.

8741. You found five dead?—Yes; a month ago, it was very strange, a man, a neighbour, went down by the brickyard in the foot road, about 10 o'clock one night. I do not whether it was Saturday night or not, and he was about the same height as the watchman, and he went off the foot yard at the back of the knoll doing a job for himself, and a big man came up to him dressed in white clothes. He must have had a stone in his fist as he hit him on the forehead; I never saw such a blow in my life, he must have thought he was the watchman.

8742. Who was that?—It was a neighbour.

8743. What was his name?—Turner.

8744. What was his christian name?—James Turner. I fancied he thought he was the watchman, and somebody must have been lying in wait for him. He cotched him unawares, and gave him two blows; he cut his lip and broke his nose all in pieces.

8745. Did he know who the man was?—No, he ran away and left him; he was quite insensible.

8746. Is James Turner here?—No, he is not here. We never informed the police of it.

8747. Had you any dispute with the union before these fowls were found dead?—Yes. We kept a watchman in the shed, and the watchman has been kept ever since on the premises. They have to pay 1*l.* a week for this, or else it would be burnt again, there is no fear about that.

8748. Were it not for the fear of damage being done to the bricks, you would not keep a watchman?—No.

8749. You pay 1*l.* a week simply for taking care of it?—Yes, simply for taking care of it at night. There is scarcely a stroke of work done; he is only making something like 700,000 or 800,000 in the year all round.

8750. There was no additional dispute of any kind previous to these fowls being found dead?—The shed was burnt previous to the fowls being found dead; the original dispute was grinding the clay.

8751. Have you any other reason to believe that the fowls were poisoned by union men?—No, nothing but that.

8752. That was in consequence of the dispute?—Yes.

8753. At that time you were not a brickmaker, were you?—I had given it up.

SEVENTH DAY.

Mr. J. Harrison.

12 Sept. 1867.

8754. At the time the fowls were poisoned you had given it up?—Yes, my brother is carrying it on.

8755. Does your brother live with you?—No, we are neighbours.

8756. Do you suppose that your fowls were poisoned in consequence of your brother being in dispute with the union?—He is carrying the business on.

8757. Why should they injure you in consequence of him?—They were not my fowls; they were his.

8758. (*Mr. Barstow.*) You still continued to make your bricks with the machine?—Yes, he still keeps making his bricks.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. C. Smith.

Mr. Charles Smith sworn and examined.

8759. (*Chairman.*) Were you formerly engaged at the Ardwick Brickmaking Company?—Yes.

8760. Were you so in January 1863?—Yes.

8761. Where was their yard?—At the top end of the viaduct, leading from the Ashton Road on the left-hand side.

8762. Do you remember somewhere about the 12th or 13th of January that there was a lot of timber in the yard there?—Yes, it was in 1864 or 1865. I made a mistake when I said 1863.

8763. Was it in January 1864 that the timber was there?—Yes.

8764. Do you remember tar and pitch being thrown on the timber?—Yes.

8765. Was that in the night?—Yes, it was done in the night.

8766. There was a good deal of timber there, and tar and pitch was thrown upon it, and was it then set on fire?—A cart had arrived from Bolton loaded with timber. We had hitherto had timber from Bennett's, but they had refused to supply us in consequence of having one of their horse's throats cut.

8767. Who is Mr. Bennett?—John Marsden Bennett, the ex-Mayor of Manchester; his yard is on the Hyde Road.

8768. You living in Ardwick were in the habit of having your timber from Mr. Bennett?—Yes, up to this affair.

8769. How long had you timber from Bennett's?—Until two or three months previous. We were building in the place.

8770. Were you building anything particular?—We took a great quantity of timber for the paling of our place round.

8771. Was it for that purpose that you had timber from Bennett's?—Yes, and the inside work as well.

8772. How was it that you ceased to have your timber from Bennett?—Bennett's carters were threatened, and they had a horse's throat cut.

8773. Was it against the rules of any union that Bennett's timber should be supplied to you?—It was on account of their supplying us, we being machine brickmakers and they being hand brickmakers.

8774. You were machine brickmakers and they were hand brickmakers?—Yes.

8775. So they were forbidden to supply you?—If they continued to supply us any further they would have been further interfered with.

8776. Is that why they had a horse killed?—Yes.

8777. Anything else?—That was all.

8778. Did they refuse to supply you any more?—They thought we had better get our timber somewhere else.

8779. Is that the rule of the union, as far as you know, that the hand brickmakers' interest is opposed to that of the machine brickmakers?—Undoubtedly.

8780. You say that the machine brickmakers are exposed to the ill will and animosity of the union in consequence of making bricks by machinery?—Yes.

8781. You found in January 1864 this tar and pitch thrown over the timber in your yard?—Yes.

8782. This timber had come from somewhere else?—No, they had not been unloaded.

8783. It came from Bolton?—Yes.

8784. You having been driven to Bolton in consequence of this restriction or intimidation being put upon Messrs. Bennett and Company?—Yes; it came from Mr. Marsden's own yard at Bolton; he was the proprietor of the place.

8785. What quantity of timber was there?—It would be nearly about 20*l.* worth of timber; they were all 12-feet lengths.

8786. Some tar or pitch had been thrown upon the timber, and then it had been set a-light?—Yes.

8787. Did it burn or destroy much of the timber?—Yes, it destroyed it so as to render it useless for the purpose it was intended for.

8788. Had you a watchman at that time?—Yes.

8789. What was his name?—John Parker.

8790. Is he here?—Not that I know of; I scarcely think he is. He was a Yorkshire man; after the premises broke up he went back into Yorkshire.

8791. You said after the premises were broken up; when were they broken up?—The middle of last summer; about June or July last year.

8792. Was he your watchman up to that time?—No, up to about 12 months before that time.

8793. Did you ascertain at all how many men were employed in this firing of timber?—About three or four.

8794. Had your watchman at all interfered with them as he came?—He had challenged them and fired off a blunderbuss for his own protection; he fired it off and they made away.

8795. Did they fire at him at all?—No, all this was done before we actually commenced to work the machines at all.

8796. He had no private quarrel with anybody?—No.

8797. You attribute it solely to your being a machine brickmaker?—No doubt.

8798. And considered it a union outrage?—No doubt.

8799. Afterwards in May of that year did anything happen, had you any horses in your stables?—Yes, five horses and a pony.

8800. This was in the May following?—Yes.

8801. How many horses had you in the stable?—Six horses altogether; five horses and a pony.

8802. Was your stable broken open?—Yes.

8803. What did you find done, do you remember?—We had a gray mare burnt.

8804. You had a gray mare in the stable?—Yes, they had broken open the stable door; we could see the marks, the lock was burst; they tied the mare fast up by the head to the iron hayrack and then carried shavings and put them under the mare and set fire to it.

8805. Was the animal dead?—She did not die for two hours and a half after that.

8806. They tied the head of the animal fast up?—Yes, so that it could not get away.

8807. They put the shavings underneath; did they then set fire to it?—Yes; it could only move from one side of the stall to the other to keep out of the way of the flames, though they had spread them all over the stable.

8808. Were the shavings spread all over the stable?—Yes, where the horse was.

8809. This horse was in a separate stall to the others?—Yes, they were divided by a wooden partition.

8810. Had anything been done to the other horses?—Nothing, three sets of harness were cut in separate places so as to render them useless for a time.

8811. Were they in the same stable as the mare?—Yes.

8812. I believe the fire was discovered by a Mrs. Owen?—Yes.

8813. Is she here?—No, she has left the neighbourhood altogether, so I have ascertained.

8814. Do you remember when she discovered it;

what time of the night or morning was it?—During the time the fire was going on.

8815. But was it done in the night?—It was done in the night or early in the morning between 2 and 3 o'clock.

8816. Was she a neighbour; how came she to discover it?—Her husband was a carter, and she lived in the next house to the stable, and she had her daughter's son that worked on our premises in the capacity of a carrier. She heard the horses being restless, and something unusual that woke her up, and as she got at the window to look out she could see the smoke from the hatch, and she opened the window and saw three men leave the premises.

8817. Did she notice their dress?—They were dressed like brickmakers. She then dressed herself and came downstairs and called out "Fire!" and as she went to the end of the hatch leading her to Ashton Road she saw either one or two men at the trough opposite the "General Birch" public-house. They were washing their hands in the trough, and when she called out "Fire!" they ran away across the road off by Mr. Scholes's at the time.

8818. Alarm was given. Did you live near enough to get to the stable?—I lived nearly five or six minutes' walk.

8819. Were you roused up?—I was sent for by some party.

8820. Did you go there?—Yes, as soon as I could.

8821. Was the fire out?—Yes, the fire was out and the horse was cut loose; the horse cut its arm open in trying to pull the iron hay-crutch down; it cut it six or eight inches down the forearm or the shoulder of the horse.

8822. If the fire had not been stopped would it have set alight the whole stable?—Yes, there was a great quantity of hay and straw there.

8823. Then the other horses would have been destroyed too?—Yes, there is no doubt about that.

8824. Can you attribute it to anything at all but a union outrage?—Nothing else.

8825. Was it because you were a company who made bricks by machine?—That is all.

8826. And for no other reason in the world?—No, we had no ill-feeling at all that we knew of with any man.

8827. Do you remember afterwards in July of that year some carts of yours being loaded with bricks made by machinery?—Yes.

8828. Where were they sent to?—Mr. Benjamin Armitage's works, at Charlestown, near Pendleton.

8829. Were there eight carts?—Yes.

8830. All loaded with machine-made bricks?—Yes.

8831. After they went up do you remember what happened to them?—The first five carts had the bars drawn from them that held the body of the cart to the shafts.

8832. If they were drawn could the carts proceed?—Yes, they could proceed, but there is no doubt at the commencement in starting it would have upset the carts and bricks and done damage to the carts, and no doubt would have lamed the horses at the back of them.

8833. Let me understand you. They had these bars drawn out?—Yes.

8834. Had the carters gone away for a time?—Yes, they were getting their dinner in the "General Birch" public-house.

8835. The eight carts were standing at the side of the public-house?—Yes.

8836. The carters being inside and no one watching the carts?—Yes.

8837. And they drew the bars out of how many carts?—The first five.

8838. What would have been the effect of drawing out those bars when they began to start again?—It would have upset the whole carts; it would have upset the body so as to upset the loads into the road.

8839. Which way would it have upset the loads, towards the horses?—Yes, towards the horses; they wanted to upset the bricks on to the fore part of the horse in the next carts, because they were all chained together; they go in pairs as a rule.

8840. It would not only have sent the bricks out, but damaged the horses behind?—The bricks would have burst out at the back of the cart and injured the horses' legs that were immediately following that cart.

8841. How many were in each cart?—500 bricks; a little over two tons.

8842. The whole load would have gone out, the cart would have tipped up and injured the horses' legs, drawing the next cart immediately afterwards?—Yes.

8843. In your judgment would it have been enough to break the legs of the horses, if the whole load of bricks had come down in that way?—Yes, I should think so; quite so; it might have broken them so as to make them in a manner worthless.

8844. When the five men came out of the public-house did they discover it?—There was a woman whose name I forget, she was a woman cohabiting with a man who worked for us, and she saw this man named Scholes, the son of a master hand-brickmaker, draw the bars out of the carts deliberately, and called him by his name, so we had this man up and he was sent to the sessions, but he was acquitted on account of the woman having committed felony within a certain time, and they would not take her evidence, she being the only person who saw him. On those grounds he was acquitted, but I believe he has acknowledged to Sergeant Woodward of the C division that he was the party.

8845. Was there only one man seen?—There was only one man seen.

8846. He was the son of a brickmaster who made bricks by hand?—Yes.

8847. Now I want to call your attention to another thing which happened, I understand, in the following August. Had you a boy named Thomas Cole, who was employed in your office?—Yes.

8848. How old was he?—About 10, 11, or 12. I never asked him the question; I should imagine that that was his age; he was not more than 12.

8849. How was he employed in the office?—Simply as messenger to receive any letters or answer any questions.

8850. He is here now?—Yes.

8851. What happened to him; he was employed in your office?—I left him one night with some letters to take to the post.

8852. You left him one night with some letters to take to the post?—Yes.

8853. What time did you leave him?—It was a few minutes after six when I left.

8854. He had some letters to take to the post office?—Yes.

8855. How far was your office from the post office?—The post office was in Ogden Street, a continuation of Fairfield Street.

8856. How far in point of distance from the post office?—Not more than a quarter of a mile.

8857. Did he go out with your letters?—Yes.

8858. As he went out did anything happen to him?—Three or four brickmakers took hold of him; they were passing apparently from their work, and two of them in particular took hold of him, one by the shoulder and the other by the legs and threw him into the pit. I passed it the next day, and though it was in the summer time the water was not much lower than it usually was.

8859. How deep was it?—10 or 12 feet deep; it was the pit that we had to supply the boiler with water.

8860. Did they throw him in and leave him there?—Yes, they left him there and ran across the river, and made their escape.

8861. Were the sides of the pit steep?—Yes, it went deeper into the centre.

8862. How much beneath the top of the earth was the water?—From the point that he was taken out of

SEVENTH DAY.

Mr. C. Smith.

12 Sept. 1867.

it must be 11 feet from the bottom of the pit to the surface of the water.

8863. How much was there above the water to the top of the bank of the pit?—Another 12 or 14 feet it went down.

8864. Do I understand you to say that it was 12 feet from the pit top to the water, and then that the water itself was 12 feet deep besides?—Yes.

8865. How was he got out?—There was a man in the garb of a mechanic passing at the time, he went in and took him out.

8866. What was his name?—I never ascertained.

8867. If he had not been taken out in that way must he have been drowned?—Undoubtedly, he could not swim.

8868. Were the sides precipitous so that he could not have climbed up?—He could have climbed if he had got to the side; but they threw him five or six yards from the side.

8869. What was the breadth of the pit; you have told us the depth of it?—30 yards at least by 40 or 50.

8870. They took him by the shoulder and threw him as much as five yards from the side?—Yes, at least five yards.

8871. If he had not been rescued in this way he would have been drowned?—Yes.

8872. Do you know any other possible reason for doing that brutal act except the one which you mentioned before?—No, the lad could not possibly have done them any harm.

8873. Is the boy in your service now?—No.

8874. How long did he continue in your service after that?—Another six or eight months after that.

8875. Have you a joiners' shop?—Yes.

8876. Did anything happen to it in November of that year?—Yes, it was set fire to in the night.

8877. Do you know who set fire to it?—The brickmakers; four or five of them were seen on the ground.

8878. Had you a watchman?—Yes.

8879. What was his name?—John Parker.

8880. He saw the men?—Yes.

8881. Did he fire a gun at them at all?—Yes.

8882. However, they escaped?—Yes, they escaped.

8883. In December of that year did you find that anything had been thrown into the cellar of your house?—Yes.

8884. What was it?—A bottle of some combustibles.

8885. And before the combustibles were thrown down was some straw thrown down?—There were two lots of hay and straw pushed in.

8886. It had been pushed into the cellar of your house, and after that some combustibles were sent in?—A bottle.

8887. Do you remember what the bottle contained?—Yes, it contained gunpowder and a sort of flannel. It was saturated in some sort of spirits, but the bottle had been broken. I had a dog in the house, and when the window was broken, and this bottle thrown through it must have broken it, or otherwise it was broken when it dropped on the floor, but at the time what it really contained I cannot be certain, because the dog had carried a portion of it into the back cellar, and had cut his mouth in doing it.

8888. You are quite sure that you found a bottle containing gunpowder?—Yes.

8889. Was there a fuse to the bottle?—Yes, a fuse which had been lighted, but it had apparently gone out. The cellar that the bottle was thrown into had been used as a washing cellar, and it might have dropped in the water.

8890. It had been lighted, but had gone out?—Yes, that I am certain of.

8891. Supposing it had succeeded and lighted the hay and straw, would the consequence have been that your house would have been burnt down?—I had a great quantity of firewood in the cellar, and it was dropped very near to the firewood. There is no doubt that it would have set the house on fire, provided the firewood had taken fire.

8892. Were the hay and straw in quantities sufficient to set the wood on fire, and the firewood being set on fire would it have set the house on fire?—Yes, there was a good armfull in the two lots.

8893. Can you suggest the slightest reason for an outrage of that kind except as a trade outrage?—It was done simply by the brickmakers.

8894. And you made bricks by machinery?—Yes, I had no personal quarrel with them.

8895. The union within whose district your premises were, by whom you suggest that the outrage might have been committed, is the Manchester union?—Yes.

8896. Now, on the 1st of May, the year before this, do you remember something happening to some carts of yours?—Yes.

8897. How many carts were there?—Three, if I recollect right.

8898. Did they contain bricks?—Yes.

8899. They were machine-made bricks?—Yes.

8900. As they were about to leave your yard did anything happen to them?—Being the 1st of May these carters had bestowed some little trouble in decorating their horses up with ribbons, and so on, as is customary, and there were three men came across the railway from Buckley and Pinstone's croft, a croft very close to our place; they came across from this place and took their knives out and began cutting the ornaments from the horses, and the reins and other parts of the harness.

8901. Was this in broad daylight?—Yes, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, or at all events, between 4 and 5. The carters came running back to the office. I was in the office, and they called out for me to come to their assistance, so I went down the road and asked them what they were about. Before I could get a civil answer I was knocked down from behind by one of the three men striking me with a brick, and before I could get up again I had two of them on the top of me. One took me by the hair of the head and commenced bumping my head on the floor, and the other gave me a kick here and there as he best could, but I managed to get up again from them, and as I was running backwards I fell over a heap of bricks that we had placed here and there on the road for mending the road, and one called out to the other to cut the b———r's throat, and whilst I was down the nearest man came and put his hand on my chest, and then afterwards replaced his hand by putting his knee on my chest, and took a knife out of his pocket seven or eight inches long. It was opened and he made a strike at me, but it went by my right shoulder and into the ground and broke off. I kept the knife blade for some little time.

8902. Did the knife go into you?—No, it went just by my right shoulder into the ground. Of course, during the time I made all the resistance I could.

8903. How many men were employed in this outrage against you?—Three men.

8904. Could you tell from their dress, or did you know, whether they were brickmakers?—Yes, there was no doubt of it. I afterwards learnt that they were men from Stockport. They had come over to see some of their brickmaking friends at Pinstone and Buckley's yard. I ascertained it from a party who kept the railway crossing close by.

8905. Had you a struggle alone with these three men?—Yes.

8906. Were your carters by?—No, there was not anybody came to me.

8907. Where were the carters who belonged to your carts?—They were up at the yard.

8908. What did they do upon the harness being cut, had the carts left the yard when it was done?—Yes, they were proceeding along our private road from the yard to the high road.

8909. Upon the harness being cut were they able to proceed or go back?—By tying them together they were able.

8910. Had they gone back to the yard, or were they going on their journey when you were attacked?—

They were going on their journey to Hulme with the carts loaded with bricks.

8911. So that there was nobody near to help you?—No, not at the time.

8912. Did the three men make off?—One made off and the other two ran after me. When I got up I made the best use of my time to get out of the way. The two followed me some little distance, and then one of the men turned back and rejoined the other one that had gone down under the arch that goes under the railway into the brickcroft. The other followed me. I do not suppose he knew he was by himself till we got to Ashton Road.

8913. Did you run towards your own house?—No, I ran to the high road.

8914. What did the man do?—I ran into a wheelwright's shop and took up a hammer, and when he saw he was by himself he made off.

8915. Did they leave the knife in the ground?—I found it about two hours afterwards.

8916. The knife or the blade of the knife?—The blade of the knife.

8917. You have described it as being a large blade?—I daresay the blade would be from three to four inches long when it was in the knife. There was a little over three inches of it that had broken off.

8918. What you found was a bit of the blade, not the whole blade?—Yes.

8919. Were you hurt at all by what they did?—Not beyond being sore for a day or two; I was all night afterwards. It cut my head a bit and that was all.

8920. Was this in 1864?—Yes.

8921. Did you continue the making of bricks by machinery?—No, I discontinued it in 1865.

8922. Is it in consequence of this intimidation and these acts that have been done to you that you have discontinued it?—Yes, I left it before the brickmaking company gave up on that account.

8923. You ceased to be manager of that company on that account?—On the 30th of December 1865.

8924. On the 30th of December 1865, you ceased to be manager of the company on that account?—I was persuaded by my friends to give it up.

8925. In consequence of the danger that you were in?—I was manager at the time, and my wife suffered very much in consequence.

8926. From nervousness?—Yes, she died the summer following.

8927. Do you know whether that company has ceased to make bricks by machinery?—Yes.

8928. And in consequence of this intimidation and these outrages?—The number of break-downs that they had was something enormous.

8929. What do you mean by the number of break-downs?—The number of break-downs that we had inside the place; Mr. Marsden and myself, and others that were attached to the place, could not think otherwise than that we had a number of union men working there under a false garb, pretending not to be union brickmakers.

8930. They treacherously did all sorts of damage to the machinery?—Yes, we constantly had iron and all sorts of things coming through the machines and damaging them; I believe it was entirely from that that Mr. Marsden gave up brickmaking; the losses were so heavy.

8931. These break-downs continually took place to which you can attribute no other cause than that which you have mentioned?—Yes.

8932. And some on your premises had treacherously engaged themselves on your premises with the very object of doing this damage?—Yes.

8933. Are machine-made bricks better than bricks made by hand?—Yes.

8934. They are both better bricks and cheaper, are they not?—Yes; still further there is a yard to a thousand extra, which is a decided advantage to the builder, although we did not sell the bricks cheaper than the hand-made bricks.

8935. You did not actually sell them cheaper?—No, if anything a little dearer.

8936. Where did you say these premises were?—At the top end of Viaduct Street off the Ashton Road, in the parish of Ardwick.

8937. Is Ardwick in the borough of Manchester?—Yes.

The witness withdraw.

THOMAS COLE sworn and examined.

T. Cole.

8938. (*Mr. Barstow.*) How old are you?—Going upon 14.

8939. About three years ago were you in the employment of the brickmaking company in Ashton Old Road?—Yes.

8940. Do you remember one night being seized by some men?—Yes.

8941. Can you tell us in what month it was?—No, I cannot tell what month it was.

8942. Was it in the summer or the winter?—In the latter end of the summer.

8943. At what time of the day?—Seven o'clock at night.

8944. What were you doing at the time?—I was going home.

8945. Going home from the office?—Yes.

8946. Where were you?—I was just going by the pit.

8947. Where is the pit?—It is about 30 yards off the works.

8948. On the croft?—Yes.

8949. You were still in the croft?—Yes, going by it.

8950. Just tell us what happened to you?—There were about two or three men got hold of me; one got hold of me by the head and the other by the legs, and they threw me into this place.

8951. What did the men look like?—They were dressed in mechanics' clothes.

8952. And they threw you into the pit?—Yes.

8953. Was this pit out of your depth?—Yes.

8954. You cannot swim?—No.

8955. What happened to you while you were in the pit?—I was trying to get out and a strange man came by dressed in mechanics' clothes, and he got me out.

8956. Was this pit in a frequented place?—Yes.

8957. Is there a public road by it?—It is in an open field.

8958. What sort of a road goes by it?—There is a road where carts went by.

8959. Not a public road?—Yes, there is a public road and all.

8960. Did you see where the men came from?—They came across the railway arch.

8961. From under the railway arch?—There is a line crossing there and they might cross the line.

8962. Across the line of railway?—Yes.

8963. You did not know who the men were?—No.

8964. How far did they throw you in?—Five or six yards.

8965. From the bank?—Yes.

8966. Did they drag you from brink of the pit?—I was going by the brink of the pit.

8967. How far were you from the brink of the pit when they seized you?—Two or three yards.

8968. Two men seized you, did they go quite to the brink of the pit?—Yes.

8969. And then seized you and flung you in?—Yes.

8970. How were you taken hold of?—One took hold of me by the head and the other by the legs.

8971. (*Mr. Chance.*) Were you going from the office to the post office?—Yes.

8972. You were going across the road?—Yes, across that road.

SEVENTH DAY.

T. Cole.

12 Sept. 1867.

J. Scholes.

8973. You did not say anything to the men, did you?—No.

8974. And after being taken out did you go home?—Yes.

The witness withdrew.

JOHN SCHOLES sworn and examined.

8975. (*Chairman.*) What are you?—A brickmaker.

8976. How long have you been so?—17 or 18 years.

8977. Are you a member of the brickmakers' union?—Yes.

8978. And your father is also a member of the brickmakers' union and a brickmaker?—Yes.

8979. He is in the same business?—Yes.

8980. Are you still a member of the union?—Yes.

8981. And you have been so for the last 17 years?—Yes.

8982. Do you remember in July 1864 that the brickmaking company made bricks by machinery?—I know that there was a company.

8983. Do you remember seeing some of the carts belonging to the company on the Ashton Old Road?—Yes, I saw them.

8984. We understand that you got into some trouble about them?—Yes, I saw them when the policemen came and took me to them and he let me go again.

8985. When did you first see them?—I saw them when he took me to them.

8986. When was that?—On the same day.

8987. In July?—I believe it was in the summer time.

8988. How many carts were there?—I do not know, I did not count them.

8989. Were there four, five, six, or seven?—I did not look at them.

8990. You mean to tell me that you do not know hether there were one or more than one?—There might be one or two.

8991. One, two, three, or four?—A dozen for anything I know, or 100.

8992. That is all you know about them?—Yes.

8993. You had better mind what you are about.—I had had some drink, and I did not take notice of them.

8994. Have you had any drink lately?—No.

8995. You saw them there?—Yes, I saw them when the policeman came and took me out of the beerhouse.

8996. What were you doing when you saw them?—I was in the beerhouse at the side, and the policeman came and fetched me out to look at them as a woman said I had done it. I said I had not done it, and was not at them at all.

8997. Was that the first time that you had seen them?—Yes, that was the first time that I saw them.

8998. What did they say you had done?—They said that I had pulled the bars out.

8999. You had not touched them?—No.

9000. And had not seen them?—I had not seen them before the policeman took me to them.

9001. When he took you to them were the bars out?—I do not recollect whether they were out or not.

9002. When he accused you of having taken them out, you did not look to see whether they were out or not?—No, he said, "Go away; it might have been the woman's mistake."

9003. Were not you taken up and charged for it?—Yes, sometime after.

9004. How long after were you taken up?—14 or 15 days.

9005. You were taken up again?—Yes.

9006. The policeman had taken you once to look at them?—Yes.

9007. Afterwards you were taken up for it?—Yes.

9008. Where were you taken to?—To the lock-up.

9009. How long were you kept at the lock-up?—All night,

9010. Were you taken before the magistrate in the morning?—Yes.

9011. What magistrate was it, do you remember?—I do not know; he sat in court the same as you.

9012. Do you not know his name?—No.

9013. Was the case gone into?—Yes, they put me back till the next day.

9014. You were not committed then?—No, not then.

9015. Who gave evidence against you then?—I do not know who gave evidence against me.

9016. Did not you hear it?—Yes, but I do not know who it was.

9017. Was there a woman who gave evidence against you?—Yes, the woman was there.

9018. Were there any other people?—Yes.

9019. What other people?—There were two men.

9020. What did they say against you?—They said they were drawn when they had seen them, but they had put them in again.

9021. They did not say that you had done it?—How could they say that I had done it when I was in with them. I was having some beer in the beerhouse with them.

9022. You were remanded, and sent back to prison?—Yes.

9023. Did you stay in prison one night?—Yes.

9024 And came before the magistrate the next day?—Yes.

9025. What took place there?—I came out.

9026. That was all that happened to you?—I came out on bail.

9027. Then after that you had to appear somewhere to be tried?—Certainly.

9028. Where were you tried?—Bridge Street.

9029. In Manchester?—Yes.

9030. You were tried at Bridge Street?—Yes.

9031. At the sessions?—Yes.

9032. The whole case was gone into?—I believe it was.

9033. And you were acquitted?—Yes.

9034. That was all that you know about it?—That is all I know about it.

9035. Did the woman who accused you of having done it speak to you at all?—No.

9036. Did you know her?—No, I did not know her.

9037. You saw her giving evidence before the magistrate and at the sessions?—Yes.

9038. Did you know her, or had you seen her before that?—No, I had not.

9039. You had not seen her before?—No.

9040. Do you remember what her name was?—No.

9041. Had you never seen her before?—No.

9042. And she had never spoken to you by your name?—Never in her life; I never knew her.

9043. You have been a member of the brickmakers' union for some time?—Yes.

9044. Do you attend their meetings regularly?—I attend sometimes, not regularly.

9045. You do not like machine-made bricks; is it not against the rules of your union?—Yes.

9046. And have you ever done anything at all to stop them?—No.

9047. Have you known of a thing or two being done to stop machine-made bricks?—No, I know nothing at all about them.

9048. You know nothing at all in any way?—No.

9049. Do you consider that machine-made bricks hurt your trade?—The body does.

9050. Do you?—As an individual I do not care naught about it.

9051. The body considers it injurious to the trade?—Yes.

9052. And they do their best to prevent it?—I do not know anything about that.

9053. You have heard of their doing their best to prevent it?—I never heard that they have done anything together so that they could prevent it.

SEVENTH DAY.
J. Scholes.
12 Sept. 1867.

9054. You do not think that they do all they can to prevent bricks being made by machine? I have heard them grumble one to another and that they would sooner be without them than with them.

9055. Have you heard of their doing a little more than grumbling?—No, I never have.

9056. That you swear?—I do not know whether I have heard them say anything or not.

9057. You never heard of any injury being done to machine brickmakers?—No, not to my knowledge.

9058. Never anything of that sort at all?—Not to my knowledge.

9059. You attend the meetings regularly?—Not regularly; once in a 12 month, or two or three years.

9060. You never heard it mentioned?—No, not at any meeting; it is a good time since I was at one.

The witness withdrew.

JAMES BROOM sworn and examined.

J. Broom.

9061. (*Mr. Chance.*) Are you a carter?—Yes.

9062. Who employs you?—I am working for Nicholas Steele.

9063. Who employed you in 1863?—John Marsden Bennett.

9064. What did you, generally speaking, cart about?—I left the stable at 7 o'clock.

9065. What did you generally carry about, bricks or timber?—Timber.

9066. Belonging to Mr. Bennett?—Yes.

9067. Do you remember anything happening to a horse of yours?—Yes.

9068. When was that?—I cannot say exactly, but somewhere about three or four years since, this back end.

9069. Was it a horse of a particular mark?—Do you mean what colour was it?

9070. Yes.—A brown one.

9071. Had it a particular mark upon its face?—It had a white place on the front of its head.

9072. Where was this horse?—Under the railway arches, the other side of the Sheffield railway, the top of Mr. Bennett's yard.

9073. Were there other horses in the same stable?—Yes, three more besides it; there were four in altogether.

9074. To whom did the other horses belong?—Mr. Bennett.

9075. Did anything happen to your horse three or four years ago?—Yes.

9076. Tell us what that was?—Some one came in the stable and cut its throat; and cut it right under its throat, and they cut another gush right down here to a good distance down; there were seven cuts in all, but this one cut went right down and laid the flesh right open to the windpipe, only it did not cut the windpipe, but laid the flesh right open.

9077. What became of the horse?—They doctored it till it got better again.

9078. It got better from the wounds?—Yes.

9079. Do you know who did this?—No.

9080. Was the stable-door kept locked?—Yes.

9081. Was it done in the night time?—I left the stable at 7 o'clock, and we fastened the back stable-door with a hasp inside, and locked the front stable-door in the front yard, and when I came in at 5 o'clock the next morning the back stable-door was unfastened and open.

9082. Did you cart timber to different people?—Yes, to different people up and down the town.

9083. Had you carted any to the machine brick-making company?—Yes, I have taken them to Cheetham Hill and Ashton Road.

9084. Had you taken much timber?—I have been many a time to Cheetham Hill; I have been nearly the same to Ashton Road.

9085. Do you know whether anything had been ever said to Mr. Bennett about taking timber there?—No, not that I am aware of.

9086. Has anything ever been said to you?—No, nobody ever said anything to me.

9087. Nobody ever said anything about your taking timber to the brick-making company?—No.

9088. What do you suppose was the cause of the injury being done to your horse?—It was talked about at the time that they supposed it was the brick chaps had done it.

9089. Do you suppose it to have been the brick-makers who had done it?—I do not know who did it myself, except I heard the people talking about it. I cannot say who did it myself.

9090. Had you any quarrel with any of the men?—No.

9091. You had never been told that you were not to take timber there?—No, nobody had ever said anything to me about it.

9092. Did you carry bricks as well as timber?—No, it was all timber.

9093. Yours was the only horse injured?—There was only mine that was injured, only that one.

9094. (*Chairman.*) Had you more horses than that one?—Yes; there were five altogether.

9095. This was a horse that you used to employ in carrying timber to the machine brickmakers?—Yes, I went with the same horse.

9096. You always went with the same horse?—Yes.

9097. So this was the white-faced horse that you always employed in carrying timber to the machine brickmakers?—Yes, I believe I always did.

9098. For that purpose?—Yes.

9099. And it was selected to have this injury done to it?—Yes.

9100. None of the other horses were injured?—No, only that one.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to to-morrow at 11 o'clock.

EIGHTH DAY.

Assize Courts, Manchester, Friday, 13th September 1867.

PRESENT:

PERCIVAL ANDREE PICKERING, Esq., Q.C.
THOMAS IRWIN BARSTOW, Esq.
GEORGE CHANCE, Esq.
JAMES SHEIL, Esq., Secretary.

PERCIVAL ANDREE PICKERING, Esq., Q.C., IN THE CHAIR.

EIGHTH DAY.
J. Dalton.
13 Sept. 1867.

JAMES DALTON sworn and examined.

9101. (*Mr. Chance.*) What are you?—A bricklayer's labourer.

9102. Where do you live?—In Agnes Street, Hulme.

EIGHTH DAY.

J. Dalton.

13 Sept. 1867.

9103. Are you a member of any union?—No, I have been.

9104. How long is it since you were a member of a union?—Last February I came from Stockton-on-Tees and these parties that drove me away from Manchester——

9105. Just answer my question. How long is it since you were a member of a union?—Last February I ceased to be a member.

9106. Of what union had you been a member up to that time?—I paid to what they call the Bricklayers' Accident and Burial Society.

9107. What is the name of that?—It is called the Accident and Burial Society.

9108. At what place?—At George Street, in Hulme.

9109. In this city?—It is the township of Hulme.

9110. Is that also for the protection of trade?—Yes, it appears so. Because I carried machinery bricks those parties hindered me of work and beat me.

9111. In July 1863 were you in the employment of Messrs. Fox and Burton?—Yes.

9112. Are they builders?—Yes they are builders.

9113. Were you a bricklayer's labourer there?—Yes.

9114. Were you at work at a building on the cricket ground?—Yes.

9115. At that time you were a member of the union?—Before I started to that building I was a member of the union.

9116. Just answer my question. Were you at that time a member of the union?—Yes.

9117. Were Messrs. Fox and Burton using machine-made bricks at that time?—Yes.

9118. Were there other union men working with you?—No, not then. I had left their union then. They objected to me.

9119. You told me just now that when you were working for them you were a member of the union?—Decidedly, but they had objected to me.

9120. At the time that you were working for them were you a member of the union?—No, they barred me out.

9121. Then you were not a member of the union?—Not since I went to work for Fox and Burton, they would not allow it.

9122. Listen to the question. At the time that you were working for Messrs. Fox and Burton were you a member of the union?—Not when I carried the machinery bricks.

9123. Were you carrying machinery bricks for them?—Yes, for Fox and Burton.

9124. But am I to understand that at that time you were a member of the union?—No.

9125. When you were carrying those machine-made bricks for them were any union men working also?—No.

9126. While you were working for them did a man named John Riley come to you?—Yes.

9127. Does he belong to the union?—Yes.

9128. Is that the union you mentioned just now?—Yes.

9129. Did he come by himself or with anyone else?—By himself.

9130. And did he come to you on the cricket ground?—No, as I was coming from work he followed me.

9131. Did he say anything to you?—Yes, he called me a "knobstick," and he says, "We will never allow you to work in Manchester."

9132. Did he say anything else?—Nothing else, only he called me a "knobstick," and struck at me.

9133. Did he hit you?—Yes.

9134. Did he knock you down?—No, he did not knock me down. I had to make a retreat.

9135. Where did he strike you?—He struck me two or three times.

9136. With his fist?—Yes.

9137. Where?—He struck me on the jaw for one place, and knocked the jaw against the teeth.

9138. Did you strike him?—No, I made a retreat; I ran away from him.

9139. Did he say anything else to you at that time?—Nothing else, because I went out of his reach.

9140. Did he use any threat to you at the same time?—Yes, he said, "I will take your life; I will murder you; you are an infernal 'knobstick.'" He used threats of all sorts that I cannot mention now. I cannot recollect many things that he said.

9141. You must tell us what you recollect, and nothing that you cannot recollect. What did you do after this had been done to you by Riley; did you continue to work for Messrs. Fox and Burton?—I left Fox and Burton then.

9142. Did you leave them in consequence of what Riley had done to you?—No, several parties had threatened me besides, but I cannot recollect their names, and I left them on that account, because they would have killed me if I had not.

9143. Do you know whether those other parties belonged to the same union to which Riley belonged?—I know they did all the time.

9144. But you do not know the names of any of them?—No, I do not know their names. I know them by sight.

9145. Then did you continue out of work for some time in consequence?—Yes, for several weeks, perhaps for about five weeks, and then I went away to the north country to Stockton-on-Tees, and I joined their union again. I paid 1*l.*, and I came back again last February.

9146. Did you continue at Stockton-on-Tees till last February?—Yes.

9147. And then you came back again?—I came back again, and I joined the trade union at Stockton-on-Tees. At the time of Fox and Burton's dispute they drove me out of Manchester, and then I went to Stockton-on-Tees, and I joined their union, and I came back again last February.

9148. Did you continue to be a member of the Stockton-on-Tees union during the whole of that time?—Yes; and I came back in February to Manchester and got work from a man named John Lawton.

9149. Is he a builder?—He is a builder.

9150. When you came back again to Manchester did you join any union?—No; I started to work when I came here.

9151. Had you been a member of the Stockton-on-Tees union the whole time since you left Manchester?—Yes.

9152. You came back from Stockton-on-Tees to Manchester in February this year, and you did not join any union here?—No.

9153. How long did you continue working for John Lawton?—I worked five weeks for John Lawton as near as I can recollect.

9154. While you were working for him did a man of the name of Michael Fyland come to you?—Yes; he called me a "knobstick," and beat me severely, and threatened to throw me into a limepit.

9155. Was he a member of the same union as Riley was?—Yes.

9156. Did he say anything to you at the time that he did this besides calling you a "knobstick"?—He said, "I will bury you in the lime. I will take care "nobody ever sees you go out. I will bury you in "the lime, you are a 'knobstick.'" I then ran away towards the lodge door where I could have some protection, and other parties who were there encouraged him to go on, both bricklayers and labourers belonging to the same society who were working at the same building.

9157. At Lawton's?—Yes.

9158. Were they union men?—Yes.

9159. Have they ill-treated you or threatened you at all?—They encouraged him and told him to go on and work the "knobstick." They stopped my work. They said I should stop work or else they would not work with me; that is all the other parties said.

9160. Was that before Fyland came?—That was before he came.

9161. Then they encouraged him to beat you and ill-treat you in the way you described?—Yes.

9162. Did you get a warrant against Fyland after this?—Yes, on the same day. I ran away to the C division police station and showed them how I was. I was all bloody, and they told me I would have to get a warrant in the morning, and I went and got a warrant.

9163. Which of the policemen did you see?—I do not know his name. I did not take that much notice, but he sat writing in the office.

9164. Was Fyland taken after that?—No; he got away from the police. He went away and he is not taken yet.

9165. Do you remember a few days after that being at your own house?—Yes.

9166. And while you were standing at your house did James Riley come up to you?—There came Thomas Riley.

9167. Is he any relation to James Riley?—They are friends, as far as I can judge; at all events, Thomas Riley keeps this club held at his house.

9168. Is he a member of some union?—Yes.

9169. What did he do?—He came to me as I was getting towards my own place where I lived and knocked me down and called me a "knobstick," and he left me in blood. He beat me severely.

9170. Had you said anything to him before that?—Not a word. I had never seen the man before. I was knocked down on the ground.

9171. Did he hurt you severely?—Yes, he did, in the ribs, and he split my jaw, too, and he left my blood on the flags.

9172. Did you get a warrant against him?—Yes, immediately, and he was taken and got one month's imprisonment, because they had no witness; this John Riley went swearing; they are all friends and all union men.

9173. And he was convicted and got one month's imprisonment?—Yes.

9174. Do you remember some days after that, on the Saturday, some men coming to your door?—Yes.

9175. What time of the day was that?—They came between 3 and 4 o'clock.

9176. In the afternoon?—Yes.

9177. Were you inside the house?—Yes, I was just inside the door when they came.

9178. Do you know who the men were?—Yes.

9179. Who were they?—One is named John Murray, the other is Thomas Deffley, and the other one is Michael McLaughlin, secretary to the club, and there was John Riley.

9180. Was that the man who first assaulted you?—No, it is another Riley; I cannot say whether they are friends, but he acts as friend for this Thomas Riley; he said he would have revenge for his going to prison.

9181. John Riley said this?—Yes; there is another John Riley.

9182. You have spoken of three Rileys—Thomas Riley, John Riley, and another John Riley?—Yes.

9183. Was it John Riley that said he would have his revenge?—Yes.

9184. Did the other man say or do anything?—The other man kicked at the door and said, "Where is the knobstick? I will take his life."

9185. Do you know which of the men said that?—Yes; there is young Deffley, who beat one of my children who is between 11 and 12 years old, because he could not find me; he knocked her down.

9186. That night?—Yes, at the time.

9187. Was she a little girl?—Yes.

9188. Whereabouts were you at this time?—I was away at this time; I was up at the police station, where I went for protection.

9189. You told me just now that when these four men came you were just in your house?—Yes, but I made a retreat, and they kept coming from this time up to 11 o'clock at night several times in search of me.

9190. The first time you told me four men came to the house?—Yes.

9191. And Riley said he would have his revenge?—Riley said he would have his revenge.

9192. Was that the first time he came?—That was the first time he came to the house.

9193. Did they abuse you?—They kicked at the door and broke the door, and one said, "We will throw through the windows with bricks."

9194. Did they get into the house?—They did not get into the house while I was there, but they smashed at the door, and I was forced to hide in the coal place.

9195. But at that time they did not get into your house?—No, not then.

9196. When did they come again?—My wife and children told me (they are witnesses for that) that they kept coming several times up till 11 o'clock, but I was only there twice when they came, and that is all that I can say myself; they came about 11 o'clock, and came between 3 and 4 as near as I can think.

9197. Had you gone to the police station then?—Yes.

9198. And that was in consequence of their coming to your house?—Yes.

9199. Did you ask for assistance?—Yes, and he told me if I had any friends to take lodgings, and he would send officers to convey the children and family out of the house.

9200. Who told you that?—The superintendent of the D division.

9201. Did the superintendent send any man down to protect you at your house then?—Yes, he did; he sent two policemen.

9202. That night?—Yes.

9203. At what time did they come?—As near as I can guess it would be about between six and seven.

9204. How long did they remian?—He told them to keep watch all night. They still kept about, but those two policemen went away, and said that they would send some fresh ones.

9205. You told us just now that your little girl was beaten?—Yes.

9206. At what time was she beaten?—That was the time that I went to the police station.

9207. Was that before the policemen came?—Yes, before the policemen came.

9208. You told us I think that your wife was in the house?—She was in the house.

9209. How many other children had you there?—I had three children of age, but I had six or seven children in the house at the time.

9210. Did they beat you at all on that occasion?—If they beat me they would kill me, but they did not find me.

9211. Did John Riley say why it was that he would have his revenge upon you?—Yes.

9212. What did he say?—He said he would have revenge for Thomas Riley.

9213. Thomas Riley was the man against whom you had the warrant, and who got a month's imprisonment?—Yes. He got a month's imprisonment at the city court.

9214. Were all those four men members of the union?—Yes, they were all members of the union.

9215. And did you afterwards obtain warrants against them?—I got warrants for them all, and had them taken.

9216. Was anything done to them?—Yes, they were bound to keep the peace for three calendar months.

9217. Since that time have you been able to get employment?—I have not been able to get employment. I have been out of work ever since, and I have been dependent upon the parish until last week. I commenced work, and I have had to go hauling wood It is a long way out of this town. They would not let me work in the town of Manchester.

9218. Then do I understand that you could not get work because those men would not let you work?—That is it.

9219. Could you have got work if it had not been

EIGHTH DAY.

J. Dalton.

3 Sept. 1867.

for them?—Yes, I could have got constant employment if it had not been for them.

9220. Plenty of people would employ you?—John Lawton would for one.

9221. You are still a member of the Stockton union—Up to last week.

9222. (*Chairman.*) Where is the place where you are working now?—I work for a man named William Brown at Newton Heath, at his residence.

9223. How far is that from Manchester?—It is about two and a half miles as near as I can say.

9224. Then do you walk backwards and forwards every day?—I have to go in the morning and walk back at night.

9225. What wages are you getting?—It is 4*s.* a day.

9226. What wages did you get in Manchester when you were working here?—4*s.* a day, and a quarter at night for overtime. 5*s.* a day they have put out of my way including overtime.

9227. Now you are getting 4*s.* a day, and are two and a half miles away from the place?—Yes.

The witness withdrew.

M. McLaughlin.

MICHAEL MCLAUGHLIN sworn and examined.

9228. (*Chairman.*) You understand that if you make a full and true disclosure of all the things respecting which you are examined, and of any misdeeds which you may have done, you will have a right to have, and you will have, a full indemnity from us; but you must remember that whether you have it or not entirely depends upon yourself, and upon whether you make a full and true disclosure. It will not do to tell only a part and to keep back the rest; and if you tell anything which is false, in addition to having no indemnity from us, and being liable to be prosecuted for what you have done, you will be liable to prosecution for perjury. It rests with yourself whether or not you obtain freedom from punishment for any act which you may unfortunately have done. You thoroughly understand that?—Yes.

9229. What are you?—A bricklayer's labourer.

9230. How long have you been so?—Five years last month.

9231. We understand that you belong to a society which is called the Bricklayers' Accident and Burial Society?—Yes, the Bricklayers' Labourers' Accident and Burial Society.

9232. Where are your meetings held?—They are held in George Street, Hulme.

9233. How far is Hulme from here?—Close on two miles.

9234. You have been a member five years?—Yes.

9235. Are you now secretary?—Yes.

9236. How long have you been secretary?—Rather better than three years.

9237. You have been secretary all that time?—Not all that time, with the exception of about three or six months; I cannot exactly say.

9238. Have you filled any other office?—No.

9239. I suppose it is your duty as secretary to attend the meetings always?—Yes.

9240. Where are your meetings held?—Sometimes they are held in "Hop Pole" inn, in Hardman Street, off Deansgate, Manchester, and there have been meetings held in the Mechanics' Arms, Henry Street, off Oldham Road.

9241. And where else?—In St. Mary schoolroom, Knott Mill.

9242. How did you get the use of that room?—We paid for the use of the room for a meeting.

9243. How much did you pay a night for the use of the room?—3*0s.*

9244. And where else did you hold your meetings?—I do not know of any place else where we have held a general meeting.

9245. How often do you hold your meetings?—We held one regular annual meeting in March and then if there is anything of importance there is a special meeting called, we cannot say exactly at what time or when they may be called.

9246. But do you usually hold your meetings once a fortnight or once a month?—Yes, there are lodge meetings once in three months.

9247. May all the members attend the lodge meetings?—All the members are supposed to do so.

9248. How many members have you altogether?—Well, in all the town I should say there are upwards of 900.

9249. And are they Manchester men most of them?—Yes, most of them are Manchester men.

9250. Then do you meet generally once a fortnight?—The 900 do not belong to our lodge. There are different lodges. The lodge that I belong to has somewhere about 160 or better.

9251. You have explained that very well; the whole club consists of about 900 members?—Yes.

9252. And in the club there are several lodges?—Yes.

9253. How many lodges are there?—There are nine in Manchester and its vicinity.

9254. Then how is it regulated as to which lodge you can belong to?—You can please yourself as to which lodge you belong to, but still it is all one society.

9255. But the lodges meet separately generally?—Yes, with the exception of the annual meeting or the special general meeting.

9256. There is an annual meeting when all the lodges meet together?—Yes.

9257. And there may be also a meeting of all the lodges in the club upon special notice?—Yes.

9258. Then where does the lodge generally meet?—Our lodge is held at the Daniel O'Connell's Arms, George Street, Hulme.

9259. And I suppose each lodge has a president and a secretary?—Yes.

9260. Then are you secretary of the whole club or of your separate lodge?—I am secretary of the lodge that I belong to.

9261. Then who is president of your lodge?—Michael Deffley.

9262. Then how do you manage with your finances, does each lodge collect its own subscriptions?—Each lodge is independent with regard to money matters and such as that.

9263. Then have the president or the secretary, or all the members of a lodge, the right to administer the money which is collected by the members of their lodge?—Yes.

9264. Then each lodge has a right to dispose of the funds of its own particular lodge?—Yes, to dispose of the funds as they determine in a proper manner and with general satisfaction to the members of the lodge upon their so doing.

9265. When you meet at this annual meeting and all the lodges meet together, is there then any investigation into the accounts of the separate lodges?—No, they do not inquire into anything of the sort. It is merely the working of the society.

9266. Do they have an account rendered them by the members of each lodge as to what has been done by them?—No.

9267. What is the object of the general meeting?—To show how the society has been carried on for the year.

9268. Then do you state at that meeting things which have been done for the purpose of protecting your labour during the year?—Yes.

9269. In point of fact you mention the state of your trade in each particular district, and what you have done for the purpose of advancing it or protecting it?—Yes, that is what is discussed generally.

9270. When your own lodge meets I suppose your object is to take care of the labour within your own particular district, the district of your own lodge?—No.

9271. Has each lodge its own particular district?—No. With regard to the labour all the town is connected with it. When our lodge meets it is nothing but for financial affairs and such as that.

9272. Then your power of regular anything connected with the club, although it is only a lodge, extends over the same area that the whole club does?—Yes.

9273. I suppose the rules of the whole club are the rules of each separate lodge?—It is one rule with all the lodges.

9274. Dividing it into lodges is merely a mode of better carrying out the financial operations of the society?—And for the accommodation of members attending the different lodges.

9275. What is the accommodation?—Not to have so far to go.

9276. Then it being your object to protect your labour, do you discuss at the meeting of your lodge the proper mode of carrying that out?—Yes.

9277. And if there are persons working against the rules of your society, I presume it is brought before your lodge meetings?—Yes.

9278. And those persons' names are mentioned, and the circumstances under which they are working, and how it is they are violating the rules of your society?—Yes, most decidedly.

9279. Do you also bring it before your lodge meeting when a man refuses to be a member of your society, and works in a manner which you think is injurious to your trade?—Yes.

9280. And I suppose you settle the proper means of preventing that which you consider to be an injury to your trade?—Yes, in a legal manner, in as legal a manner as we can.

9281. If anything has to be done which is a little doubtful as to whether it is legal or not, do you leave it to somebody else to see it properly carried out?—No.

9282. We have heard stories of men being thrashed because they were "knobsticks." You understand what a "knobstick" means?—Yes, I do.

9283. Then supposing a man is what you call an obstinate "knobstick," do you take means of bringing him to a different state of mind sometimes?—Yes, by moral suasion if we can.

9284. You have different modes of persuasion, have you not?—Well, all the persuasion that I ever was connected with was by word of mouth.

9285. You have not been connected with any other, but I suppose you have heard of other modes of persuasion being used, have you not?—Yes, I have heard of it.

9286. Have you any doubt whatever that injury has been done to "knobsticks" because they would not fall in with your rules?—I have never heard of any only what happened at the prison; I have just heard of that, but nothing more.

9287. To what do you allude?—There has been a bother.

9288. Where?—At this prison here.

9289. Just explain what this bother is?—All that I have heard is that there have been some men working against our society at the prison.

9290. And what did you hear was done to them?—There has been one or two of them got beat I hear.

9291. By your men?—Yes.

9292. Who did it?—I cannot exactly say.

9293. But have you heard who did it?—I do not know who did it; we did not get to hear of it.

9294. Was it not brought forward at your meeting?—Yes.

9295. What was said at your meeting; you must remember?—I cannot remember.

9296. Who were the men who were beaten first of all?—I do not know their names; I do not know one man's name.

9297. Did you ever know them?—No, I never knew them in my life. I have never seen them to my knowledge or heard their names.

9298. Have you never heard them?—I might have heard the names, but I cannot call them to mind.

9299. Were not the names mentioned at the meeting?—I cannot exactly say.

9300. Yes you can?—I cannot, upon my word I cannot. I am speaking God's truth.

9301. You can mention the fact of whether they had been mentioned or not, though you cannot remember the names?—Yes, they have been mentioned.

9302. Was it at all mentioned who had done it?—There is only one man that I can think of who was mentioned as having done it, and that is Thomas Daly.

9303. Was he a member of your society?—Yes, he was.

9304. Where is he?—He is in America.

9305. You can remember no man's name who did it who is in this country, I dare say?—No.

9306. And you swear upon your oath that you do not remember any other name being mentioned but that of Thomas Daly, who is out of the country?—That is the only name I can think of, but I am told he went to America, and I asked how it was and that is how I got to know it; the names of the men who had been beaten I dare say would be mentioned, but I do not remember if they have.

9307. Were the names of the men who had done it mentioned?—That is all I think.

9308. Were the names of the men who had done it mentioned?—I did not hear of any more but the name of the man whose name I am after telling you.

9309. But that man is gone to America?—Yes; that is how I got to hear that he had done it.

9310. Was it mentioned whether more than one man was concerned in it?—Well, I do not exactly know; it is as much as I can think of.

9311. But you will think of a little more probably?—I do not know.

9312. Can you tell me the name of more than one man who was mentioned as having done it; you cannot misunderstand me?—I cannot exactly say.

9313. Have you any doubt about it?—No, I cannot call it to mind if there is.

9314. Have you any doubt that more than one was concerned in it?—I may have a doubt.

9315. Have you a doubt?—Yes.

9316. What is your doubt?—I dare say there has been more than one man concerned in it, but I cannot exactly tell their names for I have not heard them properly; I have not thought of them. I cannot think of them.

9317. Think of them now, will you?—I cannot think of them.

9318. And think of them properly. (*After a pause.*) Now, sir, you must know?—I cannot think of it, but I have heard distinctly that Thomas Daly went to America for beating some man that was working at the prison.

9319. So you have told me?—I think John Nolan's name was mentioned.

9320. He is here, is he not?—I believe so.

9321. Is he a member of your society?—Yes.

9322. Was there any other name. You see what thinking has done; you have refreshed your memory a little?—I can think of no other name and I heard no other man's name mentioned.

9323. Do you know a man named James Dalton, who has been here as a witness just before you?—Yes.

9324. Did you know of his working against your rules?—Yes.

9325. He had been a member of your society, I understand?—Yes, some years since.

9326. And then he ceased to be so?—Yes.

9327. Do you remember when he was working for Messrs. Fox and Burton?—Yes.

9328. Did you ever hear of his being beaten while he was working for Messrs. Fox and Burton?—No.

9329. You seem astonished: you never heard of it?—I never heard of it.

9330. That you swear?—That I swear positively.

9331. Are you aware that he was working for Fox and Burton?—Yes.

9332. Was it brought before your lodge that he was

EIGHTH DAY.

M. McLaughlin.

13 Sept. 1867.

working against your rules?—Yes, it was mentioned in the lodge that he was working against our rules.

9333. Were you then secretary?—I cannot exactly say.

9334. Can you remember who was president?—A man of the name of Andrew Cox was president at that time.

9335. You say that you are secretary now?—Yes, I am.

9336. And you have been so pretty well for three years?—Yes.

9337. And who was the secretary next before you?—The secretary next before me was a man of the name of Edward Casey.

9338. Is he alive?—He is dead.

9339. And this other man was president, whose name you have mentioned?—Yes, Andrew Cox.

9340. The president now is Michael Deffley?—Yes.

9341. Do you remember Dalton's ceasing to work for Fox and Burton?—No, I cannot exactly tell the time when he left. I think he went out of the town.

9342. And he was away for some time, we understand?—Yes.

9343. Do you remember his coming back?—I remember his coming back.

9344. Do you know when he came back; was it last February?—I cannot tell to a month; I did not see him for perhaps a month.

9345. But was it this year?—Well, I think it was this year.

9346. Do you know where he lived?—Yes.

9347. Where was it?—He lived in Agnes Street.

9348. When he came back this year?—I do not know where he lived when he first came back, but the first time I saw him after he came back he lived in Agnes Street.

9349. Do you know John Murray?—Yes.

9350. Do you know a man named John Riley also?—Yes.

9351. Did you ever go to James Dalton's house?—No, never.

9352. Were you never near it?—I have been near it, but I have never been to his house.

9353. Did you ever go at all in that direction with those men whose names I have just mentioned, John Murray, and Deffley, and John Riley?—I have heard that John Murray and Thomas Deffley (mind not the president), had been in Agnes Street, drunk, and making a noise. I was told that. I went into Agnes Street, and took John Murray by the shoulder and he walked out with me, and Thomas Deffley followed us out. That is all I had to do with it.

9354. When they were in that street were they near the house of James Dalton?—They were within a door or two of it in the middle of the street.

9355. What they had been doing there, or how long they had been there, you do not know?—I do not know; I was told, and I went to take Murray away.

9356. What were you told?—I was told they were drunk and shouting in the street.

9357. Near Dalton's house?—I was not told that they were near Dalton's house.

9358. How came you to be near the place at the time?—Our lodge is not so very far off the place, and I was in the lodge.

9359. It was a lodge night, was it?—Every Saturday night is a lodge night.

9360. And information was given to you when you were in the lodge that those men were in the street?—Yes.

9361. And not so far from Dalton's house?—Not so very far, about a door or two I should think.

9362. What did you hear them shout out?—I did not hear them shout out anything. I only came into the street and deliberately took hold of Murray's shoulder and walked him out.

9363. Is Agnes Street a large street?—No, it is a very small street.

9364. Were you told what they were shouting out, and what they were doing?—I was told that they were drunk, and that they were shouting in Agnes Street.

9365. That you have told me before?—That is all I can tell you.

9366. Were you told what they were shouting?—No, upon my oath that is all I can tell you. I was only told that they were drunk and shouting.

9367. I suppose that you were carrying on the business of the lodge?—The business had not begun; I was downstairs.

9368. How came the information to be given to you that those two men were drunk in Agnes Street, only two doors off Dalton's house?—Because John Murray and I had been companions for a long time, and it was thought that I should have more influence over him than other parties.

9369. Who gave you the information?—I cannot exactly say now who gave me the information.

9370. Was it one of the members of your lodge?—No, I cannot say who it was, but I believe to the best of my opinion that it was a woman who gave me the information.

9371. The wife of one of the members of your lodge?—I did not know who the party was. I do not know who it was now, but to the best of my opinion it was a woman who gave me the information.

9372. To the best of your opinion was it the wife or relation of one of the members of the lodge?—I cannot say.

9373. Do you mean to say that you have the slightest doubt about it?—I have not the slightest doubt about it.

9374. How came she to come and tell you in the lodge that they were making this noise and disturbance?—Well, she did not tell me personally. She told all that were in the beerhouse as well as me; everyone that was in heard it.

9375. Then it was not the fact of your having influence with Murray, which was the reason you gave me just now, that induced you to go out?—She told all that was in the beerhouse, but directed her discourse mostly to me.

9376. Were there many people there?—Yes, there were a good many.

9377. Your business was just going to begin, I understand?—Yes, it was before business began.

9378. And she came in and proclaimed that John Murray and Deffley were in the street drunk and making a noise?—Mind, I am not swearing that it was he or she, but to the best of my opinion it was a woman.

9379. But somebody came in to this house where you were and gave you information that this noise was going on outside?—Yes.

9380. Is your lodge in Agnes Street?—No, it is in George Street.

9381. How far is that from Agnes Street?—I do not think it will be above 40 yards from one end of Agnes Street.

9382. How far is it from Dalton's house, is it within a door or two of where you found them?—It is not above 40 yards, and Dalton's door is not quite 20 yards from the street, I think.

9383. So because those people were shouting and making a row they came to the lodge where you were, and gave you the information that those people were making a disturbance?—Yes.

9384. Did he or she tell you, whoever it was, what they were doing?—They told me that they were drunk and shouting, that is all I understood.

9385. Did the person tell you what they were shouting?—No.

9386. You have no idea?—Not the slightest.

9387. Did you find out afterwards that they had been at Dalton's house?—I did not find out that they had been at the house, but I heard that they were shouting.

9388. Against whom?—Against Dalton.

9389. You have heard that since, have you; who told you that?—Well, I have heard of it from many parties; I cannot name one.

9390. Was it mentioned at the lodge meeting that night that they had been shouting against Dalton?—Yes, it was mentioned.

9391. Was it mentioned that they had been trying to get hold of him, but that they could not?—Well, I cannot say. It had been mentioned that they were in the street shouting for Dalton.

9392. And it was in consequence of that being told you that you went out?—That had not been told me then; I was only told they were drunk and shouting when I went to take them away. I heard that after.

9393. Did you hear afterwards that they had ill-used one of his children?—I never heard anything about it only what I heard in the court.

9394. Where?—In Bridge Street.

9395. When they were taken?—Yes, when they were taken. I heard Dalton himself and his daughter swear that Deffley struck his daughter. I never heard of it before that time.

9396. Is money ever paid by your lodge to persons when they are out of work?—No.

9397. How do you spend the finances of your lodge?—There is what they call an accident and burial fund. We pay five guineas when a member or his wife dies, and 8*s*. a week accident money.

9398. Are there any rules of your society?—Yes.

9399. Are they printed rules?—Yes, printed rules.

9400. Can you give me a copy of them?—I have not them with me.

9401. You can get one, I daresay?—Yes, I can get you one. I was not aware that they were needed.

9402. I suppose your rules relate mainly to burials and accidents?—Yes.

9403. Nothing else?—Nothing else.

9404. Do you pay the money of your lodge to present members of your lodge who are out of work?—No.

9405. Never at all?—Never at all to my knowledge.

9406. But you are secretary you know?—Yes.

9407. Then do I understand you to swear that the money of your lodge is only paid in cases of accidents and burials?—The money of our lodge is paid for accidents and burials; I never knew a member yet to get a farthing of money who was out of work.

9408. That is scarcely an answer to my question. I asked if the money of your lodge is ever paid for anything at all except for cases of accidents and burials?—Yes.

9409. What is it paid for?—It is paid for the support of the society, for protection of course.

9410. Now what is it that you mean by saying that it is paid for the support of the society and protection; for what is that money paid?—In the first place there is a delegate paid by the society.

9411. What are the duties of that delegate?—The duties of the delegate are to go round the town to see that all the men that are at work on each job are society men.

9412. And if he finds men working who are not society men, I suppose his duty is to report to your meeting?—Yes, that is his duty.

9413. Then suppose he does report that there are men working who are not society men, what action is taken upon that?—The action that is taken upon that is this; the men are brought before our meeting——

9414. What men?—Those men who are working who are not society men. They are asked to come and join our society, and most of them generally do.

9415. That is if they are not members already?—Yes.

9416. Then suppose they do not come?—If they do not come our men do not work with them.

9417. Do you take any other measures to make them become members of the society?—No, I never knew any measures taken but for our men to leave the job.

9418. Suppose the consequence is that your men do not work with them, and they go out on strike, who pays them while they are on strike?—We pay them on strike.

9419. That is what I asked you before, and you said you did not do so. If your men are on strike for those reasons which you have mentioned, you pay them for being on strike?—Yes.

9420. That cannot last so very long, you know?—No.

9421. Do you take any other measures to prevent those men working who are "knobsticks?"—No, not to my knowledge, ever since I have joined the society with the exception of getting them to join the society or taking our men away.

9422. But supposing those men continue to refuse to belong to the society, what happens?—Our men will not work with them.

9423. But as you said very properly just now, that cannot last long?—They may or may not.

9424. But do you mean to tell me that measures have not been taken to prevent them from working?—Yes, there have been measures taken to prevent them from working.

9425. What measures have been taken?—The bricklayers working on the job have been paid and withdrawn from their work.

9426. That is to say, supposing men are working on a job who do not belong to you, and supposing your men we will say have struck, what measures do you take to prevent those, as regards those who are working on the job, and who refuse to belong to your society?—We pay the operative bricklayers.

9427. Then you try to bribe them, as it were, to leave the work?—Yes.

9428. Suppose they will not be bribed, what then?—Then we have to let them work on.

9429. You have no other measure?—Then we have to let them work on.

9430. Have you never known any other measures?—I have never known any other measures.

9431. What do you think made James Dalton leave the country and go off to Stockton and Durham?—I cannot tell you exactly; he has a brother there.

9432. You have no notion why he left Fox and Burton's employ?—Not the slightest.

9433. It does not at all occur to your mind why he left?—No, not at all.

9434. And you have never known any measure of any kind used except what you call "persuasion?"—No.

9435. Have you never known any money paid in any other way besides that which you have mentioned?—No.

9436. Do you keep the books?—Yes.

9437. Have you the books?—Yes, they are in the lodge.

9438. Can you bring your books to us if we wish it?—Yes, at any time.

9439. Do you keep a cash account at the bankers?—We have a cash-book, and we can produce our books.

9440. Have you a cash-book at the bankers?—Not at the bankers.

9441. Do you keep in your cash-book an account of the money that you receive?—Yes, and the money that we have on hand and all.

9442. Do you keep all the money that you have in the box?—No, we leave it in a trustee's hands.

9443. Who is the trustee?—The Reverend Canon Toole, of Hulme.

9444. He, I presume, banks with somebody?—Yes, I suppose so.

9445. With whom?—I do not know, I never heard.

9446. Then, if you want money, do you go to the trustee and ask him to draw a cheque?—He gives us the ready money.

9447. Then he draws a cheque on the bank and gives you the money?—I never draw a cheque.

9448. But he draws a cheque on the banker and gives you the money?—Yes.

9449. Are your books now in the same state that they have been in for some time?—Yes.

9450. And would they show truly the payments

EIGHTH DAY.

M. McLaughlin.

13 Sept. 1867.

made by you?—They would show the payments made by us and how the money has been expended.

9451. You have no general entries of "sundries" or "incidental expenses," have you?—No, there is an item for everything by the name that the money has gone for.

9452. How many delegates have you?—One.

9453. What is the district which he has to go over?—All Manchester and Salford.

9454. What is his name?—John Nolan.

9455. The same man that you mentioned before?—Yes.

9456. Has he been your delegate for some time?—He was delegate when I joined the society, and he has been so ever since.

9457. What is he paid by you?—He is paid 24*s.* a week now, according to our week's wages.

9458. Have you never known of Nolan using violence to anybody?—Yes, I have told you.

9459. I did not understand you to say that of Nolan before. What is the violence which you have heard of Nolan using?—The violence that I have heard of Nolan using was that he struck some man on this prison job at the time that Daly did.

9460. Was it a man named Gough?—I think that was the name.

9461. How long is that ago?—I think it is three years, or perhaps better.

9462. That is for being a non-union man and working at your trade?—Yes.

9463. Was that within his duty?—No.

9464. It is not part of his duty as a delegate?—No.

9465. But he has always continued as delegate ever since?—Yes.

9466. There was no reprimand for his zeal in your cause at all, was there?—Well, I never heard of any.

9467. Have you ever heard of his striking a man named Woolford?—No, I never heard that name.

9468. What other person have you heard of Nolan striking besides Gough?—I never heard a man's name mentioned that he struck besides Gough. I heard of his using violence to Gough, him and Daly, as I told you.

9469. But I understand you to say that Gough is the only person that you have heard of his using violence to?—That is the only person.

9470. You never heard of a person of the name of Woolford?—No.

9471. He had nothing extra that week that he struck Gough, did he?—No, he never had anything extra besides the regular week's wages that I know of.

9472. You were supposed you say to have influence with John Murray?—Yes.

9473. Had he been at the lodge that night before you went out?—He might have been in the beerhouse, but he had not been in the lodge.

9474. Had you seen him?—No, I had not seen him.

9475. You had not seen him at all that evening before?—No, not before that.

9476. Did he afterwards come there with you?—No, not with me then, but he has come in the lodge after.

9477. But did he afterwards come that same night there?—Yes, he was in the lodge that same night.

9478. Afterwards?—Yes.

9479. When you went out into the street to fetch him, did he go back to you to the beerhouse where the lodge was held?—He came out to the street with me and went home, and afterwards came back into the lodge.

9480. And he attended your meeting?—Yes.

9481. Although he was so very drunk?—Yes, he had nothing to do with our meeting, only to come into the room.

9482. So that although he was so very drunk, that you went and fetched him out of the street, he went home, you say, in the first instance, and afterwards attended your meeting?—Yes.

9483. Who was the other man that you mentioned?—Thomas Deffley.

9484. Did he afterwards come and attend the meeting?—I cannot say; you know all the members are not supposed to attend the meeting on the Saturday night.

9485. Answer my question: Did he afterwards go and attend the meeting?—I think not.

9486. Will you swear that?—To the best of my opinion I will swear that he was not in the room that night.

9487. Besides the president and secretary, have you a treasurer?—Yes.

9488. Who is the present treasurer?—Michael Reynolds.

9489. How long has he been treasurer?—He has been treasurer for about two years, or something like that.

9490. Who was treasurer before him?—Francis Lasley.

9491. How long does a treasurer generally remain in office?—Three months is the period without they are re-elected.

9492. They can be re-elected?—They can be re-elected.

9493. Is the subscription per week or per year?—It is 1*s.* per month.

9494. Is there any payment on entrance?—Yes, 1*l.* entrance.

9495. (*Mr. Chance.*) Do you know the reason why Dalton left Fox and Burton's employ?—No, I have never heard the reason.

9496. Did you not hear that it was because they were ill-using them for working at the machine-made bricks?—He worked at the machine-made bricks after our members leaving Fox and Burton's, but I never heard the reason or exactly the time that Dalton left Fox and Burton's; after he left Fox and Burton's I heard that he was working at Middlesborough.

9497. Have you a rule in your society against machine-made bricks?—No, there is no rule to that effect.

9498. You mean that there is no rule printed?—Yes.

9499. But it is not a rule upon which you act?—It is acted upon, but there is no printed rule.

9500. But when a builder uses machine-made bricks, do not your men refuse to work for him?—Yes.

9501. Then it is a rule upon which your society act though it is not printed?—Yes.

9502. And in all cases where a builder uses machine-made bricks you draw your men off?—Our men are not supposed to work for him.

9503. And suppose a non-union man is working for a builder who uses machine-made bricks, what do you do to him?—Not at all; any person may work with a man that uses machine-made bricks, but our men will not work with him.

9504. Then it is one of your rules?—It is a rule we go by, but it is not printed.

9505. Have you any other rule besides that which is not printed?—We may adopt a rule at any time; there may be others.

9506. My question is whether there are not others?—Yes.

9507. What other rules have you which are not printed?—Well, there is a rule which is not printed, that each man takes his place according to how he starts in the shop.

9508. That is not among your printed rules?—No.

9509. Have you many other rules besides those which are printed?—Well, I cannot say that there are many.

9510. Are not those rules which are acted upon though they are not printed, binding upon your members?—Yes, they are binding among the members.

9511. You told us just now that this drunken row in Agnes Street was just about the time of your meeting taking place?—It was before our meeting took place.

9512. At what time did your meeting take place?—It is supposed to take place at 6 o'clock, but it begins about half-past 6, or so.

9513. Was that the first that you heard of Murray

and Deffley being in Agnes Street?—That was the first.

9514. Then you did not know that they had been there some two or three hours before that, did you?—No, I cannot say how long they had been there before that, but that was about the time that I heard of it.

9515. Do you not know that Dalton has actually been prevented from working by your men?—Yes, I know that our men would not work with him.

9516. Do you not know that he has been obliged to leave the place because they would not work with him?—I do not know that he has been obliged to leave the place, but our men have.

9517. Have you not heard of his being beaten by your men?—I have heard Thomas Riley accused of striking him in the court.

9518. Have you never heard of his being beaten by John Riley?—He has never been beaten by John Riley.

9519. Have you not heard of his being beaten by Michael Fyland?—Yes, I have heard of his being thrown into a lime hole or something of that sort by a man of the name of Michael Fyland.

9520. Was he a member of your union?—He was a member of our society, though not belonging to the lodge.

9521. Who is the president of the general society?—There is no general society; there is a president and a secretary and a treasurer, and other officers to each lodge.

9522. But is there no executive to manage the general affairs of the whole society; is there no committee of any kind?—Yes, there is a committee.

9523. Of how many does that committee consist?—Of six or seven, sometimes seven, and sometimes six.

9524. And is there a president?—Yes.

9525. And a secretary?—Yes.

9526. And a treasurer?—There is no treasurer needed for that.

9527. There are only a president and secretary?—Only a president and secretary.

9528. Who is the president at the present time?—John Murray.

9529. Is that the John Murray who was so drunk in Agres Street?—Yes.

9530. And he is president at the general society?—He is president of the committee.

9531. Who is the secretary?—Francis Quin.

9532. Are they a sort of committee of appeal for any question which you bring before them?—Yes.

9533. (*Mr. Barstow.*) How comes it that your men will not work in the yard of a master who uses machine-made bricks?—Well, it is a rule that they shall not.

9534. But why have you adopted it?—I cannot exactly tell you; I was not at the making of the rule.

9535. Do you mean to say that you do not know the reason of it?—No.

9536. I suppose you being a bricklayer's labourer, are in other words a hod-man?—Yes.

9537. Does it make any difference to a hod man whether he carries hand-made bricks or machine-made bricks?—It makes no difference.

9538. Not the least difference?—It might make a slight difference personally, that the machine-made bricks are a little heavier than hand-made bricks.

9539. That being so, how comes it then that you object to work for any one who uses machine-made bricks?—All the objection that I know of is that it is a rule which is adopted by the members not to work with them.

9540. It is not a rule adopted for the personal convenience of the members of your society according to what you say?—Not that I know of.

9541. Then I suppose it is for the convenience of some other society, is that so?—Well, it may be, and it may not for anything I know. You know I do not know all the workings of the society exactly.

9542. Have you any agreement with any other society on the subject?—No, not that I know of.

9543. You will swear that you do not know of any agreement with any other society?—I do not know of any agreement belonging to any other society.

9544. Will you swear that you do not know of any understanding with the bricklayers' society?—I will swear that I do not know of any understanding between the brickmakers and our society that we should use machine-made bricks.

9545. Then I want some explanation of how you come to be so bitter against persons using machine-made bricks?—I cannot tell you; all I know is that it is a rule which is adopted.

9546. But you are the secretary of the society which adopted it?—Yes, I was not secretary at that time.

9547. But you are secretary now?—I am secretary now.

9548. But can you give me no reason for it?—No.

9549. You can give me no reason whatever why that rule is adopted?—No.

9550. And you positively swear that you are not aware of any agreement or understanding with any other society, by virtue of which you have that rule?—No, not the slightest; I do not know of any reason or any connexion with any other society, why we should not use them.

9551. (*Mr. Chance.*) Is this rule made by the lodge, or is it made by the committee of the general union?—I believe that it is made by the committee of the general union; it is not made by the lodge.

9552. (*Mr. Barstow.*) But all your rules are made by the general committee; no lodge makes rules?—No, no lodge makes rules.

9553. (*Chairman.*) When you have your annual meeting I suppose somebody sits in the chair as president?—Yes.

9554. Who did so last time?—John Fox.

9555. When was the general annual meeting?—The 7th of last March.

9556. And John Fox was in the chair as president?—Yes.

9557. Who was the secretary?—I was myself.

9558. Were you voted to the secretary's chair, or how came you to sit in the secretary's chair?—I was voted. There is a president and secretary for the night.

9559. Then it varies does it from year to year; was it voted on that occasion?—It was voted on the occasion.

9560. Then does the society meet for the purpose of making rules, such for instance as the rule about which you have just been asked?—Yes, they often change rules and make additional rules.

9561. In what way would this rule be made for which you say you do not understand in the least the reason, namely, that your men shall not work for men who are machine-made bricks?—I have never heard that discussed.

9562. But it is a rule of the whole society which is observed by all the nine lodges, is it not?—Yes.

9563. If there is a rule of that kind which has to be observed by all the lodges, how is it passed by the general meeting?—I do not think it has been passed by the general meeting at the time they struck working at machine made bricks. I do not think that there has been a general meeting since that time.

9564. How can you account for it; how long have you been a member?—Five years.

9565. Then you have had plenty of time to ascertain that, I should think: how do you account for such a rule existing when you say it does not make the slightest difference to the operative labourer whether he carries up so many bricks of one description or so many bricks of another description?—All the difference is what I have told you that the machine-made bricks are a little heavier than the hand-made bricks.

9566. You might get rid of that difference by taking one or two out. Do you expect to be believed when you talk such nonsense as that?—There may be a reason, but I do not know it. I do not know everything.

EIGHTH DAY.

M. McLaughlin.

13 Sept. 1867.

9567. Do you expect that any one can believe you when you have been secretary, and a member of the society for five years, and you tell us that you do not know the reason of an apparently useless rule?—I do not know the exact reason.

9568. Have you any notion—never mind whether it be exact or not—if you imagine that a single word which you have said is to be believed; you must say, because you must know?—I do not know any more than that the bricklayers would not use their bricks, and the men were taken away from Fox and Burton's, and then our men would not work with brickmakers who did not belong to the society.

9569. The bricklayers would not use the bricks, and because they would not use the bricks your men would not carry them?—Yes.

9570. But why is it the interest of the bricklayers not to use those bricks?—That I cannot tell.

9571. Do you think that it is the interest of the men who make the bricks by hand to have any sort of understanding between you and them?—I do not know how it can be.

9572. How can you account for a thing which is apparently against your own interest, that your men should have to leave the work for which they are getting their regular wage, when it is absolutely a matter of indifference to them, as you put it, whether they do so or not?—All the reason I ever knew why they would not carry machine-made bricks was because the bricklayers would not use them.

9573. That is no reason at all?—That is all I have heard.

9574. Do you mean to swear that you have no notion why your men should cease to work with a machine brickmaker?—I do.

9575. None whatever?—None whatever.

9576. Is there any minute book of the annual general meeting?—No.

9577. You have a minute book of your lodge, I suppose?—Of course.

9578. Does that contain the resolutions which you pass?—No, there is nothing of the sort.

9579. What does that book contain?—What book?

9580. The minute book of your lodge.—We have what we call a ledger and check-book to take down the expenditure and income of the lodge.

9581. So you told me before. In addition to that have you a minute book to take down resolutions?—No, they must be put down in the rule books.

9582. But is there no record of your meetings once a month?—We do not meet once a month, or once a week, or anything of the sort, for adopting rules or anything of the sort.

9583. But if you meet at all on the lodge night is there no entry of your proceedings in the book?—It is just written down on a piece of paper and it is written down at the quarterly meetings, and then the members are satisfied with what has been done, and it is generally thrown on one side.

9584. There is no book of that sort, you say?—No, there is no book to that effect.

9585. (*Mr. Chance.*) When members are behindhand with their contributions is no notice taken of that at the meetings?—No, not at the meetings. There is nothing at all of the sort discussed at the meetings.

9586. Not when a member is behind, and does not pay his arrears?—On Saturday night.

9587. Do you not keep any minute book for the meeting on Saturday night?—Yes, of course if a member is in debt his debt is in the book.

9588. Do you not pass any resolution as to what is to be done when a member is in arrears?—When a member is in arrears, he must be over 1*l.* and then he is excluded from the society.

9589. Do you not take any action upon that if he is in arrears over 1*l.*?—We acquaint the delegate if a member is in arrears to a certain extent, and when he meets him he tells him about it, and then he tells him to come up on the Saturday night.

9590. Who tells the delegate?—I send word for our lodge.

9591. But is not this conduct brought before the meeting?—No.

9592. If he refuses to pay or does not pay his arrears what is done?—Well, I do not know of any members who have been in that manner unless members that have owed over 1*l.*, and then they are excluded from the society if they owe more than their entrance money.

9593. Have you ever had members refuse to pay arrears of over 1*l.*?—Yes.

9594. What is done with them?—They are excluded from the society.

9595. Is there no resolution passed to that effect?—Yes, of course.

9596. Is there no entry of that resolution?—No, there is no book. There is no entry about it, that member is excluded without he pays his money.

9597. Is it not put down anywhere?—Not that I know of. It may be written down on a piece of paper, but there is no book to that effect.

9598. But is it written down?—I never wrote down one of that kind, and therefore cannot say.

9599. Did you ever see any other secretary write it down?—I cannot see any other secretary, I have nothing to do with any other secretary's business you know.

9600. Is there not a resolution passed with regard to such conduct?—The resolution which is passed with regard to his conduct, is, that our men do not work with him.

9601. Is that written down?—No, it is not written down.

9602. Do you not keep a record of those resolutions which are passed?—No, notice is given to the members of the town that this man is not to work. It is not a lodge question, the committee may have such questions, but if there is a man of this sort he is not brought before the lodge. There is a committee formed to which I do not belong.

9603. Is not this man's conduct brought before the committee?—No, there is a committee formed, one man from each lodge, and the man is brought before that committee. His conduct is not brought before the lodge any more than the secretary has to acquaint the delegate, and if he does not pay he is brought before the committee.

9604. The committee of the union?—Yes.

9605. Then the lodge has no power upon that to dismiss a member for non-payment of arrears?—No, not before he owes over 1*l.*

9606. And in that case it is brought before this committee of the whole union?—Yes.

9607. (*Chairman.*) You say that there is a committee formed of members from each lodge?—Well, there are not nine every week, the out of town lodges come in once a month.

9608. How many does the committee consist?—It consists of about six and sometimes seven.

9609. But each lodge has the right to send a member to the committee?—There are five lodges that have a right to send a member to the committee every week.

9610. What do the other four do?—Some of those lodges are four or five miles away, or three miles, and they come only once a month.

9611. But the other five come every week?—Yes.

9612. They of course have books of their resolutions?—They may have.

9613. Whose duty would it be to keep that book?—The secretary's.

9614. Who is the secretary?—Francis Quin.

9615. He is the secretary of the committee?—Yes.

9616. And he has a book of that description?—I suppose so.

9617. How many books has your lodge got?—Two.

9618. Are those the only books that you keep?—That is all; one is the ledger and the other is the check-book, a check against the ledger.

9619. Whose duty is it to keep those?—It is my duty to keep one, and the check clerk John Fox keeps the other.

9620. Which do you keep?—The ledger.

9621. Then John Fox keeps the check-book?—Yes.

9622. Quin has the books of the committee, you say?—Yes, if there is a book of the committee he would have it.

9623. Whereabout does he live?—I cannot tell that, he lives somewhere about Bank Top, but I do not know exactly where.

9624. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Have you any control over the general books of the society?—No.

9625. You have only one book in your possession?—That is all.

9626. That is the cash-book?—Yes.

9627. (*Chairman.*) You say that you have no objection to our seeing that book, we can see it at any time?—Yes, at any time, there is not the slightest objection.

9628. Is Fox here?—No, he is not here; he is at his work, I expect.

9629. Will Fox let you have the book, or will he come himself and bring it, if you mention it to him?—He would either come or let me have it.

9630. It is no use his coming if you could bring the two books?—I could bring the two.

9631. We could easily obtain it, by serving a summons, but if you will bring the book we can see what is in it?—I can bring the two books.

The witness withdrew.

Thomas Deffley sworn and examined.

9632. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Are you a member of the Brickmakers' Labourers' Accident and Burial Society?—Yes.

9633. How long have you been a member?—12 months.

9634. Do you remember being with Murray in Agnes Street?—Yes.

9635. That was on the Saturday night, I think?—Yes.

9636. Who is Murray?—He is a labourer.

9637. But is he a member of your society?—Yes.

9638. Does he bear any office in your society?—Yes, at present he does.

9639. What office does he bear?—He is a committee man.

9640. He is president of the committee, is he not?—No.

9641. Was there any one else with you?—No, not that I know of; I was drunk.

9642. If you were drunk, how do you know that Murray was with you?—Because we were together before we got drunk.

9643. Then do you know or do you not know that Murray was with you?—Murray was with me.

9644. Was anybody else with you?—There was a crowd in the street; I do not know who knew me or who did not know me; I know I and he were together.

9645. Do you live in Agnes Street?—Yes.

9646. What were you doing in the street that night?—I was going to go home after coming out of the beerhouse; I lived next door.

9647. Why did you not go home?—Because I met James Dalton who was drunk in the street, and I was drunk, and we set quarrelling and falling out.

9648. How do you know that he was drunk?—Because he was shouting and quarrelling in the street, shouting for any one to come out in the street.

9649. You said just now you were so drunk that you did not know how many people were with you, and now you tell us that Dalton was drunk; how do you know that?—I can tell when a man is drunk when he comes quarrelling though the street; I could tell that there was a crowd in the street, but I could not tell who knew me or who did not know me.

9650. Was anybody else with you besides Murray?—No, nobody that had any connexion with me besides Murray.

9651. Where did you meet James Dalton?—I met him in the middle of the street just by, just at my own door.

9652. Will you swear that James Dalton was in the middle of the street?—I cannot swear exactly to the centre of the street, but he might be 12 yards from the corner of Newcastle Street.

9653. Did you go to James Dalton's house?—I went to his house afterwards.

9654. With whom was he quarrelling?—He was shouting for any one to come out and fight with him.

9655. Did any one come out to fight with him?—I went out and I was going home, and seeing them fighting and I being drunk, I set a fighting with him.

9656. What did you do to him?—I did nothing to him; he got away before I could hit him.

9657. Where did he get to?—He got into his own house.

9658. Did you follow him there?—I did not follow him there and then, but I followed him after.

9659. What did you do at his own house?—I asked him to come out; I wanted him out to fight him.

9660. Did you call in a loud voice?—I went to his own door and I asked him if he was in to come out, and I asked him to come out and fight in the street.

9661. Did you knock at the door?—The door was open.

9662. Was it open the whole time?—All the time that I was there.

9663. Who came to the door?—I cannot exactly say who came to the door; I do not know whether it was his wife or daughter; I could not say which.

9664. Did Dalton come to the door?—No, he did not.

9665. But either his wife or daughter came?—Either one or the other; I do not know which it was.

9666. Why do you say that you do not know which it was?—Because I cannot exactly say, I cannot think of which came.

9667. What did you do to either his wife or daughter?—I did nothing to either of them then; I walked away.

9668. What did you do then; did you go away?—I walked away.

9669. Where was Murray all this time?—He was in a beerhouse drinking.

9670. Then Murray was not with you then?—Not at that time.

9671. When did Murray leave you?—He left me half an hour before I went to his door as near as I can guess.

9672. Then did you go back to Dalton's door?—No, I did not go back any more.

9673. Then is that all that took place at Dalton's that night, as far as you know?—Before that his youngest daughter hit me with a brick on the left side, and I hit her a slap on the jaw, that was all.

9674. When was that?—That was at the time when we were quarrelling in the street.

9675. You say that the daughter hit you with a brick?—Yes, she hit me on the left side with a brick while we were in the street.

9676. Did you strike her?—I struck her with the left hand a slap on the jaw with my open hand.

9677. You know that was the daughter, do you?—I am sure it was the daughter.

9678. Were you at Dalton's door more than once that night?—Only once.

9679. How long did you stay?—I might be three minutes at the door. I only asked whether he was in, and then I walked away when he was not in. I might say a few more words and then I went away.

9680. Were you quiet or what were you doing in the street?—I live in the street, and I was drunk, and I was going home.

9681. But were you going home quietly, or were you making a noise?—I was going home quietly.

9682. Where did you go that night when you went

EIGHTH DAY.

T. Deffley.

13 Sept. 1867.

away?—I went into my house and had something to eat and then I went out drinking again.

9683. Where did you go when you went out?—I went into a beerhouse.

8684. What beerhouse is that?—It is called the "Harp and Shamrock."

9685. In what street is that?—Newcastle Street.

9686. Did you go anywhere else?—Well, I do not know I am sure whether I went anywhere else or not.

9687. Did you go to the lodge that night?—I do not know.

9688. Did you or did you not?—I do not know where I went that night.

9689. Do you mean to say you do not know whether you went to the lodge?—I do not know.

9690. Do you really mean to tell us you do not know whether you went to the lodge or not?—I do not know.

9691. Did you go to the house where the lodge was held?—I do not know.

9692. Were you summoned before the magistrates?—No, I was not summoned before the magistrates.

9693. Did you go before the magistrates?—Yes, I was brought before them.

9694. How were you taken into custody then?—I was taken out of bed.

9695. Where was that?—I was taken out of my bed at my own house where I lived.

9696. When was that?—Towards the night on Thursday night.

9697. This was on Saturday?—This was on Saturday when the row was, and this was on Thursday night, but it was a few weeks afterwards.

9698. With what were you charged before the magistrates?—They charged me for an assault for beating him.

9699. An assault upon whom?—Upon James Dalton.

9700. At what time did they lay the assault; on this Saturday night?—Yes.

9701. What was done with you?—I was bound to keep the peace for three calendar months in two 30*l.* bails.

9702. Was anything done to you for striking the girl?—No; that was all that was done to me altogether. He swore I broke his daughter's jaw-bone, but she was there giving evidence against me, and I only struck her with my open hand.

9703. How did he come to swear that?—I do not know. He came and swore a good many things.

9704. Were you charged with the assault on the daughter?—No, not her; she came as witness against me, that was all.

9705. Have you ever been charged before the magistrates with the assault upon the daughter?—No, not that I know of. I did not see the warrant, but I was only charged with assault and beating him.

9706. You were not punished for it at any rate; you know that?—Yes.

9707. When you were shouting in the street what did you shout?—I was not shouting.

9708. You did not shout at all?—No.

9709. Did you call Dalton any names?—I called him a "knobstick."

9710. Anything else?—Nothing that I am aware of.

9711. Did you threaten to take his life?—No.

9712. Was a man named Riley there with you?—No, he was not.

9713. Do you know John Riley?—Yes, I know him well.

9714. Will you swear he was not in the street with you?—He was not with me; I never remember seeing him there that night.

9715. Do you remember seeing Michael McLaughlin there that night?—He came to a different street to fetch me and Murray home; that was two streets off where Dalton lived; that was two streets away when I saw him.

9716. What street was that?—That was Poplar Street. That is where I saw McLaughlin.

9717. Do you swear that McLaughlin did not come to you in Agnes Street?—I will not swear to it, but I know I did not see him till I came to Poplar Street.

9718. Was Riley with you in Poplar Street?—No.

9719. Was Riley with you at all that night?—I never saw him at all that night; I never was with him at all.

9720. Did you kick at James Dalton's door?—No, the door was open when I went; I did not kick at it.

9721. Did you know that Dalton had had a warrant out against a man named Thomas Riley?—Thomas Riley was in prison at the time; he was convicted.

9722. What was he in prison for?—It is more than I can tell you. He was in prison for something to do with James Dalton.

9723. Did you know that at the time you were in the street?—Yes.

9724. Was Thomas Riley a member of your society?—Yes.

9725. What time in the afternoon was it when you first saw Dalton in the street?—Well, I do not know I am sure. I very seldom look at clocks when I am drinking.

9726. (*Mr. Chance.*) You must remember the time when you were there?—No, I very seldom look at any clocks when I am drinking. I do not know what time it was.

9727. What time do you leave off work generally?—It was half-past 12 when I came home.

9728. Was it soon after you left off working that you were there?—I do not know what time it was. I never took notice of the time. I was drunk at the time.

9729. But you can tell me how long after it was?—I cannot tell you what time it was.

9730. When did you begin drinking?—As soon as ever I got my wages.

9731. When did you get your wages?—When I gave over work.

9732. When did you give over work?—When I had finished.

9733. Did you get your wages before you had done work?—No, we never get our wages before we finish work.

9734. Did you get your wages as soon as you had finished work?—Perhaps half an hour or a quarter of an hour afterwards.

9735. Where did you go when you had got your wages?—The first beerhouse I met I popped into.

9736. Will you swear that John Riley was not with you that day?—Yes, I will swear I never saw a sight of John Riley that I know of that night, and I am sure he was not with me.

9737. How long were you in the street?—I cannot tell how long I was in the street. I live in the street. I was all night in the street. I was in bed all the night, so I must have been in the street.

9738. Do you remember some policeman coming to call at his house?—No.

9739. Did you knock at Dalton's door any time that night?—No, I did not knock at Dalton's door that night.

9740. Did you go to his door?—I went to his house and the door was open.

9741. Did you go with Murray to the meeting?—Which meeting?

9742. The meeting at the club that night?—We never have any meeting of our club on Saturday night.

9743. Was there no meeting of the club that night? There are people for taking the contributions every Saturday night, but there is no meeting only of the officers of the society; but Murray is not an officer who takes contributions.

9744. Then Murray would not go to the meeting?—I do not think he would; he was too drunk I think.

9745. Did he go to the meeting?—I do not know I am sure.

The witness withdrew.

JOHN MURRAY sworn and examined.

9746. (*Mr. Chance.*) Are you a member of the Bricklayers' Labourers' Burial and Accident Society, at Hulme?—Yes.

9747. How long have you been a member?—Five years and three months.

9748. Have you ever held any office in the society?—Yes, I have held office.

9749. What have you been?—I have been a committee man.

9750. How many are there in your union?—Five.

9751. Have you ever been secretary or treasurer?—No.

9752. Do you remember an assault being made upon James Dalton?—No, I do not remember an assault being made upon him.

9753. Do you remember being in Agnes Street one Saturday afternoon?—Yes.

9754. Was a man named John Riley with you there?—No.

9755. Are you sure of that?—Yes, I am sure of that.

9756. Who was with you?—One named Deffley.

9757. And who else?—I do not remember anybody else.

9758. Was McLaughlin with you?—No.

9759. What were you doing in Agnes Street?—I was drunk, I do not know what I was doing.

9760. What time were you there?—I do not know the time of the day.

9761. How long were you there?—I cannot say.

9762. When did you leave work that day?—At 12 o'clock.

9763. Where did you go after leaving work?—I went and had a glass of ale or two.

9764. Where?—Well, I have been to so many places, I could not tell properly.

9765. Is it your usual course on Saturday to go and get drunk?—Not always.

9766. Often?—Not often, neither.

9767. But it so happened on that particular day?—It so happened on that day.

9768. You say Deffley was with you?—Yes, I believe he was.

9769. Do you remember abusing James Dalton?—No, I never lifted my hand to him.

9770. Did you shout at him?—I might have shouted.

9771. Did you call him "knobstick"?—I do not remember.

9772. Oh yes you do?—No, I do not.

9773. Have you not often called him "knobstick"?—Never to my knowledge.

9774. Did you not hear him called "knobstick"?—No.

9775. Was he called "knobstick"?—He might have been, but I did not hear it. I do not recollect it.

9776. Did you not hear it while you were with him?—No, I do not recollect hearing it.

9777. Did you see him that day?—I do not remember seeing him that day.

9778. Was he in Agnes Street that day?—He might have been for all I know.

9779. You do not know that he was?—I do not know that he was.

9780. And you mean to tell me upon your oath that you were too drunk to know whether James Dalton was in Agnes Street that day?—I might have been; I dare say I was.

9781. But were you?—I believe I was.

9782. Did you not tell me just now that Deffley was with you there?—Yes, I think I was there.

9783. Be careful, it is rather dangerous if you do not answer these questions truly?—I am answering as true as I can.

9784. You are not. Did you not go to James Dalton's door?—Not that I am aware of; I was so drunk at the time that I could not tell properly what I was doing.

9785. When did you get sober again?—Next morning.

9786. Were you drinking all night?—Yes, the greatest part of the night.

9787. How many beerhouses did you go to that night?—I could not say; I went to a good many.

9788. Was there any quarrel between Deffley and Dalton?—There might have been, but I did not know anything about it.

9789. Did you go to the meeting of your lodge that night?—No.

9790. You were drinking all the night?—All the night.

9791. You knew this McLaughlin?—Yes.

9792. Did you see anything of him that afternoon?—I never saw him at all that afternoon.

9793. Nor all the evening?—Nor all the evening that I am aware of.

9794. He did not come to you?—He might have come, but I did not know that he did come. He was telling me next morning that he had come and taken me away, but that was all.

9795. Where did he take you to?—I cannot say, I believe he took me home.

9796. Could you walk?—Yes, I could walk.

9797. Did he not take you to the meeting?—No.

9798. That you will swear?—Yes, positively.

9799. You can remember that?—Yes, I believe according to what he told me next morning he took me home.

9800. What time did he take you home?—I cannot say what time it was.

9801. What time did he say he took you home?—I cannot say.

9802. Then if he said he took you to the meeting he is telling an untruth?—I cannot say whether I was there or not, but I believe I was not.

9803. Are you a member of the committee of the union?—Yes.

9804. Are you president?—No.

9805. I am not speaking now of the lodge, I am speaking of the union of which the lodge forms a part?—I have been.

9806. You have been president?—Yes, I have been.

9807. Are you president now?—Yes.

9808. How long have you been president?—Twelve months.

9809. Who is secretary now?—There is one named Quin.

9810. Of how many does the committee consist?—Five.

9811. What are their names?—I cannot exactly say what all their names are; they are altered every three months.

9812. Who are the committee at the present time?—There is Quin, Riley——

9813. What Riley is that?—One named John Riley, Rafferty, and Fitzpatrick.

9814. Then you form the executive committee of the lodges, I understand?—Yes.

9815. What are the subjects that come before your committee?—To see the way of working of each lodge.

9816. What do you mean by the "way of working"?—The way how they transact business at each lodge.

9817. What do you mean by transacting business; what kind of business?—Business belonging to the society.

9818. Of course it is business belonging to the society, but what sort of business is it?—I cannot tell you anything else.

9819. But you are a president of the committee?—Yes.

9820. Tell me the character and the nature of the business you have to contract?—There are so many businesses that I cannot tell you them all.

EIGHTH DAY.

J. Murray.

13 Sept. 1867.

9821. Well, tell me one?—We have to pay our expenses, and so on.

9822. The expenses of what meetings?—Different meetings.

9823. What meetings do you pay the expenses of; the meetings of the committees and the meetings of the lodges?—The meetings of the lodges.

9824. The expenses of the meetings of the lodges?—Yes.

9825. What are those expenses?—I cannot just tell all the expenses.

9826. Tell me some of them; what is the nature of the expenses?—We have a delegate to pay, and we have a corresponding secretary.

9827. You have a delegate to pay?—Yes.

9828. Which delegate do you pay?—We pay the delegate from Manchester.

9829. Who is that?—A man named Nolan.

9830. What do you pay him?—1*l.* 4*s.* a week.

9831. Do you appoint him as delegate?—Yes.

9832. Is not the delegate appointed by the lodge?—He is appointed by the general meetings.

9833. And he acts for all the lodges?—Yes.

9834. Is there a certain district for which he is to act?—He acts for the whole town of Manchester at large.

9835. How long has Nolan been delegate?—Ever since I have belonged to the society; I do not know how long before.

9836. You pay him 1*l.* 4*s.* a week as delegate?—Yes.

9837. What other expenses do you pay?—I do not know of any more.

9838. You said just now that you paid the expenses of the meeting?—Yes.

9839. What meetings are those; I do not understand what expenses occur at the meeting?—Any expenses that came in we have to pay.

9840. Do not the lodges pay for their own meetings?—They generally send it to the central place and pay it all.

9841. Do not the lodges pay for their own meetings?—Yes, the lodges pay for their own meetings.

9842. You do not pay for them?—It is generally paid for by the lodges.

9843. They pay their own expenses at their meetings?—Yes.

9844. Do they come to you to pay the expenses of the lodge's meetings?—I do not pay it.

9845. Or the committee?—Nor the committee; they get the money to pay there, and they pay it then.

9846. You do not pay the expenses of their meetings?—No.

9847. You said you did just now; you have only told me of one expense; you pay at present one delegate; now how many other expenses do you pay?—I do not know of any more.

9848. Is that the only payment you make?—Yes.

9849. Is the making of the rules one of the duties of your committee?—Yes.

9850. Have you a printed copy of your rules?—Not on me; there are printed copies of the rules.

9851. Are all your rules contained in print?—Yes.

9852. Have you any other rules than those contained in print?—Not that I am aware of.

9853. Think.—No.

9854. All the rules you have are contained in print?—Yes, they are.

9855. Have you a rule in your society against using machine-made bricks?—Yes, there is some talk about it.

9856. Is it a rule that your members will not work for a builder who uses machine-made bricks?—Yes, I believe they will not work for him.

9857. Is that a rule of your society?—No, it is not a rule of our society.

9858. I understand you to say that your members will not work for any builder who uses machine-made bricks?—No.

9859. Supposing they do work, what is done?—Nothing that I know of.

9860. Do you not draw off the men?—Yes, I believe they are called off.

9861. Is that the rule?—I do not know that it is.

9862. I am not speaking of it being in print, but is it the rule, though not in print?—It may be the rule, though not in print.

9863. Do you allow your men to work for any master who uses machine-made bricks?—No.

9864. That is the rule in practice, at all events?—Yes.

9865. What do you do, supposing a man does work for a master using machine-made bricks?—Draw him off.

9866. Supposing a non-union man is working for such a builder, what do you do him?—We leave him as he is.

9867. That is all that you do?—That is all that I am aware of, or ever heard tell of.

9868. Have you not another rule, that no union man shall work with non-union men?—Yes.

9869. Is that among your printed rules?—I cannot say.

9870. Yes, you can.—No, I cannot.

9871. Have you got a copy of your rules here?—No.

9872. It is a rule, whether printed or not?—Yes, it is acted upon.

9873. What do you do then, do you draw off your men?—Yes.

9874. Do you try to make the non-union men join your society?—No.

9875. You do not do anything?—No.

9876. You do not ask them?—Not that I am aware of; I have never been on such a job as that.

9877. Do you leave them alone altogether?—For all I know about it.

9878. You do not use moral suasion?—It might be used, but I do not know anything about it.

9879. You never used it?—Never.

9880. How often do you hold meetings?—What meetings?

9881. Meetings of your committee?—Once a week.

9882. Do you keep books?—No.

9883. Do you keep no books at all?—Each man is supposed to have a book of his own, but they do not always have them.

9884. What is that book for?—To keep an account of anything that comes in.

9885. Does every man keep an account of what comes in and out?—Every man ought to do, but they cannot all read and write.

9886. Every man does not know what comes in and out generally?—They have to do it then by word of mouth.

9887. You have a secretary?—We have to report it at the lodge or send our secretary.

9888. Does not the secretary keep a book?—Every man is supposed to have one that goes there.

9889. Is every man supposed to have the same kind of book as the secretary?—Yes.

9890. What sort of book is the secretary's?—A small penny book.

9891. What does he enter in the book?—He enters things that pass.

9892. Things that pass at the meeting?—Yes.

9893. Whenever things are brought before your meetings they are generally speaking discussed?—Yes.

9894. And then a resolution is passed upon them?—Yes.

9895. I suppose the secretary enters the resolution in the book, does he not?—He should do so.

9896. He ought to do so in the course of his duty?—Yes.

9897. Has the secretary a book of that kind?—He might have.

9898. (*Chairman.*) You say that you are one of the committee men, and that there are five of you?—Yes.

9899. How often do you meet?—Once a week.

9900. Where do you meet?—At a central place in the town. We meet at Bank Top.

9901. Is there a public-house there?—Yes, a beer-house called the "Shamrock" tavern.

9902. You meet there once a week?—Yes.

9903. Do you discuss what each of your lodges has been about in the week ?—Yes.

9904. Have you any book in which you enter your resolutions ?—Yes, there is a book.

9905. Who keeps it ?—The secretary.

9906. Who is the secretary ?—Quin.

9907. He keeps those resolutions ?—Yes.

9908. Are all the resolutions you come to binding upon the nine lodges ?—Yes.

9909. Do those resolutions relate to labour and your protection and things of that sort ?—It relates to our society at large.

9910. And for the protection of your labour ?—Yes.

9911. And if any report has been made to you of any man working against your rules do you meet and observe upon it and then have a resolution about it ?—Yes.

9912. Do you when you meet report men who are working against your rules, written or unwritten, or practised ?—Some do.

9913. That is your duty ?—Yes.

9914. Would your book contain a resolution of that nature ?—No.

9915. That you keep out of your book ?—Yes.

9916. Why do not you put it down in your book ?—I do not know.

9917. You have no notion why they keep it out ?—No.

9918. What do you keep in the book ?—I do not put anything in the book.

9919. You do not ; but you told me that it was the duty of the secretary to do so ?—Yes.

9920. What does he put in ?—I cannot say.

9921. You have no notion at all ?—No.

9922. You are quite clear that a resolution of that sort will not appear in the book ?—I am not sure whether they will or not.

9923. You told me just now that they do not appear ?—I might have done.

9924. You told me just now that they do not ; how came you to say that they do not appear ?—*No answer.*

9925. Now do you know that any resolutions of that sort do not appear ?—I am not very sure.

9926. Do the delegates of the different lodges receive instructions from you ?—Yes, they do.

9927. Each lodge has a delegate ?—Yes.

9928. And they receive instructions from you ?—Yes, of their own making.

9929. I do not understand you, or you do not understand me. Do you give them directions ?—Yes.

9930. And it is their duty to see them carried out ?—Yes.

9931. And to report to you what they have done upon them ?—Yes.

9932. And to report to you that some men are working against your rules for the protection of your labour ?—Yes.

9933. Do you upon that give directions what ought to be done ?—Yes.

9934. What sort of directions do you give them, that men are to be looked after, and that sort of thing ?—Yes.

9935. The men you call knobsticks are to be looked after ?—I have nothing at all to do with them.

9936. Only your own men ?—Only our own men.

9937. You knew that Dalton was a knobstick ?—No.

9938. You never heard him called so ?—I have heard it mentioned.

9939. Do you know that he was working some years ago for Fox and Burton ?—Yes, I heard it mentioned.

9940. Did you hear it mentioned at your lodge or at a committee meeting ?—I heard it mentioned by parties in the street; I never heard it mentioned at the lodge in my life.

9941. Did you hear that your men struck and would not work any longer with him ?—Yes.

9942. Did you hear that in consequence of that he had left and gone off to the county of Durham ?—No.

9943. You knew that he had gone away ?—I did not know where he had gone.

9944. But you knew that he had gone ?—No, not till after he had come back again.

9945. Then you heard that he had been away ?—Yes, he told me himself.

9946. And the reason ?—No.

9947. You have no idea what the reason was ?—No, he belonged to our society up to the time he went away, and when he came back again he owed 30*s.* contributions.

9948. For the time he was away ?—No, before he went away, and when he came back again he wanted to know whether we could give him a clear card into Manchester, and I said, "No, he would not be admitted as a member into the society till he had paid his contribution."

9949. What does a clear card mean ?—If he had got a clear card from where he had been a member into Manchester he could be made a member of our society, but I told him that he could not be made a member of our society till he had paid his contribution.

9950. What is the meaning of a clear card ?—After he has been in another town then he gets a card to certify that he has been working in that town.

9951. If you find that a man has been working, say at Stockton, before he can come back into your union, he must have a clear card from that district so as to get him into your society ?—Yes, that he has paid up his old arrears.

9952. Is it an understanding which you have with other unions that before a man goes from Manchester to another district who has been a member of your union he must take a clear card from you, otherwise he will not be allowed to go into that district ?—Yes.

9953. And when he comes back from those districts he must bring a clear card for you ?—Yes.

9954. Is the meaning of the clear card that he has paid all his money ?—Yes.

9955. That is that he has never been a knobstick ?—I know nothing about that.

9956. Who has the authority to give him a clear card ?—The secretary of each lodge gives it.

9957. But in consequence of a resolution of the lodge, I suppose ?—I do not know anything about that.

9958. Has the secretary alone the power to give or to refuse a clear card ?—No, if a man is in benefit he is supposed to have a card ; he can force a card from the secretary.

9959. Who has the right to refuse him ?—Nobody has a right to refuse him.

9960. Who decides whether he ought to have it or not ?—There is no decision about it.

9961. How does the man go to work ; if he wants a clear card he goes to the secretary ?—He goes to the lodge.

9962. Does the secretary decide whether he is to have it or not ?—Yes, the man who writes his card for him is the secretary.

9963. If the man complies with all your rules he has a card, but suppose it is a question whether he has or not, who decides the question ?—The voice of the men of the lodge generally.

9964. In order to have the men of the lodge to decide it it must be brought before your meetings, and if it is a doubtful question they pass a resolution about it ?—Yes.

9965. Do they not keep a book about it ?—No, waste leaves.

9966. Is a question of that sort brought before the committee ?—No, it has always been decided by the lodges.

9967. Is this the only question that the committee have to decide, whether the rules or practice, call it which you will, have been properly acted upon by the different lodges ?—Yes.

9968. Have you anything to do with the financial matters of the society, I mean the money matters ?—No, nothing whatever.

9969. Who has the right to give away money for any work that is done ?—The treasurer.

EIGHTH DAY.

J. Murray.

13 Sept. 1867.

9970. And he acts upon the resolutions of the meetings?—Yes.

9971. You knew Dalton when he came back?—Yes, I knew him before he went, and when he came back.

9972. Did you know where he was working after he came back?—No.

9973. You knew that he was not a member of the union?—Yes.

9974. And consequently that your men ought not to work with such a man as that?—Yes.

9975. You have your wages paid as early as 12 o'clock?—Yes.

9976. How long was it after you got your wages that you got drunk; an hour or two? You told us that you got drunk?—Yes.

9977. How long did it take to make you drunk?—It might be two hours, it might be three.

9978. Do you remember whether it was more than three hours after you got your wages paid that you got into Agnes Street?—Yes, it must have been more than three hours.

9979. And although you were drunk you remember being in Agnes Street?—Yes, I think I remember it.

9980. A man may be drunk and remember a good deal, or he may be so drunk as to remember nothing, but you remember being in Agnes Street?—I barely remember being in the street.

9981. You do remember it, though?—Yes.

9982. You knew that Dalton lived in that street?—No, I did not know it.

9983. Do you remember meeting him?—No.

9984. Your friend Deffley was with you?—So they told me.

9985. Do you not remember with whom you left the public-house?—No.

9986. You remember being in Agnes Street?—Yes.

9987. Do I understand that your memory was sufficient, though you were drunk, to remember the name of the street you were in, and yet that you do not remember the man who was with you?—Yes.

9988. Your memory is good enough to remember the street and the name of it, but your memory is not good enough to remember the man who was with you?—I remember the man who worked along with me.

9989. I do not ask you that. After you got drunk you remembered the name of the street, Agnes Street, but your memory is not good enough to remember whether you were with any other person in the street at the time?—Yes.

9990. You swear that you remember the name of the street, and you cannot remember the name of the man you were with?—Yes.

9991. You expect us to believe then that you remember the name of the street and not the name of the man?—Yes.

9992. You swear that?—Yes.

9993. Whether Deffley was with you or not, you do not know?—I cannot say.

9994. And anything that took place in that street you swear that you do not recollect?—No, I do not recollect it.

9995. You say that you remember the name of the street?—I lived in that street 15 years; that is the reason, and I should have been very drunk if I did not know that I was in the street.

9996. And you were not so drunk but that you remember the name of the street?—I remembered it when I was told I was in the street the next morning.

9997. Were you told the next morning that you had been assaulting Dalton?—Yes.

9998. Was your memory sufficient the next morning to remember whether you had done so or not?—Yes, it was.

9999. Your memory being refreshed the next morning, did you remember that you had assaulted him?—No, I never assaulted him.

10,000. Were you present when anybody else did assault him; was your memory sufficient for that?—No, I did not remember it.

10,001. You did not remember it the next morning?—No.

10,002. Were you taken before the magistrates?—Yes.

10,003. Did the witnesses swear that you assaulted him?—Yes.

10,004. And what happened; were you bound over to keep the peace?—Yes.

10,005. Who else was bound over?—Thomas Deffley and Michael McLaughlin.

10,006. Who else?—Another man named Riley, a shoemaker.

10,007. John Riley?—Yes.

10,008. They swore that you had assaulted him?—Yes.

10,009. The magistrate bound you all four over to keep the peace?—No, I have no recollection of it at all; I recollect what the magistrate told me.

10,010. You have no recollection of having committed the assault?—No.

10,011. Do you remember a person of the name of Fyland?—Yes.

10,012. Did you ever hear of his assaulting Dalton?—Yes.

10,013. Did you ever hear of his calling him a knobstick and beating him?—I heard of him as assaulting him; anything else I do not know.

10,014. I do not ask you what you know, but did you hear of his calling him a knobstick?—No.

10,015. Did you hear of his throwing him into a lime-pit?—Yes.

10,016. Did you hear of Fyland being punished for it?—No.

10,017. Was Fyland taken up?—Not that I am aware of.

10,018. Did you hear of Thomas Riley having knocked him down?—Yes.

10,019. And having beaten him?—No.

10,020. Did you hear of Thomas Riley getting one month's imprisonment?—Yes.

10,021. Was this before you were in Agnes Street that night?—Yes.

10,022. You knew all about Dalton pretty well before this night?—Yes.

10,023. And then they said that you had joined in the assault upon him?—Yes.

10,024. You have never seen Fyland since?—Yes, I saw him once since.

10,025. Where?—In Medlock Street.

10,026. When?—Three weeks ago.

10,027. How long is this ago since you heard that Fyland made the assault?—I cannot hardly say, it might be about two months.

10,028. Since that time you have seen him once in Medlock Street?—Yes.

10,029. (*Mr. Chance.*) Is there a treasurer to the executive committee?—No.

10,030. You said just now that each lodge had a delegate?—Yes.

10,031. Is that so?—Yes.

10,032. You said just now that there was one delegate from all the lodges?—Each lodge has a representative.

10,033. Does the delegate belong to the lodge?—He belongs to the whole town.

10,034. Has each lodge a delegate as well?—They had a delegate to represent them once a week.

10,035. Do you mean to say that each lodge has a delegate, and that all of them have a delegate together?—Yes, Nolan is appointed by the body of the men yearly.

The witness withdrew.

Mrs. Bridget Dalton sworn and examined.

10,036. (*Chairman.*) Are you the wife of James Dalton?—Yes.

10,037. Where do you live now?—We are living in the same place.

10,038. In Agnes Street?—Yes.

10,039. You remember your husband working for Fox and Burton?—Yes.

10,040. That was in 1863 we are told, is that so?—I cannot exactly say.

10,041. It was some years ago, was it not?—Yes.

10,042. Do you remember whether in consequence of what happened to him he was obliged to go away from the place and go off to Stockton to get work?—Yes, he had to leave the town to get work.

10,043. What happened to him to drive him from the town?—It was in consequence of the club men and union men, because he was not in the society with them.

10,044. Did they ill-use him or beat him?—Yes, they beat him this last time.

10,045. Before he went away to Stockton did they threaten him?—I cannot say for that.

10,046. He went away to Stockton?—Yes.

10,047. Did you go with him?—No, not then.

10,048. How long was he away?—He was away about 12 months.

10,049. Did he come back last February?—Yes, he came back and took the family; we have been there and come back again.

10,050. Where did you go?—To Stockton.

10,051. How many children have you?—There are eight in family of us.

10,052. There are six children?—Yes.

10,053. And you went to Stockton with your children?—Yes.

10,054. How old is your eldest child?—Turned 15.

10,055. How old is the youngest?—The youngest is turned six months. She was born in the north of England.

10,056. At Stockton?—Yes.

10,057. He came back here in February?—Yes.

10,058. After he came back did he get to work again here?—Yes, he got to work here.

10,059. You remember that?—Yes.

10,060. After he had been working some time do you remember anything happening to him?—They stopped him at his work and would not let him work.

10,061. The union men would not let him work?—No.

10,062. Did they beat him?—One of them beat him.

10,063. Were those men of the names of Fyland and Timothy Riley?—Yes, Fyland met him at his work.

10,064. He was thrown into a lime-pit?—Yes.

10,065. And Timothy Riley also beat him?—He beat him in our own street.

10,066. Did you see him?—No, I did not see him.

10,067. Did not Riley get a month's imprisonment?—Yes.

10,068. Fyland, who had thrown him into a pit, made away?—Yes, he went away then.

10,069. And you have not seen him since?—I have seen him twice since, and he has run away.

10,070. When you have seen him he has run away?—Yes.

10,071. Do you remember the afternoon when there was a row and disturbance at the door of your house?—Yes.

10,072. Who was it came, John Murray?—Yes.

10,073. Then Thomas Deffley came?—Yes.

10,074. And Michael McLaughlin?—Yes.

10,075. And John Riley?—Yes.

10,076. You remember the men coming?—Yes.

10,077. Were you in the house?—Yes.

10,078. Did you see them all there?—Yes.

10,079. Were they all together?—Yes, and Fyland came also.

10,080. Did they come to your door?—Yes, he opened the door.

10,081. Was your husband inside?—Yes, one time we had to take and hide him.

10,082. The first time they came to your door were all those men together?—Yes.

10,083. Was it in the afternoon?—Yes.

10,084. Were you at home?—Yes.

10,085. And your children?—Yes, and my husband was inside the first time they came.

10,086. Was your door open or shut?—We had to bolt it.

10,087. Having bolted the door what did they do outside?—They swore outside that they would break the door in and come in and cut his liver out.

10,088. Did they call him any names?—Yes, they called him a "bloody little knobstick."

10,089. Had they any sticks in their hands?—No, they had no weapons in their hands.

10,090. You kept the door bolted?—Yes, we had to keep the door fast against them; they did not break it in.

10,091. They merely swore and called out what you have just said?—Yes.

10,092. Were you much alarmed?—Yes, we were frightened that the children would go into fits with them.

10,093. Were they very violent?—Yes, they were swearing and making such a noise.

10,094. How long did they stop there?—They were coming and going all the afternoon up to half-past 10 at night.

10,095. They began in the afternoon, and were coming and going up to half-past 10 or 11 at night?—Yes.

10,096. Did they come as early as between three and four in the afternoon at first?—Yes, that would be about the time.

10,097. They kept coming and going all that time?—Yes, until Murray was taken up.

10,098. Did your husband remain in the house all the time?—No, we had to send him away; the policemen had to take him away out of the place.

10,099. Did any policemen come?—Yes.

10,100. How many?—We sent to the station for them.

10,101. Whom did you send?—One of the neighbours went to the station.

10,102. Do you remember who the neighbour was?—They would not come down.

10,103. Who was the neighbour who went to the station?—Mrs. O'Neil did.

10,104. Did any policemen come?—Yes, two came.

10,105. And they having come did the men go away?—Yes.

10,106. How long did the two policemen stay there?—They were up and down watching about the place.

10,107. You tell me that these men came very often to your door?—Yes.

10,108. What became of your husband; did the two policemen get him away; what became of him afterwards?—He got away.

10,109. What time did he get away?—After the first time they came, I could not exactly say the time.

10,110. They came between three and four in the afternoon first?—Yes.

10,111. How long after was it that your husband got away?—They came to the door every 15 minutes.

10,112. He got away in the interval?—Yes.

10,113. Had he gone away before the two policemen came?—Yes, he got away.

10,114. Do you remember any one of your children being struck that night?—Yes.

10,115. Which was it?—Ann.

10,116. A little girl?—Yes.

10,117. How old is she?—Turned 11 years old.

10,118. Who struck her?—Thomas Deffley.

10,119. How was it; your door was shut. Did you open the door?—This girl was in a place.

EIGHTH DAY.

Mrs. B. Dalton.

13 Sept. 1867.

10,120. Working for somebody?—She was at service, and she was coming with an old lady, carrying a parcel for her.

10,121. Was she coming home?—No, she was carrying a parcel for this old lady, and going past the street and she saw such a crowd about the door, and came down and axed what was doing, and he did no more, but he threw out and let her have it.

10,122. She had a parcel in her hand, and had passed your door and saw the crowd?—She had not a parcel, she had left it then.

10,123. She was going back?—Yes.

10,124. She was going back, passing your door, and saw the crowd?—Yes.

10,125. What happened?—Those young men were down in our place looking for her father, and she asked them what they wanted down there.

10,126. She asked the men opposite the door whose names you have just mentioned?—Yes.

10,127. Murray, Deffley, McLaughlin, and John Riley?—Yes.

10,128. She asked what they wanted?—Yes.

10,129. What did they do?—Deffley did nothing but let her have a blow upon the jaw.

10,130. Had your daughter done anything to him first?—No, she could not; she is only a child.

10,131. She had not done anything?—No, she axed him what they were doing at her father's door.

10,132. And he hit her in the face with his hand?—Yes.

10,133. Was it the open hand or fist?—He gave her the fist.

10,134. Where did he hit her?—On the cheek and knocked her down, and she tumbled down on the steps where he hit her.

10,135. Are you quite sure that she had not thrown anything at him or done anything to him?—Yes.

10,136. Did she afterwards get up and go away?—I ran away; I was frightened.

10,137. You were inside the house?—No, I was outside in the street.

10,138. What made you open your door and go out?—I opened the door to go out. I was frightened of stopping in the place, and I went down to see if I could see any policeman.

10,139. Your other children were at home?—They were inside the place.

10,140. You opened your door to go out to see whether you could see any policeman to help you?—Yes.

10,141. It was then that you saw this happen?—Yes.

10,142. Had your husband been obliged to leave his work?—They would not let him work.

10,143. And he had been out of work until last week?—Yes.

10,144. Last week he got some work some distance off?—Yes.

10,145. Two and a half miles off?—Yes, I cannot tell how far it is.

10,146. He has to go backwards and forwards to do his work?—Yes.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. G. Bradbury.

Mr. George Bradbury sworn and examined.

10,147. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Are you a master brickmaker?—Yes.

10,148. Where do you carry on your business?—At Cheetham.

10,149. Do you recollect, on the 4th of June 1864, having a large quantity of bricks destroyed?—Yes.

10,150. Were you in any dispute with the union at the time?—No, not with the union.

10,151. I believe you were a member yourself?—Yes.

10,152. And employed union men?—Yes.

10,153. Can you imagine why this damage was done to your property?—No.

10,154. You do not know?—No.

10,155. You had no idea at the time?—All the idea which I can give you was, I had at the beginning of the season to pay under a protest an amount of money for some clay that had been valued and paid for before.

10,156. To whom had you to pay it?—To the men that had worked the year before; they had cast the clay, and I had to pay the valuation.

10,157. Who adjudged you to pay this?—I had to pay it to Messrs. Young; it was Alcock and Young. I had let the field the year before.

10,158. You had to pay Messrs. Young for some clay which had been worked the year before?—Yes, which had been cast.

10,159. Who adjudged you to pay Messrs. Young for the clay?—He had to pay it to the men.

10,160. Who adjudged you to pay it?—The operatives, the brickmakers.

10,161. The brickmakers' society had adjudged you to pay Messrs. Young for some clay worked the year before?—Yes.

10,162. Did you go before the society in reference to this?—No.

10,163. How came they to adjudge you to pay this sum to Messrs. Young?—The men who set the job or stool said that they would not stand to it for that valuation; they would not take the clay, seeing there was not that quantity of clay in it, and they spoke of it at the meeting, where I paid it under protest, and the society said if I had overpaid they would see me paid back, and if I had not paid sufficient I must pay it.

10,164. I am sure I do not understand you; you let this field to Messrs. Young?—Yes.

10,165. Then there was some clay worked?—Some clay was left cast which they did not make into bricks.

10,166. But then you had paid for that work?—No, I let it to them as tenants; I did not take them as workmen. I let the field for one year; they cast more clay than they made into bricks; at the end of the season there was a quantity of clay left, which had to be valued according to the custom of the operative society and masters, and it had to be measured or valued and paid for according to the quantity then left.

10,167. Ought not Messrs. Young to have paid for it?—Messrs. Young had paid for it; I had to refund it to Messrs. Young.

10,168. You took possession of the field again?—Yes, they gave up business.

10,169. And there being a dispute between you and Messrs. Young about the price, and that dispute being referred to the brickmakers' society, they adjudged you to pay a sum of money to Messrs. Young?—My men and Messrs. Young's men.

10,170. And you paid it under protest?—Yes.

10,171. How many bricks had you destroyed?—From 20,000 to 30,000.

10,172. What did you do when you found the bricks destroyed?—I stopped the work.

10,173. Had you any communication with the union upon that subject?—They called a meeting and I got word that I should be paid for them.

10,174. And were you paid anything for them?—Yes.

10,175. How much were you paid?—8*l.* 2*s.* what I had paid them.

10,176. What you had paid to Messrs. Young?—No.

10,177. The wages?—Yes, the wages that I had paid for the bricks being made.

10,178. But the value of the bricks must have been more than that?—Yes, I did not recover my loss.

10,179. What was the value of the bricks?—I cannot exactly say that.

10,180. How much do you think?—My loss would be about 20*l.*

10,181. And you were compensated by the payment of 8*l.* 2*s.*?—Yes.

10,182. How came it that that dispute between you and Messrs. Young was settled by your respective workmen?—It was not settled by my men; I refused to pay for that amount, because my men would not take to it at that valuation.

10,183. You use the phrase, "take to it at that valuation," what do you mean by "taking to it?"—There is a quantity of clay cast, it is supposed to make so many thousand bricks; at the back end of the season if it is left and not made into bricks, the workmen have to be paid according to valuation; this was the case with Messrs. Alcock and Young.

10,184. The clay was got for the purposes of making bricks, but was not actually made into bricks?—Yes.

10,185. And the workmen are not paid, except for the clay actually made into bricks?—They are paid for the clay according to their own valuation. They valued the clay and Messrs. Young paid for it; when I had put men to that work they would not take to it according, as Messrs. Young had paid, and I had to have more clay cast upon that; I could not get on with my work unless I did, and they called a meeting and they said it should be left by itself, and if it made more bricks than I paid for, I should make it up, and if less I should be paid.

10,186. It was only a matter of agreement between you and your men?—We were bound to it.

10,187. You let this clay on the supposition that it would make so many thousand bricks?—Yes.

10,188. Then the question of money apparently was between you and your men?—Yes, it was only between the men and me. If they had taken to it it would have made no difference to me whatever. It was valued at something like 300,000, and if they took to it at that it would make no difference to me. I paid Messrs. Young instead of paying them that money.

10,189. You paid Messrs. Young instead of paying the men?—Yes.

10,190. Had they already done the work?—Messrs. Young's men had done the work, and he had paid for it.

10,191. And your men disputed the valuation of the measurement of the clay?—Yes.

10,192. They said that there was more clay than had been paid for by Messrs. Young?—No.

10,193. They said there was less clay then?—Yes.

10,194. You are very familiar with this matter and I am not, and I ask for information. How did it affect your men that there was less clay?—If I had not had it settled I could not have carried on my business.

10,195. How does it affect the men? I should have thought they would have objected to make up a larger quantity of clay, but how was it adverse to them if there was less clay?—If instead of being 300,000 and odd, it had only made 200,000, they would have 100,000 odd to the loss.

10,196. Then they were paid according to the quantity?—Yes, they were paid according to the quantity that it makes.

10,197. If it had made 200,000 instead of 300,000 they would only have been entitled to be paid for 200,000 bricks?—Yes.

10,198. How came it that you had to pay money to Messrs. Young?—They had paid for it. I could take possession of the field, but I could not commence any work until I had paid what they had paid.

10,199. Then Messrs. Young had paid as if it was the larger quantity? — Yes, they had paid for 300,000 odd.

10,200. And you had to pay for 300,000?—I had to pay for what they had.

10,201. Whereas in fact there were only 200,000, and you ought not to have paid for more than 200,000?—Yes.

10,202. So that in fact you paid Messrs. Young more than you ought to have paid?—Yes.

10,203. Who paid you this 8*l.* 2*s.*?—The society.

10,204. By whose hands were you paid?—Robert Barker's.

10,205. Who is Robert Barker?—An operative.

10,206. Has he any office in the society?—I do not know.

10,207. Was he treasurer or secretary?—He was secretary either then or soon after.

10,208. That was in compensation for these bricks that were destroyed?—Yes.

10,209. Did you ever find out who destroyed the bricks?—No.

10,210. What was the consideration for Robert Barker paying you the 8*l.* 2*s.*?—The society had decided I should be paid.

10,211. What was the consideration on your part for which Robert Barker paid you 8*l.* 2*s.*?—I cannot say.

10,212. Did you make any agreement with him?—No.

10,213. Nothing passed between you?—No.

10,214. You shut up your brickyard?—Yes.

10,215. Did you make any agreement to go to work?—They called a meeting.

10,216. Did you make any agreement with Robert Barker to go to work again if you were paid 8*l.* 2*s.*?—No.

10,217. Nothing was said?—No, I simply said I could not carry on my business losing 20*l.* or 30*l.* a night.

10,218. To whom did you say that?—To the society.

10,219. At the meeting?—Yes.

10,220. After that conversation you were paid the 8*l.* 2*s.*?—Yes.

10,221. And you then opened your croft again?—Yes.

10,222. Can you tell us why your bricks were destroyed?—No.

10,223. From your evidence I cannot see the simplest reason for destroying them?—I do not know.

10,224. You had actually paid Messrs. Young the money, rightly or wrongly?—Yes.

10,225. And you were not employing non-union men?—No.

10,226. Had you any idea who destroyed them at all?—Not the least.

10,227. Did you give any information to the police?—Yes.

10,228. How had they been destroyed? — By trampling on them.

10,229. How many men had been trampling on them?—I could only find the prints of two men's boots.

10,230. They must have been a long while at work?—I do not know about that.

10,231. Did you track the men at all?—No.

10,232. (*Chairman.*) You say the union paid you 8*l.* 2*s.*?—Yes.

10,233. Which union?—The brickmakers'.

10,234. Of Manchester?—Yes.

10,235. Did you ask for it?—No.

10,236. How did it come to you, did it come from the clouds? Who paid you?—Robert Barker.

10,237. How came he to pay you?—I suppose from an order from the society.

10,238. Had you made no claim upon the society?—No.

10,239. How did they know of it?—As I have already told you they called a meeting.

10,240. Tell me again; how came the secretary of the Manchester union to pay you that money?—By an order from the society.

10,241. How came there to be an order from the society?—I cannot tell that.

10,242. Do you mean to tell me that you have no notion?—No.

10,243. Do you know and will you not say?—No.

10,244. You do not know?—I should be glad to know.

10,245. Did you make any application to them for it?—No.

EIGHTH DAY.

Mr. J. Bradbury.

3 Sept. 1867.

10,246. You have not the slightest notion of the reason why they paid it?—No.

10,247. Are you in the habit of taking money from people and not knowing why you have it?—They did it as compensation for some of the damage.

10,248. Why should they compensate you?—I do not know.

10,249. Are you in the habit of receiving compensation not having the slightest notion why you receive it?—I never received it except upon this occasion.

10,250. You have not the slightest notion why you received it?—No.

10,251. Nor any notion as to who did the damage?—No.

10,252. None at all?—No.

10,253. You had no compensation with anyone upon the subject?—No.

10,254. The damage was done, you made no application, and some morning or other Robert Barker came to you and offered you 8*l.* 2*s.*; is that all you know about it?—No.

10,255. Tell me all you do know?—I have already told you. I had a quantity of bricks destroyed, and I stopped my brickmaking work; they called a meeting and agreed to pay me what it had cost me.

10,256. After that you began again?—Yes.

10,257. Was the 8*l.* 2*s.* given you on your promise to begin brickmaking again?—I do not know that.

10,258. Have you any doubt about it; have you any opinion about it?—I cannot give an opinion.

10,259. The consequence was that because you got the 8*l.* 2*s.* you began brickmaking again?—I thought if they had had any hand in it there would be no more done. I felt safe to go on again.

10,260. Did you imagine that they had had any hand in it, and that that was the reason why they paid you?—No, I cannot say that I did. I do not believe that the brickmakers as a body of men either did it or countenanced it.

10,261. Then what do you suppose the 8*l.* 2*s.* was given you for?—Perhaps they thought more than me about the clay.

10,262. It was an inducement to make you begin brickmaking again?—There was some dispute between the two lots of men.

10,263. Which men?—My men and Messrs. Young's men.

10,264. Were yours and Messrs. Young's men all union men?—Yes.

10,265. Do you attribute this damage to Messrs. Young's men?—I cannot swear to it; it would not be just.

10,266. Have you any other reason than the one you have mentioned for the 8*l.* 2*s.* being given you?—No.

10,267. You never had it before?—No.

10,268. But because it was given, you began to make bricks again?—Yes.

10,269. Do you employ union men?—Yes.

10,270. You have always employed union men?—Yes.

10,271. Had you any private quarrel with any one?—No.

10,272. Why do you suppose that this damage was done by union men?—I do not known whether the union men or the non-union men did it.

10,273. You do not know?—No.

10,274. But a union man paid you?—Yes.

10,275. Are you a member of a union?—Yes.

10,276. Which union?—The Manchester brickmakers' union.

10,277. Were you present at a meeting when a discussion took place as to whether you were to be paid or not?—No.

10,278. You made no application?—No.

10,279. None whatever?—No.

10,280. Do you attend their meetings generally?—No, I am not allowed.

10,281. Why are you not allowed?—Being a master.

10,282. What do you subscribe to them?—The same as they do.

10,283. How much is that?—One of my men pays it; I do not know how much; I pay every Christmas sometimes.

10,284. What do you pay every Christmas?—About 1*l.* or under 1*l.*

10,285. Have you any benefit from it at all?—No, only labour.

10,286. You get union men to come to you?—No, my labour; if I do not pay to that society I should not be allowed to take part.

10,287. You work yourself?—Yes.

10,288. If you do not pay the money you would not be allowed to work?—No.

10,289. You have never employed non-union men?—Never.

10,290. It would be against the rules of the union?—Yes.

10,291. Is this the only occasion on which you had any damage done to you?—Yes.

10,292. This you cannot account for, but you got some money by it?—I lost money by it.

10,293. The damage was 20*l.* and you got 8*l.* 2*s.*?—It would be 20*l.* loss to me independently of the 8*l.* 2*s.*

10,294. Did you claim more?—I claimed nothing.

10,295. Did you make any remark that it was not the whole amount of the damage when Barker paid you?—No.

10,296. What did Barker say to you when he paid you?—I think it was something like that was what they allowed for anything of the sort, if they did allow anything so much per 1,000.

10,297. When did they allow it?—I cannot tell you.

10,298. Are you so ignorant of their rules that you do not know when the allowance is made?—I know in my case and I know of others.

10,299. You know of other cases in which money has been paid?—Yes.

10,300. To masters?—Yes.

10,301. Members of the union?—I cannot swear to that.

10,302. On what occasions have you known money paid?—Sometime since.

10,303. You are not to keep back anything because you are a member of the union?—I do not wish to do so.

10,304. In what case do you know of money being paid?—I cannot say, it was sometime since.

10,305. What was the name of the case?—I cannot say that.

10,306. How long since is it?—I cannot swear. I should think within this 12 months or two years.

10,307. Was it a case of this sort?—Something of this sort.

10,308. What sort?—Bricks being trampled upon.

10,309. Bricks being trampled upon and the Manchester union paying money for it afterwards?—Yes, some such other case as mine.

10,310. Your own case apparently you do not understand?—No.

10,311. Do you understand the other case?—No.

10,312. You heard of them paying the money?—Yes.

10,313. Have you ever heard why they did the damage?—No.

10,314. You never heard why the money was paid?—No.

10,315. If any damage was done to your bricks you would expect them to pay you part of it?—No.

10,316. What is the difference between any damage being done and this damage being done for which you did get money?—I do not know of any.

10,317. You would not expect, if any more damage was done to you, that you would be paid from the Manchester union?—No.

10,318. If they did it by mistake would you expect them at once to pay you something?—I do not know.

10,319. Have you known of other cases like this?—No.

10,320. You have not the slightest notion as to who did the damage or why the money was paid, either in one case or the other?—Yes.

10,321. You never heard any reason suggested?—No.

10,322. And have not got any in your own mind?—No.

10,323. Are you a member of the masters' association?—Yes.

10,324. Is it usual for a member of the masters' association to subscribe to the brickmakers' union in order that they may be compensated in some degree if any damage of this sort occurs?—No.

10,325. You have not made this subscription to the Manchester union for any purpose of that sort?—No.

The witness withdrew.

ROBERT BARKER sworn and examined.

10,326. (*Chairman.*) Are you the secretary of the Manchester union now?—No.

10,327. Have you been?—Yes.

10,328. When were you?—I came out the first Monday in September.

10,329. The first Monday in this month?—Yes.

10,330. You were secretary at that time?—Yes.

10,331. How long had you been secretary?—Three months.

10,332. How long have you been a member of the Manchester union?—About 13 years I should think.

10,333. Are you still a member?—Yes.

10,334. Have you often filled the office of secretary?—Two or three times.

18,335. When did you hold it the next before this last time?—About 15 months before.

10,336. Have you filled any other office?—No.

10,337. Only that of secretary?—Yes.

10,338. You have filled it about three times, I think you said?—Three or four.

10,339. You have been secretary nine or 10 months altogether, on and off?—Yes.

10,340. Do you know the last witness, George Bradbury?—Yes.

10,341. He tells us you paid him, for some damage that was done to his bricks in June 1864, the sum of 8*l.* 2*s.*; is that so?—Yes.

10,342. It was the union money, I suppose?—Yes.

10,343. How came you to pay him?—It was passed at a general meeting, of course; these bricks were spoiled belonging to Mr. Bradbury, and of course he stopped his men from work, and they called a meeting, and our meeting considered that he was a straightforward, gentlemanly man, and had never done anything wrong to us, and we compensated him to that extent. It came to 8*l.* 2*s.*, I believe.

10,344. Did it enter into your consideration as to how his bricks came to be spoiled?—No, we did not know anything about it.

10,345. When anybody, a member of your society, has his bricks spoiled, do you compensate him if he is a gentlemanly man?—I never knew of any other case.

10,346. Was this the only case in which you paid compensation for bricks being spoiled?—I never paid any before.

18,347. That was in consequence of a resolution passed at the meeting?—Yes.

10,348. You say it was a very unusual thing, you do not remember it before?—No, I do not remember it.

10,349. You do not remember any money of that sort being paid before, do you?—No.

10,350. Never upon any occasion?—No.

10,351. Was it immaterial to you who spoiled his bricks; as long as he was a member of your union you paid him the money?—It was immaterial to us who spoiled his bricks.

10,352. Did you not make any inquiry as to how the bricks came to be spoiled?—No, we knew they were spoiled.

10,353. Was it immaterial, as far as the payment of money was concerned, who did spoil them?—Yes, of course, we did not know who spoiled them and it was agreed we should pay.

10,354. Did you go into any reason why the bricks were spoiled?—No.

10,355. Do you recollect whether anything was said as to why they were spoiled?—No, Mr. Bradbury came himself.

10,356. Was any reason given or suggestion made as to why the bricks were spoiled?—Not that I am aware of.

10,357. You are bound to tell us the truth, and therefore you should think well before you answer; do you mean to say that no reason was given why the man's bricks were spoiled or why you should pay him?—He was paid because they were spoiled, and we did not know who spoiled them.

10,358. You told me that; but did you not enter into the question as to why they had been destroyed?—No, there was no person knew why they had been spoiled; we had nothing against the man as we knew of, and nobody that we knew of belonging to our body.

10,359. Is yours the only body who might spoil his bricks?—Anybody else might have spoiled them.

10,360. You believe that some other people spoiled the bricks not belonging to your union, and you gave a man belonging to your union some money in consequence; do you understand me?—Yes.

10,361. Was anything of that sort alleged?—No, nothing of the kind.

10,362. Will you swear there was not?—I will swear that I do not recollect anything of the sort.

10,363. That you will swear, will you?—Yes.

10,364. Do you regularly attend the meetings?—No, not regularly.

10,365. When you were secretary did you attend the meetings?—Yes, of course I did.

10,366. Did you make entries in the books while you were secretary?—Yes.

10,367. When did you last see the books; you say you ceased to be secretary last Monday?—Did I say last Monday?

10,368. I thought that you did say so.—I said I came out of office on the first Monday in this month.

10,369. That was Monday week?—Yes.

10,370. Had you a book at the time you left office in which you made all the entries?—Yes.

10,371. Did you hand that book over to the society after you came out of office?—Yes, I left it in the box.

10,372. You have not seen it since?—No.

10,373. You are sure of that?—Yes.

10,374. Will you swear that?—Yes.

10,375. Have you ever known matters brought before your meetings in reference to trade outrages?—No.

10,376. You never have?—No.

10,377. Nothing of the kind?—No.

10,378. Did you ever pay money to a person of the name of Kay while you were secretary?—Yes.

10,379. What was he?—He was our delegate.

10,380. What was his duty as your delegate?—He went round to see that nobody was working that was illegal, that was not a club man.

10,381. Supposing he found men working who were not club men, what was it his duty to do; was it to report to you?—Yes.

10,382. And upon that was it brought before the meetings?—Yes.

10,383. What was done upon it when it was brought before the meeting?—The others would not work with him.

10,384. What did you give Kay money for?—We gave Kay money for doing that business.

10,385. And for anything else?—No.

10,386. Did you ever in your life give him money for anything else?—No.

EIGHTH DAY.

R. Barker.

13 Sept. 1867.

10,387. You never paid him any money for doing any outrage at all?—No.

10,388. Never in your life?—No.

10,389. That you swear?—Yes.

10,390. Do you know whether the treasurer did while you were in office?—I know that he did not.

10,391. That you will swear, will you?—Yes.

10,392. Had you the power when you were secretary of giving any money away without the authority of the meeting?—Only the wages.

10,393. You had no power to give money away for anything that was done except the wages to people?—Anything that was done? I do not understand that.

10,394. Had you power to give money away for anything except wages?—No, we have no power to give money away except for wages or deputations, or anything of that sort, or to pay funeral expenses.

10,395. Were you in office in 1862?—I cannot say.

10,396. Yes, but try to recollect?—I cannot recollect. I have not taken notice when I was in office. I have been in about three or four times, and I do not know when they were except these last three months that I have told you.

10,397. Do you remember the murder of the policeman Jump?—I remember hearing tell of it.

10,398. Do you remember the year when it took place?—Yes.

10,399. Having such a thing to go by, do you remember whether you were in office then?—I was not in office then.

10,400. Do you remember whether a subscription for the defence of the persons accused of that murder was brought before the meetings?—I do not recollect.

10,401. Will you swear that you do not recollect, one way or the other?—I will swear I do not recollect.

10,402. Have you any doubt whether it was brought before the meeting?—I do not recollect.

10,403. Did you ever hear of subscribing any sum of money to that defence?—Yes, I think I never heard of it.

10,404. That you swear?—I swear I never did.

10,405. Do you remember any delegates from the Stockport or the Ashton union coming to your club upon the subject?—I do not recollect it.

10,406. That you do not recollect?—No.

10,407. You recollect nothing of that sort?—I do not.

10,408. You never recollect Kay being paid money for doing anything except in his capacity as delegate?—No, except his weekly salary.

10,409. Do you recollect any other questions of that sort being brought before the meetings, except the questions of people working who do not belong to your union; what questions were brought before your meetings except that?—What meetings?

10,410. You have regular meetings, we understand, kept once a fortnight or once a month?—No, neither once a fortnight, nor once a month.

10,411. How often were they kept?—When they were required, when we were warned.

10,412. Who had the right to warn you?—Any one that had a dispute called a meeting.

10,413. Do you mean that you have not periodical meetings?—Only quarterly meetings.

10,414. Have you a committee?—Yes.

10,415. Have you an executive acting committee?—The officers that sit are considered the committee.

10,416. What are the officers who are considered the committee?—The president and the secretary.

10,417. And the treasurer?—Yes, we call them key holders.

10,418. Have those three a power to call a meeting, or to make a meeting of themselves?—No.

10,419. What power have they united?—They are merely to sit there to take the contributions weekly.

10,420. Do you mean to tell me that there was no other meeting for the affairs of the society than the one which was held quarterly, unless the members were warned?—Yes, except there was a meeting warned.

10,421. How often is a meeting warned, every fortnight or every month?—I cannot say, perhaps neither; perhaps not one in three months sometimes.

10,422. Have any members power to summon a general meeting?—Any member has the power.

10,423. Any member might summon you all to attend a meeting?—Yes, if he had a grievance.

10,424. What do you call a grievance?—A dispute between any other man and himself or his master.

10,425. Does that often taken place?—Yes.

10,426. When was the last meeting that you attended which was summoned in that way for a grievance?—I cannot say.

10,427. Was it a fortnight or a month ago?—I do not know.

10,428. Do you mean to swear that you do not know one way or other?—No, I do not know what the last meeting was about.

10,429. When was it that you attended it?—There has been one since quarter day, it was not in the book of the minutes; I do not know what the meeting was about.

10,430. You did attend?—Yes.

10,431. What took place when you were there?—I do not recollect.

10,432. Is it that you do know and will not tell me, or do you mean to swear upon your oath that you do not recollect?—I say that I do not recollect.

10,433. Do you know and will not tell me, or is it because you swear that you do not recollect?—I swear that I do not recollect.

10,434. Was it your duty when you were secretary to make entries in a book?—Yes.

10,435. Did you make entries of the nature of the meeting to which you were warned and of what passed at them?—No.

10,436. Whose duty was that, anybody's?—My duty was to keep the cash accounts.

10,437. Did you make entries of the money that passed through your hands?—Yes.

10,438. You know therefore that that is the duty of the secretary?—Yes.

10,439. Did you make a true entry of the reasons why you paid money away?—Yes.

10,440. Did you make entries such as "incidental expenses" or "sundries," or anything of that sort sometimes?—No.

10,441. That you swear?—Yes.

10,442. You have sworn that you never knew while you were in the office of Kay being paid any money except as wages?—Yes.

10,443. Supposing he demanded any extra money, what would be your duty; supposing he demanded as much as 10*l.* for anything, would you bring it before the meeting?—We had no power only to pay him his weekly salary.

10,444. If he demanded any extra money would you bring it before the meeting?—He never did while I was in, therefore I do not know what I should have done.

10,445. He never did while you were in office, that you swear?—Yes.

10,446. Nor anybody else?—No.

10,447. When money was wanted for the purposes of the society, whose duty was it to get it, the president's, the treasurer's, or the secretary's?—The treasurer's.

10,448. We understand that you have a trustee?—Yes.

10,449. His name has been mentioned to us; was it the duty of the treasurer to go to the trustee to raise the money?—I call the treasurer a trustee.

10,450. What is the name of the treasurer?—There are trustees.

10,451. What is his name?—There are a deal of them.

10,452. Who is your treasurer now?—The trustees are the treasurers.

10,453. Who are the trustees?—I do not know; I cannot think of all of them. I am one.

10,454. You can think of your own name ?—Yes, I shall not forget that.

10,455. How many trustees are there ?—About 16, I think.

10,456. Are the trustees elected by the body ; they are not trustees under any deed ; they are elected by the body ?—Yes.

10,457. Does every treasurer become a trustee ; you told me that you considered the treasurer a trustee ?—Yes.

10,458. Is the treasurer for the time being a trustee ? In whose name is the account entered at the bank ?—Those are the trustees in whose names money is entered at the bank.

10,459. Six of them ?—Yes.

10,460. Supposing money is wanted for the society, does one of those 16, whoever they are, draw a cheque upon the bank ?—They draw the money.

10,461. They draw the money out ?—Yes.

10,462. To whom do they give it, the president or the secretary ?—They give it to the keyholders.

10,463. Who are the keyholders ?—Those that are in the office at the present time.

10,464. The only people that you have told me of in office are the president, secretary, and treasurer ?—I said keyholders.

10,465. I asked you who the keyholders were, and you answered me the president, treasurer, and secretary ; are there any other keyholders besides those three ?—There are six keyholders.

10,466. Are the six keyholders the persons who have the distribution of the money ?—Yes.

10,467. Mention the names of the six keyholders, you have told me of the president and the secretary ; who is the treasurer now ?—I do not know.

10,468. When was the treasurer elected ?—The first Monday in this month.

10,469. Who was the treasurer before, when you were secretary ; you came out last Monday week ?—There were six of them.

10,470. Tell me one of them ?—Robert Chadwick was one.

10,471. Do I understand that the six keyholders constitute the treasurer of the society ; have the six persons the right to have the money ; is that what you mean to say ?—They have the money on Saturday night, when we receive it.

10,472. I asked you, supposing you wanted money to pay for wages, who was the person when you were secretary to whom you went to get it ?—To the keyholders.

10,473. Then you went to the whole of the six, did you ?—They are all there of a Saturday night.

10,474. Would you get the money from the six keyholders on Saturday night ?—Yes.

10,475. That is the way you got your money ?—Yes.

10,476. They gave you a regular sum on Saturday night as secretary, to pay the wages of people ; is that so ?—Yes.

10,477. Those six persons ?—Yes.

10,478. Then was it your duty when you paid the wages, to enter it in a book as secretary ?—Yes.

10,479. What that book was called was a "cash-book" ?—Yes.

10,480. Had you in addition to the cash-book a book called a "minute book" ?—We had.

10,481. You lay stress upon the word "had" ; has it gone ?—Yes.

10,482 What has become of it ?—It is burnt.

10,483. When was it burnt ?—I cannot tell you the day.

10,484. You can tell us very nearly ?—Four or five weeks since I daresay.

10,485. That was when you were in office as secretary ?—Yes.

10,486. Were you present when it was burnt ?—Yes.

10,487. Where was it burnt ?—At the club-house.

10,488. Where is that ?—In Long Millgate ; the "Crown and Cushion."

10,489. Who were present when it was burnt ?—Me and the president.

10,490. What was his name ?—Lomax.

10,491. And you burnt the minute book ?—Yes.

10,492. Who else was present ?—Nobody else.

10,493. Had you the sanction of the club for burning it ?—Yes.

10,494. Did you burn it of your own accord—you two in the evening ?—In the afternoon.

10,495. What made you burn it ?—Because it was our concern we considered.

10,496. Whose concern ?—Belonging to our body.

10,497. Did you burn it with the consent of the body ?—No, we took it upon ourselves.

10,498. What made you burn it ?—So that nobody else should see it ; not because there was anything that would do any harm in it, only we would not let the public see it.

10,499. What was there in the book that you did not want people to see ?—I could not recollect what was in the book.

10,500. What made you burn it ?—Because we would not let the public see what was in it.

10,501. Was there something to be ashamed of ?—No, there was nothing to be ashamed of ; we are not very good scholars (a deal of our men) and perhaps it might appear foolish.

10,502. You know what you write about when you do write ?—Yes.

10,503. What made you afraid of the public seeing it ?—I said that we did not want the public to see it.

10,504. Why did you not want the public to see it ?—Because we did not want them to know how we carried on our business.

10,505. That was the minute book ?—Yes.

10,506. Was it usual to enter in the minute book the resolutions that you came to at the different meetings ?—Yes.

10,507. Whatever resolution you came to it was the duty of some one to make entries of it there ?—Yes.

10,508. Whatever resolution you came to at the meetings it was your duty to make an entry of it in the minute book ?—Yes.

10,509. And you did not want the public to see it ?—No.

10,510. When you say the public, I suppose you expected that it might be required here ; that was the way the public was to see it ?—That was what I meant.

10,511. How far did the book go back ?—I cannot tell you.

10,512. Several years ?—I do not know.

10,513. What sized book was it ; a book as thick as this (*showing a book to the witness*) ?—Yes.

10,514. Was that the book that you were using at this time ?—Yes.

10,515. When was the next meeting after the book was destroyed, while you were in office ?—I cannot tell.

10,516. Did you burn it of your own accord, you two ?—Yes.

10,517. There was no advice given to you at a meeting or otherwise to burn it ?—No.

10,518. Are you sure of that ?—Yes.

10,519. Are you quite sure of it ?—Yes.

10,520. You did it entirely of your own accord ?—Yes.

10,521. Had you any talk with the members of your club or anybody else about burning it before you did burn it ?—I cannot remember.

10,522. Will you swear that you had not ?—I will swear I cannot remember.

10,523. Will you swear that you cannot remember that you had some talk with some one about burning it ?—I swear that I cannot remember.

10,524. You swear that you had not ?—Yes.

10,525. It was entirely at the suggestion of yourself and Lomax that you burnt the book ?—Yes.

10,526. When was the meeting next after you burnt the book ?—I do not know.

EIGHTH DAY.

R. Barker.

13 Sept. 1867.

10,527. Was there a meeting afterwards?—Yes, I suppose there must have been a meeting afterwards, because the quarterly meeting would be afterwards.

10,528. Was it mentioned at the meeting that the book had been burnt?—No.

10,529. What did they do for a book when the book was gone to enter the resolutions of the meeting in?—They did not ask for it at the meeting.

10,530. They would use the book you say afterwards to enter the resolutions of the meeting in?—I never heard anything about it since.

10,531. Was it generally known and understood that it was burnt?—No, not that I am aware of.

10,532. Was there any other book got in its place?—No.

10,533. As it was, you say you know there was no book to enter the resolutions of the meeting in after the book was burnt?—No.

10,534. Was there any other book burnt besides this one?—Yes.

10,535. What was it?—There were several. No, there was only one.

10,536. What was the other book?—An old cash-book was burnt.

10,537. At the same time?—Yes.

10,538. By you and Lomax?—Yes.

10,539. At the same time and in the same place?—Yes, in the same place and at the same time.

10,540. Were there entries in it which you did not wish to be seen?—It was full and useless to us.

10,541. Did you ever burn a book before?—We never had any burnt before.

10,542. You never burnt a book belonging to the union before this time?—I have not.

10,543. Was it the cash-book that you were using at the time?—No.

10,544. Was it a cash-book in which you had made entries?—No, at least perhaps I might have when I was in office before. It was not the cash-book that we were using.

10,545. Was that the cash-book that you had used when you were secretary?—I cannot say.

10,546. Do you mean to say you do not know whether you had made entries in the cash-book that you have burnt? Take care what you are about.—The book was full, and we burnt it.

10,547. You told me the book was full; I ask, were not there entries in the book in your handwriting?—I do not know.

10,548. Was it the book that you used when you were secretary?—I do not know.

10,549. Do you mean to say that you do not know; or is it that you do know and will not answer? Will you swear upon your oath that you never made entries in that cash-book which you burnt?—I swear that I do not know what was in it, or whether I made the entries.

10,550. I did not ask you that; I ask whether it was the book in which you, as secretary, usually made entries when you were secretary?—I swear that I do not know.

10,551. How many years was that cash-book for?—I do not know.

10,552. Do you mean, upon your solemn oath, to say that you do not know whether it was the cash-book in use at the time that you were secretary?—I never took that notice of it.

10,553. You never took notice of the cash-book which you used as secretary; you say that you have been secretary four times?—I did not say four.

10,554. Was it three or four?—I do not know which.

10,555. Whether three or four, do you mean to say that you do not know that it was a book in which you made entries when you were secretary?—I do not know; I never took notice of it.

10,556. You swear solemnly that you do not know whether it was the cash-book which you used when you were secretary?—Yes.

10,557. Have you any other book in which you made entries when you were secretary?—No.

10,558. Any cash-book?—No.

10,559. Then this must have been the cash-book according to that, which you used when you were secretary?—There was no other cash-book existing.

10,560. It was your duty, as secretary, to make entries in the cash book?—Yes.

10,561. Have you any doubt that this was the cash-book in which you made entries when you were secretary?—I cannot tell; I did not take notice.

10,562. Did you, when secretary, make entries in the cash-book?—If that book was existing when I was secretary, of course I did.

10,563. Was any other cash-book existing except that one?—No.

10,564. Then it follows that that was the book; there was no other cash-book existing that you know of when you were secretary, and you made entries in the cash-book, and there is no other cash-book in which you could have made entries except that one. That is so, is it not? Is not that so? Now you must answer; you shall answer, or take the consequence.—I say that I burnt that book.

10,565. Have you any doubt in the world that you had made entries in that book?—I cannot say how long that book had run, or how long the present one has run.

10,566. There is a cash-book now?—Yes.

10,567. Is it existing now?—I left it in the box.

10,568. Have you ever made entries in the cash-book now existing?—Yes.

10,569. When did you make entries in it?—The last quarter that I was in office.

10,570. The last quarter?—Yes.

10,571. Is there any other cash-book that you could have made entries in, and the other two parties since, except the one which you burnt?—No, there could not be.

10,572. Were there entries in that cash-book which you wanted to prevent the public seeing?—No entries of mine.

10,573. What made you burn it?—I have told you what it was for; it was our own property.

10,574. You told us before about the minute book, now I ask what made you burn the cash-book?—Because we did not wish to let anybody see it; in fact, we would not let them see it, that is the top and bottom of it.

10,575. There were entries there that you did not want anybody to see?—We did not want them to see anything in it.

10,576. Do I understand you to say that you do not know for how many years this cash-book was in use?—No.

10,577. You say that you do not know how many years it went back?—I do not know.

10,578. Your memory improves as you go on; I know you said so. Do you know now how many years this book was the cash-book of the society?—No.

10,579. Have you ever known any cash-book before that which was used while you were a member of the society?—Before that?

10,580. Yes, before that.—I never took notice.

10,581. Do not you know whether there was another cash-book or not?—I do not know whether it was the cash-book that existed when I first went in office or not.

10,582. It may be or it may not be?—Yes.

10,583. You do not know how long the present cash-book goes back?—No, I never took that notice.

10,584. Were there any other books destroyed?—No, not that I am aware of.

10,585. Was it ever mentioned at the meeting that took place afterwards that these books had been destroyed?—No.

10,586. I suppose it was pretty well known; you told one another about it?—I do not know that it was well known at all. I do not know that it was.

10,587. Did you ever mention it to anybody?—I cannot remember.

10,588. Will you swear that you did not?—I cannot swear that.

10,589. Will you swear you cannot remember?—I cannot remember.

10,590. But your memory improves; now will you swear that you never told anyone that you had destroyed either the one book or the other?—Only the party who was with me.

10,591. There was no occasion to tell if he saw you do it?—Yes.

10,592. Did you ever tell anybody at all that you had destroyed these books; take care what you say?—No.

10,593. You never did?—No.

10,594. Was it well known? — Was what well known?

10,595. That these books had been destroyed?—I have most distinctly said that I never told anybody.

10,596. There was another person present; was it generally known in the club that the books had been destroyed?—I never heard of it.

10,597. Did you destroy these books by the advice of the society or any member of it?—No.

10,598. Or anyone?—No, only Lomax and me.

10,599. No one advised you to do it?—No.

10,600. Do I understand you to say that it was the trustees or some of them who signed the cheques to get the money out of the bank?—Yes.

10,601. You called them treasurers?—Yes, and if they want any money out of the bank the trustees have to sign for it.

10,602. Do you know as a matter of practice how many signed the cheques?—Four to a book.

10,603. I do not quite understand what you mean?—We have four banking books, of course you are aware of that?

10,604. I am not aware of anything.—You have them here.

10,605. You have four books, have you?—Yes.

10,606. And separate bankers?—No.

10,607. Are the cheques signed upon the bankers by four persons?—Yes, if they are only going to draw with four persons, then four persons have to sign.

10,608. Any four of the 16 may draw?—Yes.

10,609. Any four out of the 16 may draw, is that so?—Yes.

10,610. They sign the cheques?—Yes.

10,611. Did all the wages and money of that sort go through the hands of the secretary when you were secretary?—All the entries did, not all the money.

10,612. But all the money for wages?—No, the secretary did not handle the money.

10,613. What was the course of paying wages, was it the duty of the secretary to pay?—No, it was his duty to enter it.

10,614. Whose duty was it to pay it?—Any of the keyholders.

10,615. Can you tell me generally the annual expenditure in wages, and so on, of the club?—No, I cannot think of it in my head.

10,616. Cannot you tell me within 20*l.*, 30*l.*, or 40*l.*?—No.

10,617. You cannot give me any notion?—No.

10,618. When you were secretary no money went through your hands?—No; that 8*l.* 2*s.* I paid to Bradbury.

10,619. Was it an unusual thing for you to pay it?—Bradbury asked me to bring it to him.

10,620. Was it an unusual thing for the secretary to pay a sum of that sort?—If he had come to the club-house for it the secretary would have paid it.

10,621. Whom did you get the money from?—A keyholder.

10,622. Were you in Bradbury's employment at the time?—No, and never was.

10,623. Was it because Bradbury asked you to pay it that you got the money and paid it?—Yes, just to save him the inconvenience of coming and waiting for it.

10,624. Otherwise whose duty would it have been to pay it?—One of the keyholders.

10,625. Out of courtesy to him you paid it?—Yes, he called at our house for it. I told him the time I should be at home, and I would give it him.

10,626. You have destroyed the other cash-book; there is a cash-book at present?—Yes, I left one.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to to-morrow at 11 o'clock.

NINTH DAY.

Assize Courts, Manchester, Saturday, 14th September 1867.

PRESENT:

PERCIVAL ANDREE PICKERING, Esq., Q.C.	GEORGE CHANCE, Esq.
THOMAS IRWIN BARSTOW, Esq.	JAMES SHEIL, Esq., Secretary.

PERCIVAL ANDREE PICKERING, ESQ., Q.C., IN THE CHAIR.

JOHN SUTCLIFFE sworn and examined.

10,627. (*Chairman.*) You are in the police force I think, are you not?—Yes.

10,628. What is your position?—Sergeant.

10,629. Did you go one day last week to serve a notice and a summons to produce certain books and documents upon Samuel Wood?—I did.

10,630. On what day was it?—On Saturday last, the 7th.

10,631. He is the landlord of the "Crown and Cushion" inn, is he not?—Yes.

10,632. Where is that?—In Long Millgate.

10,633. Have you the summons?—Yes.

10,634. It is a notice to produce the boxes, &c. belonging to the Manchester union club, is it not?—Yes,

10,635. Who went with you?—Sergeant Torr.

10,636. Anybody else?—No.

10,637. What time did you get there?—It would be about 12 o'clock when we got there.

10,638. In the daytime?—Yes.

10,639. Did you see Wood?—Yes.

10,640. I suppose you served him with the summons and told him the object of your coming?—Yes.

10,641. Did he state to you that those boxes which you wanted were in his house?—Yes.

10,642. On your serving him with the summons, and telling him that he was required to produce them, what did he say?—He said, "I dare not let them go "without some other man being here. If I do they will kill me." Then he sent out two men to see if they could find any of them.

10,643. And did some men come in?—Some men came in in about an hour and a half.

10,644. How many?—Well, I should say six or seven.

NINTH DAY.

J. Sutcliffe.

14 Sept. 1867.

10,645. Do you know any of their names?—No.

10,646. Then did they go into a room?—The landlord and they were in the vault, and had some conversation.

10,647. He had conversation with those six or seven men who came in?—Yes.

10,648. Then did he come upstairs again to you?—He came to us then, and we went and got the box downstairs.

10,649. Did he assist you in doing so?—Yes, he did.

10,650. That was the iron box, I think, was it not?—Yes.

10,651. And he assisted you in taking it away?—Yes.

10,652. After consultation with those men?—Yes.

10,653. And I believe it was brought here, was it not?—Yes.

10,654. I believe those books were taken out of the box? (*handing some books to the witness*)—Yes, those are the books.

10,655. I believe you were not present when any other boxes were brought, were you?—No.

The witness withdrew.

R. Barker.

ROBERT BARKER recalled, and further examined.

10,656. (*Chairman.*) You told me yesterday that you had been secretary of the Manchester union, and that you gave up the office last Monday week, the first Monday in this month?—Yes.

10,657. I think you also said that you met, or the keyholders, met to receive the contributions, either every week or every month?—Every week.

10,658. Whose duty was it to meet; the keyholders?—Yes.

10,659. I did not thoroughly understand from you then, and though I have been looking over the evidence I do not think it is very clearly explained who the six keyholders were; the president you said was one?—I did not say the president was a keyholder.

10,660. Then I misunderstood you. Who were the six keyholders who received the contributions before you gave up office last Monday week?—I do not know their names, only one, as I told you yesterday.

10,661. Was that Chadwick?—Yes.

10,662. Were you a keyholder?—No, I was the secretary.

10,663. Then the secretary is not a keyholder?—No.

10,664. I understood you distinctly to tell me that the president and secretary were two of the keyholders?—No, I did not say so.

10,665. I understood you to say so. You said a great many things yesterday, and you may have got confused, you know. Tell me now who were the keyholders?—I do not know their names, only Chadwick.

10,666. Do you mean to swear that you do not know the names of the people whom you are constantly in the habit of seeing every week?—Yes, I do not know their names, except as Jem and Jack, or something of that sort.

10,667. Do you mean to tell me that you do not know the names of any of the six keyholders who were in office while you were secretary, except one named Chadwick?—Yes.

10,668. That you swear?—Yes.

10,669. And yet you were in the habit during the three months that you were secretary of seeing them every Saturday night?—Yes; sometimes they did not all come.

10,670. But would any one if he was there have the right to receive contributions?—Well, there was sometimes but one, but sometimes they were all there.

10,671. According to your rules, how many ought to be there?—The six ought to be there according to our rules.

10,672. But if there were less than the six, how many ought to be there to receive the contributions?—They ought all to be there.

10,673. If only one was there might he receive the contribution money?—Yes, but they ought to be all there.

10,674. I suppose while you were secretary it was your duty to attend every Saturday?—Yes.

10,675. And did you do your duty?—Yes.

10,676. Were there the same six keyholders all the time you were secretary this last time?—Yes, they were elected for three months the same as one.

10,677. And being elected for three months, and then meeting every week during those three months, you mean upon your solemn oath to state that you did not know their names?—I did not know them, only one.

10,678. Did you ever speak to them?—Yes, I spoke to them all.

10,679. Do you mean to tell me that you do not know their names?—I do not know their names. They might be called Jem or Jack, but I cannot tell their names because I do not know.

10,680. But you are upon your oath, and do you mean to swear that having met them regularly every week for three months you do not know the name of any one of them except the man Chadwick?—No, I know him because he is in the district that I work in.

10,681. But you were constantly in the habit of meeting every week the other five, and you do not know their names?—Sometimes they were not all there.

10,682. Never mind that; you were in the habit of meeting some of them every week?—I do not know their names.

10,683. Did you ever know their names and have forgotten them?—No, I do not remember that ever I did.

10,684. When you spoke to them how did you address them?—I do not know that I ever did speak to them all; I cannot remember.

10,685. Was it your duty as secretary to have communication constantly with them?—Not with them altogether, any of them that was there if I wanted to say anything to them.

10,686. And having constant communication with any of them who were there, upon your solemn oath do you mean to tell me that you do not know the names of any of them except Chadwick?—No, not the surname and the christian name.

10,687. I did not ask you that. Do you know the surname?—No.

10,688. Upon your oath do you mean to tell me that you do not know the surname of any one of them except Chadwick?—Yes.

10,689. That you swear?—Yes.

10,690. Did you ever know the surname of any one of them except Chadwick?—No, I do not know that I did.

10,691. Will you swear that you did not?—Yes.

10,692. And will you swear that you never did?—Yes.

10,693. How were the keyholders elected?—They were elected in the districts that they belonged to.

10,694. Was it your duty as secretary to enter their names in the book?—No.

10,695. Who entered their names in the book when they were elected?—They never were entered in that I know of.

10,696. Was there no book in which the names of those who were elected keyholders were entered?—No.

10,697. That you will swear, will you?—I never saw any.

10,698. Have you as secretary made an entry of the contributions of the members?—Yes.

10,699. Of how many members, as near as you can tell me, did the club consist?—Perhaps 800 or 900; I cannot say.

10,700. Might it have been as many as 1,400?—Well, I do not think there was, but there might be.

10,701. Do you think there were as many as 1,300?—I never counted them.

10,702. I do not suppose you did, but it was your duty to make the entries of the contributions, and you could make a very good guess. You guessed 900 you know, and I ask whether in your judgment there were not more?—I say perhaps 800 or 900.

10,703. And not more?—I do not know whether there were more or not. I am not going to swear that.

10,704. I am not asking you to do an unreasonable thing, but it is not unreasonable to ask you whether in your judgment it would be between 900 and 1,400. ?—It might be between that; I cannot say.

10,705. Then did you enter the contributions in a book?—Yes.

10,706. Every week?—Yes.

10,707. Were the contributions weekly?—Yes, they were, the quarter that I was secretary.

10,708. And how much was the contribution from each member?—They differ.

10,709. Upon what ground do they differ?—There are some members that do not work in the trade, and they do not pay so much as those that do work.

10,710. How much do the men that work in the trade subscribe?—6*d.* in summer.

10,711. And how much in winter?—1½*d.*

10,712. And did the men who do not work in the trade subscribe weekly?—Yes, it was weekly, but not to the same amount.

10,713. What was their weekly subscription?—1½*d.*

10,714. In the summer?—Yes.

10,715. And how much in the winter?—The same.

10,716. 1½*d.* all the year round?—Yes.

10,717. Was your subscription as secretary the same?—No, it was 6*d.*; I was working in the trade.

10,718. And it was your duty to enter the names of each of the subscribers, the men who paid you the money?—Yes.

10,719. Then you entered the names of the six keyholders in the book; the six keyholders subscribed?—Yes.

10,720. Now then, according to this, you entered their names for the whole period of that three months in the book; now I ask you, upon your oath, if you do not remember any of the names that they gave you in the book?—I entered their names when they paid the money, but I could not tell whether they were paying their own card or anybody else's.

10,721. But they must have given you their names to enter in the book?—Of course they did.

10,722. And do you mean, upon your solemn oath, to tell me you do not know the name of one of the six keyholders except Chadwick?—No, I could not single the names of the six keyholders out of all the names in the book.

10,723. And you do not remember what were their names, although you saw them entered in the book?—I do not remember.

10,724. And you also swear, I suppose, that you never heard anybody in the club mention the names of any of the other five keyholders that you recollect?—Not that I recollect.

10,725. You mean to swear that upon your oath?—Yes.

10,726. You told me yesterday about the money; when the money was collected for contributions was it paid to the keyholders, and did you enter it in the book?—Yes.

10,727. What was it the duty of the keyholders to do with the money when they had got it: to pay it to the bank?—Yes.

10,728. Then it was their duty to pay this sum; as a matter of practice did they pay it weekly, or monthly, or quarterly?—Just when they liked.

10,729. But their duty was to pay it into the bank?—Yes.

10,730. So that it would appear that whatever they got, their duty was to pay it into the bank?—They would not put it all in the bank; they would want some for funerals and the business of the lodge and so on.

10,731. Then did they keep that which they would want back from the bank?—Yes.

10,732. Then did they keep the money back from week to week, or from month to month, which they thought they would want for funerals?—They did not take it to the bank every week.

10,733. Did they take it when they liked?—When they liked.

10,734. Keeping back what they wanted for current expenses?—Yes.

10,735. Did they keep back the money for the current expenses and wages?—Yes, they kept something in hand.

10,736. For the purposes of wages and funerals?—For the purposes of wages and funerals.

10,737. Then when that money was drawn from the bank to whom was it paid?—To the keyholders.

10,738. You told me there were 16 persons, each four of them having a book, and four of them having power to draw, and that when they drew they paid it to the keyholders?—I beg your pardon, I did not say each had a book.

10,739. Who were the three associated with you in that book?—I cannot remember.

10,740. You do not remember their names?—No.

10,741. Then I will mention them to you: Was Samuel Ayres one?—Yes.

10,742. Was Joseph Harrison another?—Yes.

10,743. Was William Scholefield another?—Yes.

10,744. Then you four had the power of drawing cheques, had you?—We had the power of drawing money that was in the bank which was in that book in our names.

10,745. Supposing there were 16 trustees, and that each set of four had the books, so that there would be four books, who settled what money must be put down to your names and what money was to be put down to the credit of the other sets of four?—Why, the officers generally do it among themselves; they do not keep all the money in one book, or else it would all be in the names of four.

10,746. That I quite understand; but supposing there are four books and 16 trustees, that is, four to a book, and the money was divided somehow or other between those four books, I ask you how it was settled what amount was to be put down in your book, and what amount was to be put down in each of the other three books?—I do not know; this society was agait before I entered it.

10,747. But did you ever take any money to the bank?—No.

10,748. But some of your four must have done so?—No, I did not say so. I have been to draw it.

10,749. But who put it down to your credit in the book; how did you know there was anything to draw there?—The keyholders that took it put it down in the book.

10,750. And divided it among the four books?—They generally do divide it. They do not let it all be put down in one book.

10,751. I quite understand that, and what they put down to your account is of course the only amount upon which you could draw?—Yes.

10,752. You could not draw upon one another's books?—No, they would not let us at the bank.

10,753. When you wanted money to draw who gave you directions to draw it?—The president; it should be his place.

10,754. Not the keyholders?—The keyholders would tell him if they wanted money, and he would order it.

10,755. Who would tell you when they wanted you four to draw a cheque?—The president should do so if he observes the rules.

10,756. As a matter of practice then when you four wanted to draw a cheque it was by the direction of the president, is that so?—Yes.

NINTH DAY.

R. Barker.

14 Sept. 1867.

10,757. And then it depended upon which four the president told to draw the cheque by whom the cheque was drawn?—Yes.

10,758. Now I find that in January 1864 you four drew a cheque according to that book of 300*l.* Do you see it (*handing a book to the witness*)?—Yes.

10,759. How came you to draw that cheque?—Do you mean what was the money for?

10,760. Yes, I should like to know that very much. There is no mistake about it, you know; we have that book?—I am aware of that; at least I have it now.

10,761. That is the only page; if you like to look at the other pages, pray do?—Well, you know at Christmas ——

10,762. You told me last night you could not read very well; you see you are a good scholar?—No, I said some of our men were not good scholars. I am not an Oxford college scholar.

10,763. Do not imagine that I suppose anything of the sort; but I have no doubt you can read very well. Never mind, that is January, is it not?—Yes, I read it January.

10,764. Now why was that 300*l.* drawn?—We lend our members 1*l.* each some time near Christmas every year.

10,765. Then do I understand you to say that you considered that 300 members had been lent the sum of 1*l.* each?—No; very likely there would be more money some times in the other books at the same date, and then they would have money in hand to make it up.

10,766. Can you explain why a large sum like 300*l.* was drawn in January in any other way than that which you mention?—No, I do not know any other.

10,767. To whom would you give it if you drew it, would you give it to the keyholders?—Yes.

10,768. Then the president directed you on that date to draw a cheque for 300*l.* and you drew it?—Yes.

10,769. And you gave the money to the keyholders?—If it was drawn it was given to the keyholders.

10,770. It was drawn you see from the book; you cannot say that that was wrong?—Yes.

10,771. That money was drawn, and as you say given to the keyholders?—Yes.

10,772. And you have no other means of explaining what it was for, but that in all probability there was some money lent to some of the members?—Yes, that is all that I recollect about it.

10,773. They kept money in hand for funeral expenses, and the wages, and current expenses, and here is a large sum of 300*l.* drawn in January, and you have no means of accounting for it at all except what you have just said?—I cannot tell any other. It is two or three years ago and I cannot think what it was for. I did not keep a diary of every day's accounts.

10,774. Would it be a resolution of the meeting asking the president to draw 300*l.*, or would it be at his will and pleasure that he should draw it?—If it was passed that we should have 1*l.* a piece he would not have to ask himself. He would give orders to draw it.

10,775. But supposing there was a lump sum to be drawn, had the president power, of his own free will and discretion, to direct you to draw the cheque, or was it really the result of the resolution of a meeting?—If the keyholders were short of money, and if they told the president, he could give them orders to draw it.

10,776. Was it also the result of the resolution of a meeting when a large sum like 300*l.* was to be drawn?—It is a large sum, but it is not so large when it is distributed among a good many at 1*l.* each.

10,777. Is it your belief that it was distributed among a good many?—I do not know of any other reason why it was drawn.

10,778. Supposing men were out on strike, would you want a large sum of money for that purpose?—It depends upon the number out on strike.

10,779. But supposing there were men out on strike, would you not want a large sum of money?—Never since I have been in office have we required a very large sum for purposes of that sort.

10,780. When this money was lent to members would it be the duty of the secretary to make an entry of those loans?—Yes.

10,781. Then when you were secretary it was your duty to make an entry in a book that this 1*l.* or so was lent to the members, and to which of the members it was lent, and so on?—Yes, if I was secretary at the time.

10,782. It would be the duty of the person, whoever he was, to make that entry?—Yes.

10,783. Was it a common thing to lend members money in that way?—Yes, a good many years now we have had it, though I cannot say how many years.

10,784. Every Christmas, do you mean?—Well, I do not know how many years.

10,785. How many years do you say?—I do not know how many years.

10,786. As a general rule all the time you have been there has it been, as far as you remember, the usual practice every Christmas to lend some of the members money?—No, not so far as I remember.

10,787. Then was this an unusual occasion in the year 1864?—No, I say it has been the custom for several years; I do not know how many.

10,788. To lend the members money at Christmas time, or at other times?—Yes, about Christmas.

10,789. That is the way in which you account for so large a sum as 300*l.* being drawn, is it?—Yes.

10,790. And you have no other means of accounting for it, but by supposing that it was money lent?—No, that is all that I know of.

10,791. Was 300*l.* according to your recollection and information a large amount for loans?—It is not so much amongst so many members.

10,792. That is assuming that they all had it?—I say that they had 1*l.* each.

10,793. 300 people, if they had 1*l.* each, we are quite aware would require 300*l.*, but that is not very much between a number of people, between 900 and 1,400?—It would be a largish sum to draw out of one book.

10,794. You can tell me of course how much money you would require to lend all the members 1*l.* apiece, if you know how many members there are; but was 300*l.* required, or what was the amount usually required at Christmas, to lend 1*l.* a peace to every member of the society?—Perhaps 700*l.* or 800*l.*

10,795. Do you mean to tell me that every member of the society borrowed 1*l.* of the society every Christmas?—They did not all borrow it; they might have it if they liked, but they had it to pay back.

10,796. How many members wanted that loan, do you think?—700 or 800 I should think. I cannot tell how many; I do not know how many.

10,797. But you think so?—Yes.

10,798. I have a book here with the names of Hugh Hodgson, Septimus Park, John Pemberton and George Manning; do you remember those names?—They will be trustees for that book.

10,799. It is another of the four books. I find in September 1864, a sum of 100*l.* I suppose that would be drawn in the same way; they must have had the orders of the president, and so drawn it in September?—Yes.

10,800. And can you form the slightest notion for what purpose such a sum of money as that would be wanted?—It has been wanted for the business of the club. I cannot explain what it has been wanted for now.

10,801. Your business was as secretary to enter the mode in which it was paid?—Yes, but I did not say that I was secretary then.

10,802. But if you were secretary?—Yes.

10,803. Then I find in the same book in December 1864, the sum of 200*l.*; do you account for that sum being drawn out in December 1864, in the same way as being in all probability for the purposes of loans by the society?—It might be so, I cannot say.

10,804. You have no other means of judging?—I cannot give any other reason for it.

10,805. Then I find in another book that on the 23rd of December 1864 there is an entry of 300*l*; do you give the same answer with respect to that?—Yes, I do not know of any other purpose that it would be for.

10,806. Then there is a further sum in another book in December, by four different trustees of 300*l*., and that is the way you explain it?—Yes.

10,807. So that in each of the four books for the year 1864 there are separate sums of 300*l*. each, entered by the four different sets of trustees, which makes 1,200*l*.; and we understand that your only mode of accounting for that sum of 1,200*l*. is that it was probably for loans to members of the society?—Yes, of course they might want more money than just what they would have to pay for loans, for the other business of the lodge.

10,808. But can you give any notion of the amount of money which you would receive in the course of the year. I can make a calculation from what you have told me?—I do not know.

10,809. Did each member upon his entrance pay 1*l*.?—Yes.

10,810. Then taking the entrance money at 1*l*., and the contributions as you have told me, and the interest of course of any money in the bank, would that work out the sum total of your receipts?—I do not understand what you mean exactly.

10,811. Before you spent you ought to have received, you understand that so far, do you not?—Yes.

10,812. Now you have told me that your receipts consisted of contributions, some from your union men and smaller sums from the other men?—Yes.

10,813. You cannot tell us exactly the number of persons who had subscribed; but if you take the money subscribed by union men and by persons who are not union members, adding to it 1*l*. each for the members coming in and the interest of money in the bank, would that be the whole of your income?—The whole of the money that was in the bank and in the treasurer's hands is the whole of our income.

10,814. And it consists of payments in respect of those things which I have just mentioned?—Yes.

10,815. There is no other ground of payment that you know of, is there?—As income?

10,816. Yes, as income.—There is a small item or two.

10,817. Of what do they consist?—The rent that we receive for our room. We let it for local preaching or something of that sort some evenings.

10,818. You let your room for a little local preaching?—Yes.

10,819. Is that at the "Crown and Cushion," or where is it?—No, it is a room where we hold our meetings.

10,820. Where is it?—It is opposite the club-house; I do not know what they call it, it is not a street; some square I think they call it.

10,821. And do you let it to any one to preach or to your members?—It is not let to our members.

10,822. To any one who wants it for that purpose?—Yes.

10,823. I find a sum of 1,200*l*., according to the four books, drawn out for the year 1864; and the only mode in which you account for that is that it went either in loans or in what you call the ordinary expenses of the society?—Yes.

10,824. Now turn to 1865. Do you see there a sum of 610*l*. drawn by you which is made up by these items added together. There is "cash 100*l*." in January; there is in March 40*l*., then there is "cash 70*l*.," and then in December there is 400*l*. Those sums together you will find make 610*l*. for that year, leaving out the balance which is at the bottom, so that you drew in the year 1865 as much as 610*l*.?—Yes.

10,825. Could you give me any notion of what that was for?—I cannot tell what it was for, but I suppose this 400*l*. would be for the loans of those pounds again.

10,826. Then as to that 400*l*. in December you give me the same answer as you gave before; then as to the 200*l*. that is spread over the other months, how do you account for that?—It is when they have been short of money. I suppose they drew it from the bank.

10,827. And that must have been done by order of the president?—Yes.

10,828. And that money would have been given to the keyholders, and they would have distributed it?—Yes.

10,829. Then I find in another of the books in 1865 another 400*l*., that being in the month of December. Do you give me as to that the same answer as you gave before, that it was in all probability for loans?—I do not know any other reason but that.

10,830. Was it the common practice to draw upon each of the four trustees, that is to draw upon you all equally, or generally speaking to take from one more than from another?—They just suited themselves. If I was a trustee and I was warned to go I should go.

10,831. Now will you turn to your book of 1866, what have you got down as drawn by you?—450*l*.

10,832. What is the date on which it was drawn?—December the 21st, I think it is; it is either the 20th or 21st.

10,833. Then that is in December, and to that I suppose you give me the same answer as before?—Yes.

10,834. You can account for it in no other way?—No.

10,835. Then your other books would show the names of the persons to whom the money was lent, and when they were expected to repay it?—They were expected to repay it just before the Christmas after during the twelve months.

10,836. In what book would that appear; would that be in the secretary's book.

10,837. Then the mode in which this money was spent would appear in the secretary's book?—Yes.

10,838. In the book which you destroyed?—All the income and outgoings was in that book.

10,839. But the mode in which this money was spent would have appeared in that book according to you?—Yes.

10,840. I do not want to go through all the year, but I have taken those three as instances. I understood you to say that when the money was repaid it would appear in the cash-book; of course you put down the time and the persons to whom you lent the money?—Yes.

10,841. And you equally would in fairness put it down when you got it back again?—Yes.

10,842. That would be in the cash-book, would it not?—Yes, all the income and outgoings as I said before.

10,843. Who was the secretary who succeeded you last Monday week?—Henry Green.

10,844. Who was the president who was elected last Monday week?—Kershaw.

10,845. Who was the president next before Kershaw when you were in office?—Lomax.

10,846. (*Mr. Barstow.*) In your trade your work begins to be slack about October, does it not?—Yes.

10,847. And there are a good many men out of employment then?—Yes, generally for a month or two.

10,848. At what time of the year do you begin to work again?—Do you mean to make bricks?

10,849. Only at the brickmaking trade, doing any work in the brickyard of any sort?—We vary; some have to start sooner than others; some at Christmas time, and some before and some after.

10,850. At what time do you think that you are in full work at brickmaking?—In April.

10,851. You are not in full work until April?—We are in full work enough while they are at work in winter, but April is the time that we start making bricks.

NINTH DAY.

R. Barker.

4 Sept. 1867.

10,858. Are a good many men out of work in the winter ?—I cannot say how many are out of work.

10,859. But there are a good many out of work ?—I do not know how many are out of work.

10,860. I do not say that you do ?—You are asking me the question.

10,861. I should have thought you might know ?—I did not see how I should know.

10,862. You have been a brickmaker for a good many years; are you sometimes out of work in the winter ?—Yes, but not often, because I have a family to look after.

10,863. I ask you if a good many are not sometimes out of work in the winter ?—I do not know.

10,864. Are you one of those trustees ?—Yes.

10,865. And do you know at all about what the gross income of your society is ?—No, I do not.

10,866. You do not at all remember whether it is 800*l.* or 1,000*l.* ?—No.

10,867. Not in the least ?—No, not in the least.

10,868. Do you ever look at your banker's book ?—Yes, that which I am trustee for. When I go to the bank sometimes I look and sometimes I do not.

10,869. Can you tell us what balance there is in your books ?—No, I do not know now any more than if I was not trustee.

10,870. You never have known ?—I have never looked, and have never taken that notice of it.

10,871. You have told us that at the end and at the beginning of the year large sums are drawn to lend to the members ?—Yes.

10,872. Besides that what is your regular expenditure ?—I do not know what it is.

10,873. What did you pay your money for ?—To bury the dead and pay the expenses of the order in general.

10,874. One expense is for burying the dead ?—Yes.

10,875. I think I heard it stated that you paid 5*l.* 5*s.* for each funeral ?—10*l.* 10*s.*

10,876. When people are out of work do they have any allowance ?—Not unless they are on strike.

10,877. If they have struck they do have an allowance ?—Oh, yes.

10,878. Can you tell me how much you have paid this year during the time that you were secretary to people on strike ?—I cannot say. I kept it all in the cash-book what I paid.

10,879. Can you not say from your recollection about what you have paid ?—I do not know.

10,880. You have no idea of what it was ?—No.

10,881. (*Chairman.*) Have you known of the disputes between the Manchester and Stockport brickmakers ?—I know there was a dispute.

10,882. Between your union and the Stockport union ?—Yes.

10,883. You did hear of that ?—Yes.

10,884. How long ago ?—I cannot say how long ago.

10,885. Is it going on now ?—Yes, I suppose it is.

10,886. How long have you heard of its going on ?—I cannot say how long.

10,887. A year or more ?—No, I think it is not so long as that at all, two or three months, or something like that.

10,888. Is it a dispute as to what is in your district, and what is in theirs ?—It is a dispute relating to something about men working out of the district, or something of that. I do not understand it thoroughly.

10,883. But you understand this much, do you not; that each union is to employ men in its own district, and in no other ?—Yes.

10,884. You have heard of it pretty often I should think, have you not ?—Yes.

10,885. And have you heard of bricks being destroyed in consequence of some disputes of this sort ?—I heard once that they were destroyed. I saw a reward up for 20*l.*, but I do not know where it was done at. I cannot remember now.

10,886. Your memory is quite a blank as to that ?—Yes, I cannot remember things that I never knew about. I say that I saw a reward up for bricks damaged.

10,887. You suppose it was in consequence of this dispute ?—I do not know what it was about.

10,888. You did not trouble yourself about that ?—No.

10,889. You will not allow bricks to be brought into your district which are made in another district they tell me, that is so, is it not ?—Yes, it is a rule in our society.

10,890. And the district which you claim is four miles round Manchester besides Manchester itself, is it not ?—I do not know; we call it four miles from Manchester, that is all I know. I do not know where it extends to. I do not know the limits myself.

10,891. But that is your rule, is it not ?—Yes, that is how I understand it.

10,892. And you have always acted upon that ?—For anything I know.

10,893. Have you ever known money paid by your union in consequence of those disputes ?—No, only turn-out money as I said.

10,894. Nothing else ?—No.

10,895. Not for a little damage ?—No.

10,896. Nothing of the kind ?—Nothing of the kind that I know of.

10,897. Supposing money had been paid for that, would it have been the duty of the secretary to enter it in his book ?—Any money paid he would have to enter in his book, so that if it was paid he would have to enter it.

10,898. He would have to enter it, whatever it was for ?—Yes.

10,899. And that book you have destroyed ?—Yes. Would you allow me to say a word in respect to my wages. I have been here four days, and I should be getting at my work about 12*s.* or 13*s.* a day. The time will be over directly, and I believe I am only allowed 5*s.*

10,900. You must talk about that bye and bye. It is a question whether you will have anything at all. Remember you have destroyed the books in order to defeat the objects of this inquiry. If you have been advised to do that you may thank those who have advised you.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. JOHN MAYBURY sworn and examined.

Mr. J. Maybury.

10,901. (*Chairman.*) I believe you are the superintendent of police ?—The detective department in Manchester.

10,902. And you have been so for some time, I believe ?—Yes.

10,903. Did you go to the house of Samuel Wood some day this week ?—On Monday night last.

10,904. At what hour ?—It was about 9 o'clock when I got there; it might be a few minutes after.

10,905. Who went with you ?—I took about 12 other officers, all in plain clothes.

10,906. I believe you found Wood, the landlord of the house, there ?—Yes.

10 907. At the "Crown and Cushion ?"—Yes.

10,908. Did you ask him for two boxes belonging to the Manchester trades union society ?—I did; I told him that one of the officers had a summons from the Court to serve upon him, and he was requested to give up all papers, books, and boxes belonging to the society.

10,909. Did he give you up the boxes ?—He did.

10,910. Did he assist you to take them away ?—He did it in the best way he could. He apologized for not doing more. He has been lame; he put his ankle out.

10,911. Do you remember how many boxes you took away then ?—There were five boxes and a little desk, and the small cupboard.

10,912. Was it a moveable cupboard ?—Yes, it was,

hung on a nail, a very small one. By sounding it there did not appear to be anything in it, but we were not sure, and we brought it away.

10,913. He assisted you to take it all away?—He did. There was one box that he had some doubt about, and he said, "I am not sure whether it belongs to another club or not," and he looked at it; but he said, "I believe it belongs to the brickmakers," and he pointed out a safe, as to which he said, "That I am sure belongs to the other club," and I took his word from his manner.

10,914. And he assisted you in bringing those boxes which he was summoned to produce?—Yes; there was a cupboard which he could not get into himself; he sent his wife for the keys, and he broke it open himself with a hammer and chisel.

10,915. There was nothing in that cupboard which you brought away?—There were some glasses and jugs, which he said he supposed must have been left there by a former tenant.

10,916. However, what you took away he assisted you in taking away?—He did.

10,917. I believe you were the person who spoke to Mr. Wood, were you not?—I was.

10,918. Did you speak to him in a room?—Yes.

10,919. Who was in the room?—McLellan and Sergeant Rowbotham.

10,920. Were those the only two in the room with you when you spoke to Wood?—No, there would be more.

10,921. Were there other persons in the room besides your people?—They were downstairs, but not in the room upstairs, the club-room.

10,922. Who were in the club-room?—Only the police and the landlord.

10,923. Who else were in the house?—A good many men and women, but I did not notice any brickmakers at that time.

10,924. They were large boxes, which required several hands to lift them and to assist in taking them away?—Yes, they were, and one in particular.

The witness withdrew.

HENRY GREEN sworn and examined.

H. Green.

10,925. (*Chairman.*) What are you?—A brickmaker.

10,926. Are you a master brickmaker?—No, I only wish that I was.

10,927. However, you are not?—No.

10,928. Then you have been a labouring brickmaker, have you, for some years?—Yes.

10,929. How many years?—I have been brought up to the trade all my life.

10,930. And how long have you been a member of the Manchester trade union?—Something like seven years.

10,931. We are told that at this moment you fill the office of secretary?—I believe it is right.

10,932. You were elected last Monday week, were you not?—Yes.

10,933. Had you filled any office before?—No.

10,934. This is the first time?—Yes.

10,935. How many meetings have you had since you were elected?—We have had an adjourned meeting from the quarterly day.

10,936. Which was the quarterly day?—The first Monday in September.

10,937. That was the 2d of September, was it not?—Yes, I did not know the date, but it was the first Monday.

10,938. Then you were regularly installed, I suppose, and began your duties?—Yes, on the adjourned meeting night, not on the night that I was elected.

10,939. Which was that adjourned meeting night?—On the Thursday night.

10,940. Then did you begin your duties?—Yes.

10,941. I suppose there was a cash book put into your hands?—Yes.

10,942. Who gave it you?—I do not know, to tell you the truth.

10,943. Was there a large meeting?—Yes.

10,944. However, it was handed over to you in the regular way when you became secretary?—Yes, it was handed over to me by some one, I do not know who, to tell you the truth.

10,945. Who was president at that adjourned meeting?—Mr. Kershaw.

10,946. Then you had this cash book; did you make any entries in it that night?—Yes, I think I put an entry down of a man being fined 2*d*. for swearing.

10,947. At the meeting?—Yes.

10,948. Do you collect many twopences of that sort?—It depends whether there are rough characters at the meeting.

10,949. Have you many rough characters, so that in that way your funds are increased?—Yes, that is the way in which our funds are increased.

10,950. By swearing at your meetings?—Yes.

10,951. Did you not put any entries of contributions in the cash book that night?—No, we never put entries of contributions in the cash book.

10,952. Was it a large book or a small book?—Rather large.

10,953. Pretty full as far as you went?—No, it was not a quarter full.

10,954. Then it was about a quarter full when you began to make your entries?—No, it was not a quarter full.

10,955. How many leaves had been written on?—Well, I did not count them.

10,956. I do not suppose you did; but had much paper been used already in the book before you made your first entry?—There was a many that were written on that were blotched, and there was a many that were not blotched, I did not count them.

10,957. Were there any torn out?—There were none torn out.

10,958. What did you do with the book?—On the Saturday night, after your officers had come and taken the books away, I was so disgusted with that proceeding that I took the book and threw it in the fire and burnt it.

10,959. You were so disgusted that you threw it on the fire?—I did.

10,960. But how was it on Saturday that you happened to have it?—Because we went there to collect the contribution, and the book was given into my hands; your officers came on Saturday and took our safe. If they had come like gentlemen and asked for the books we should have given them to them, but they did not do so. They came and committed an outrage I call it, and they took the boxes away, and I took and put the book on the fire.

10,961. Just so, they came on the Saturday, and took the iron box away?—Yes.

10,962. Were you there when they came?—No.

10,963. But you heard of it?—Well, when I got there I did.

10,964. When did you get there?—At 5 o'clock, to collect the contribution.

10,965. On the same Saturday?—Yes.

10,966. And having heard of it, and having collected the contributions, what did you do with your book?—We did not collect any contribution.

10,967. Your book at that time was in one of the wooden boxes?—Yes.

10,968. Then did you take it out?—Yes.

10,969. Did you ever put it back?—No.

10,970. Having taken it out you kept it I suppose in your own possession?—Till I got to a fire to burn it.

10,971. Did you burn it that same night?—Yes.

10,972. Where was the fire?—It was in the brickfield where I work.

10,973. Then you took the book that same Saturday night and burnt it?—Yes, I stuck it in the fire kiln and burnt it.

NINTH DAY.

H. Green.

14 Sept. 1867.

10,974. You burnt it simply because you were disgusted ?—At your proceedings, not at ours.

10,975. You were disgusted at the officers having taken away the iron box ; you had no wish to conceal anything ?—We had nothing to conceal that I am aware of.

10,976. You did not know what the previous entries in the book were, and you had yourself only made one of 2*d.* ?—Yes, that was all, and it was for swearing.

10,977. Did anybody advise you to burn it ?—No, I took it upon my own responsibility.

10,978. Then you did not ask the leave of the club to whom it belonged for doing so ?—No, I shall have to account to them for doing so. If this inquiry had never been I should have said I had lost it.

10,979. Would you have been ashamed of saying you had burnt it from disgust ?—I should not have told them I had burnt it, because I did not know what entries they had made in it.

10,980. But this inquiry coming on you had no objection to tell them that you had burnt it ?—I have no objection to tell you, and they will know through the public press.

10,981. Understand your position. If you do not tell the truth you are liable to prosecution for perjury. Then this inquiry coming on you burnt the book and told the other members ?—I have never told anybody till now,

10,982. Has there been any meeting since ?—Since when ?

10,983. Since this Saturday ?—No, there has been none since.

10,984. Then you have had no occasion to use the book since, have you ?—No.

10,985. None whatever ?—No.

10,986. Then to-night you would have had occasion to use it ?—Yes.

10,987. There was a large meeting on that Saturday, was there not, when the iron box was taken away ?—No, there was no meeting whatever.

10,988. Then when did you first hear that the iron box had been taken away ?—When I went down there to collect the contribution.

10,989. On Saturday ?—Yes.

10,990. Was it the night for collecting the contributions ?—Yes.

10,991. Did many people attend to pay their contributions that night ?—I do not know, we did not stop long.

10,992. But did many people pay their contributions ?—A few old women came and some boys. It is seldom that the men come with their money.

10,993. Did 20 or 30 people come to pay their contributions ?—I cannot say ; I did not go upstairs.

10,994. Did you receive the contributions or not ?—I did not receive a penny.

10,995. Were you in the room to receive the contributions ?—No.

10,996. Then what did those women and boys come for ?—To pay the contributions, but there was none taken because you had taken the safe away, and there was no box to put the money in.

10,997. What made you go to the brickfield to burn the book ?—Because I did not wish any of our members to see me burn it.

10,998. And that was the reason why you did not burn it in the house ?—Yes.

10,999. Which brick-kiln was it that you went to, where is it ?—Off Elizabeth Street, Cheetham Hill Road.

11,000. Whom do you work for ?—Mr. Mycock.

11,001. Was anybody by when you burnt it ?—Not then.

11,002. What time was it when you burnt it ?—It might be 11 or 12 o'clock, it might be before or it might be after.

11,003. Was it about that time ?—I do not know exactly the time, I had had a great deal to drink.

11,004. Do I understand you to say that you were the worse for liquor ?—Yes, rather.

11,005. There was a meeting on the Thursday, you say ?—Yes.

11,006. Was it a large meeting ?—Well something about the same as usual.

11,007. Were there about 200 or 300 people there ?—Yes, I dare say there might be 200.

11,008. Was it at the "Crown and Cushion" ?—It was in our hall adjoining the "Crown and Cushion."

11,009. Then were you secretary ?—Yes.

11,010. Was Kershaw in the chair, as president ?—Yes, I believe he was.

11,011. What took place at that meeting ?—In which way ?

11,012. Were there any resolutions passed ?—I do not know exactly what resolutions were passed.

11,013. I ask you if you can tell me whether any resolutions were passed at that meeting ?—What kind of resolutions ?

11,014. Any resolutions.—I do not know what you mean.

11,015. You do not know the meaning of a resolution ?—No, if you will explain it to me I will answer.

11,016. Do you pretend not to know the meaning of a resolution passed at a meeting ?—I do not understand the meaning of "resolution." I am not a grammatical scholar.

11,017. You do not understand the meaning of a resolution passed at a meeting, is that so ?—Yes.

11,018. Was there a meeting last Thursday ?—No, a week last Thursday.

11,019. Then it was before the book was destroyed ?—Yes.

11,020. Was anything said about a person of the name of Kay ?—No, not that I am aware of.

11,021. Will you swear that this name was not mentioned at the meeting, so that you heard it ?—I will swear that I never heard his name mentioned at all.

11,022. Was there anything said about getting him out of the way ?—I never heard it mentioned.

11,023. You never heard anything of the kind ?—No.

11,024. Was there any talk about money at the meeting ?—How money ?

11,025. You had better not trifle in that way ?—I am not trifling, I wish to answer all questions.

11,026. You must understand it. Was there a talk at the meeting about the money of the society ?—Not that I am aware of.

11,027. That you will swear, will you ?—I will swear that I do not remember anything of it.

11,028. Will you swear that you do not remember anything that was said ?—Not about money, because that is always read up at the quarterly night, and not till then.

11,029. Was there anything said about expending money in order to get Kay out of the way ?—Not that I am aware of.

11,030. Will you swear that there was not ?—I will swear that I never heard it.

11,031. You never heard anything of the sort ?—No.

11,032. Was anything said at the meeting about not telling us, the Examiners, anything ?—Not that I know of.

11,033. Will you swear that there was not ?—I will swear that I never heard anything.

11,034. That you swear, do you ?—Yes.

11,035. And you will swear that no advice was given you of that sort, not to tell anything ?—I will swear that no advice was given, to my knowledge, at that meeting.

11,036. If there had been such advice, you as secretary must have heard it ?—I do not know ; I was not in all the time. I might have gone out to get a glass of beer.

11,037. Will you swear that such a thing was not said ?—I will swear that I never heard of it.

11,038. Who was the treasurer at that meeting ; had you any treasurer ?—No, not this quarter that I am aware of.

11,039. Is it the duty of the secretary, as far as you know, to enter the proceeding of a meeting in a minute book?—We have never had one while I have been in office.

11,040. But having been a member of the union, can you tell me whether it is the duty of the secretary to make those entries?—I cannot tell you that, for I have never taken much interest in the society with being a young man.

11,041. Then you do not know, one way or the other, whose duty it was to make an entry in the minute book of the proceedings of any meeting?—No, I have never seen any one while I have been in office.

11,042. But before you were in office had you ever seen one?—I do not know what a minute book means.

11,043. Nor a book in which the proceedings of the meeting were entered?—I have seen them writing down.

11,044. The proceedings of a meeting?—I do not know that.

11,045. We have had evidence of it, so that you are not telling us much. You have seen another book usually at the meetings besides the cash book?—Yes, there is generally a ledger and cash book, and two or three books more. I do not know what they are; all that I have had to do with have been the ledger and cash book.

11,046. You may stand down, and your expenses are not allowed, after your conduct. If anybody advised you to act as you have done you may thank them.—Well, it will be out of my pocket; I have lost a day's work through it.

The witness withdrew.

James Cowdy sworn and examined.

11,047. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Are you a brickmaker?—Yes.

11,048. Are you a member of the Manchester Brickmakers' Society?—Yes.

11,049. How long have you been a member?—About 24 years.

11,050. You have been a pretty zealous member I believe?—I do not understand that.

11,051. You have been in trouble before, have you not?—Yes.

11,052. In consequence of some outrage?—I believe it was.

11,053. What was it?—I was not there.

11,054. But what did they say that you did?—Spoiling bricks I believe.

11,055. Where was that?—Up George's Road.

11,056. At Manchester?—Yes.

11,057. And where was it they said this of you; it was at Liverpool, was it not?—Yes.

11,058. And what did they do to you?—They gave me four years.

11,059. What year was that?—I do not know rightly.

11,060. About what year?—About 8 or 9 or 10 years since I daresay now, but I cannot tell to a year rightly.

11,061. Whose bricks were those?—Topley's and Hayfield's.

11,062. What had Messrs. Topley and Hayfield been doing; were they in dispute with the union then?—No, not that I am aware of.

11,063. Was there any strike then?—No.

11,064. Now you know you have been once in the grasp of the law, and if you have done anything about which I am going to ask you, you perhaps know that we have the power of giving you an indemnity, so that they will not be able to do anything to you again. Now, consider that, and answer what I am going to ask you; do you know a man named George Bradbury?—Yes.

11,065. You know that he was a brickmaker?—Yes.

11,066. Did you hear that he had some bricks spoilt in 1864?—No, he had none spoilt in 1864 that I am aware of.

11,067. When was it that he had some bricks spoilt?—I believe he had some bricks spoilt in 1867, this year.

11,068. Do you know what that was for?—No.

11,069. Did you spoil them?—No.

11,070. Had you anything to do with them?—No.

11,071. How did you come to know that they had spoilt them?—There was a boy told me the next morning when I went to my work; a boy that works in the croft.

11,072. Had you nothing at all to do with that yourself?—No.

11,073. Do you know who had?—No.

11,074. Do you know why it should be done?—No.

11,075. And is that all you know about it—that the boy told you that they had been spoilt?—Yes, that was all I saw, that they had been spoilt the next morning.

11,076. Do you work for Mr. Bradbury?—Yes.

11,077. Did you look over the ground?—Yes.

11,078. Did you see how many people had been there?—There might have been two or three, I thought, but I could not rightly say.

11,079. Upon your oath had you nothing to do with that?—No.

11,080. Have you had anything to do with any other spoiling of bricks?—No.

11,081. Not of any kind?—No.

11,082. (*Chairman.*) Nor with anything else?—No.

11,083. (*Mr. Chance.*) Do you know who did spoil Mr. Bradbury's bricks?—No, I do not; I have no idea.

11,084. What is the name of the boy who told you?—He works with me; his name is Mally.

11,085. What is his christian name?—Mally Lowe I think they call it.

11,086. About what age is the boy?—About 9 years of age.

11,087. He works for you at Mr. Bradbury's brickcroft?—Yes.

The witness withdrew.

Thomas Shepley sworn and examined.

11,088. (*Mr. Chance.*) Are you a master brickmaker?—My father is.

11,089. Do you work with him?—I superintend his work.

11,090. Where does he carry on the brickmaking business?—In Hyde.

11,091. How far is Hyde from Ashton?—About three and a half miles perhaps.

11,092. Is that within the district of the Ashton union?—Well, I think they throw it into the Ashton district.

11,093. Is there a brickmaking union belonging to Hyde?—No, no separate union.

11,094. In the year 1861 was your father employing non-union men?—Yes.

11,095. Was he employing any others besides non-union men?—Not in 1861.

11,096. Had he any complaints made to him by the Ashton union, in consequence of his employing non-union men?—Yes.

11,097. Did they wait upon him and remonstrate with him?—In 1860 they did.

11,098. And did he refuse to employ union men?—There was a strike at the time as regards wages, I think. We were paying 1*s.* 8*d.* a thousand at that time, and they wanted to throw us under the Manchester union rules to pay 2*s.* per thousand.

NINTH DAY.

T. Shepley.

14 Sept. 1867.

11,099. Did your father refuse to do it?—He refused to do it.

11,100. And then did the union men strike?—Yes.

11,101. They left your employment?—Yes.

11,102. Then upon their leaving your employment, did you employ non-union men?—In 1861 we did; in the beginning of 1861 we did.

11,103. And were you asked by any one from the union to turn away your non-union men?—Yes.

11,104. Was that before any damage was done to your property?—Yes.

11,105. And did you refuse to turn away your non-union men?—Yes, we did.

11,106. After refusing to turn away the non-union men, was any damage inflicted upon any property belonging to you?—Yes, there was.

11,107. What was it?—The first damage that they did was to break into the hut that we had in the yard, a sort of a cabin.

11,108. When was that?—That would be in the spring; in February.

11,109. In February 1861?—Yes, they broke all the men's tools up.

11,110. Did they do any other damage?—They pinned a notice on to the hut that if the men did not leave the yard what they would do to them. It was not the yard that they had anything against, but it was the men who were working there, or something to that effect.

11,111. What did the notice contain?—It was something to that effect that it was not the yard that they had anything against, but the men that were working in it. I cannot explain exactly what they said, but it was something to that effect.

11,112. There was no threat of what they would do?—I cannot say; the notice is in the hands of the police, I think.

11,113. Was that after the hut had been broken into?—It was left on the door at the time they broke it open and took the tools.

11,114. Was any further damage done at that time?—No.

11,115. After that did you continue to employ non-union men?—Yes.

11,116. Can you tell us more distinctly what that notice contained, as to what they would do to them?—Well, I cannot exactly.

11,117. (*Chairman.*) What sort of a thing was it?—It was a notice pinned on that, if they did not leave their work, they used some sort of threats that their lives would be sacrificed.

11,118. (*Mr. Chance.*) You are sure that words similar to that were upon the notice?—Yes.

11,119. You say you continued after that to employ non-union men?—Yes.

11,120. Was any other damage done to your property after that?—Yes.

11,121. How long after?—It would be in May, I think. We should have commenced making bricks perhaps about a month or six weeks. It would be in May. There was a large quantity of needles thrown into the clay, carpet tacks, and other short nails, "sparrow bills" as we call them, and things of that sort.

11,122. How many bricks were destroyed by that?—There was a very large quantity thrown on, and I think they must have been disturbed while they were doing it, for a handkerchief bundle with many a parcel of needles in it was left there.

11,123. How much clay was there in which the needles had been put?—They put them in the tempered clay first, that is what we were using to make bricks with.

11,124. How much of that was destroyed?—Sufficient to make many a thousand bricks, but I cannot exactly tell.

11,125. Did they put them anywhere else?—Yes, they put them in the face of what we call the cast clay.

11,126. How much of the cast clay was destroyed?—Many a thousand. You know we cast 300,000, or 400,000, or 500,000, or 600,000, at once, and they threw the needles among it all.

11,127. Then there would be as much clay as would make 300,000 or 400,000 bricks destroyed?—All needled.

11,128. Was it spoilt altogether?—No; I came to Manchester and bought a pair of mittens for the moulder to mould up the clay which was tempered, and he moulded it all up without being injured.

11,129. Then the only loss on that occasion was the loss of time and labour?—Yes, before the needles would face the mittens they had to go into the soft clay.

11,130. But how about the cast clay?—We picked them off as well as we possibly could, and were as careful as we could be with them.

11,131. And then afterwards I suppose you worked that up?—Yes.

11,132. How many many men do you suppose had been employed in doing this?—Perhaps three, or four, or five, might be there.

11,133. The needles were of a refuse or damaged character, were they not?—Yes, they were of all sizes from an inch to three or four inches long.

11,134. Did you ever know who had done this?—No.

11,135. Did you continue to employ non-union men after this?—We kept on with non-union men.

11,136. Did any other damage occur to your property?—Yes.

11,137. What was that?—In August we had two very valuable horses cut in the stable,

11,138. What was the value of them?—Well, we had had 50 guineas offered for the pony, and the other I should think was worth between 30*l.* and 40*l.*

11,139. What was done to them?—They were hamstrung in the stable.

11,140. What did you do with the horses, did you destroy them?—We destroyed one because when we went in he was down, he was cut right through, and he was on his quarters in the stable. We tried to rally the pony for five or six weeks, but we had to destroy him.

11,141. Did you take any means after those outrages for the purpose of discovering who the perpetrators were?—There was a reward offered.

11,142. And I suppose that you gave information to the police about it?—Yes.

11,143. At that time you did not discover who had done it?—No.

11,144. Was there any damage done to your property afterwards?—No, never since.

11,145. All those three outrages occurred in 1861?—Yes.

11,146. That maiming of the horses which was done was spoken to by the witness Hipwell?—Yes.

11,147. That is the same occasion?—Yes.

11,148. Did you continue after this to employ non-union men as before?—Yes.

11,149. For what length of time did you employ the non-union men?—We have them working yet.

11,150. And you have never received any damage since August 1861?—Never since August 1861.

11,151. Had you a man of the name of Wyatt in your employ?—Yes.

11,152. When was that?—He came to us in 1860, I think.

11,153. In what capacity did he come to you?—He came as a union man.

11,154. He was a member of the union then?—Yes, we employed union men before that time.

11,155. How long did he remain with you?—He is with us yet.

11,156. Is he still a member of the union?—No, he left the union in the winter of 1860.

11,157. He is here, I think, is he not?—Yes.

11,158. But do you know of your own knowledge whether he has been threatened by any of the union men?—Well, I have never heard him threatened personally, but he has been threatened many a time.

11,159. Has he spoken to you about receiving threats?—Yes.

11,160. Has he also spoken to you about damage having been done to anything that is his?—There were his tools in the cabin at the time that they broke in.

11,161. Has he told you of any other injury which he has received?—He said that he had been waylaid and threatened many a time by the union men.

The witness withdrew.

BUCKLEY WORTHINGTON sworn and examined.

11,162. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Are you a brickmaker?—Yes.

11,163. Are you a member of the Ashton union?—Yes.

11,164. There is a branch of that union at Hyde, is there not?—Yes.

11,165. And are you the treasurer and secretary of it?—Well, I was not put in as the secretary. If you will allow me a minute I will tell you how it was. We live about a mile and a half from Ashton, and they used to warn us to so many meetings that we got tired of going to them. We had to go three times in one week, and we determined to have a meeting of our own among ourselves, and to have a district man to go to the masters if there was any dispute between us. I was the one that received the money every Saturday night and we agreed to pay 1*s.* 6*d.* between us to them that collected it, and when there was two deputed to be sent to a master we allowed them their wages for the time that they lost. We collected the money and sent it to Ashton every fortnight.

11,166. That was for your own convenience?—Yes, that was for our own convenience.

11,167. If Hyde had been a union you would have been secretary, but as it was only a district you did duty as a collector?—Yes, now and then; not always.

11,168. But were you so employed in 1860 and 1861?—Yes, I believe I was.

11,169. I suppose you remember that there was a turn out then at Mr. Shepley's?—Yes.

11,170. Mr. Shepley's union men left his employment, did they not?—Yes.

11,171. Did you go to Mr. Shipley to induce him to take them back again?—No.

11,172. But are you aware that he was applied to?—Yes, the district man and another went.

11,173. But not you?—No, not me.

11,174. Are you aware that some injury was done to his property?—Yes.

11,175. First of all I think that his shed was broken open and his tools destroyed; did you know that?—I have heard of it.

11,176. Do you know who did that?—No, I do not.

11,177. Did you pay any money for it?—No, never. I never paid any money for anything except when we had a district meeting. We were allowed 3*d.* worth of liquor a-piece, except two men who had been sent to a master, and we had paid them for the loss of time.

11,178. Then do I understand that you have paid no money for any of these things?—For no depredation whatever; nothing unlawful.

11,179. Nor for any malicious damage?—Never in my life; I never countenanced anything of the kind, and never shall do.

11,180. Then you had nothing to do with needling Mr. Shepley's clay?—I never had.

11,181. (*Mr. Chance.*) Have you no meetings of your branch union at Hyde?—Yes, sometimes.

11,182. What took place at those meetings?—It was when there was either a dispute amongst the men or a dispute between the masters and the men.

11,183. When you had a dispute with the masters then you had a meeting about it?—Yes, and we had 3*d.* worth of liquor a-piece allowed.

11,184. Was that all which was allowed for you, to have 3*d.* worth of liquor a-piece?—Yes.

11,185. That was all that took place?—Yes.

11,186. Whenever there was a dispute, about 20 of you met and had some liquor, and that was all that took place?—Yes.

11,187. And you mean to say that, do you?—Yes, I do. We picked two men out to go to a master and to see him, to see what the grievance was and try to reconcile it.

11,188. But then you discussed the matter, did you not?—It did not take many minutes. There would be another man picked out to go with the district man to see what the grievance was and to see if they could not reconcile it.

11,189. You say that you do remember the dispute with Shepley?—Yes.

11,190. Were men picked out for the purpose of going to Shepley?—I believe they were.

11,191. Who were the men who were picked out for that purpose?—I do not know; it is so long since that, I do not know who they were that went, and it was considered of no great importance.

11,192. What was considered of no great importance?—When those men were sent to him, Mr. Shepley proposed an agreement that most of us would have agreed to, but the Ashton union would not let us.

11,193. You would have agreed to it?—We would have agreed to divide the price from what we had had. We had had 1*s.* 8*d.* before, and Mr. Shepley proposed giving 1*s.* 10*d.* and we thought it would do, but then we might not have it as we wanted it, being only a branch.

11,194. You would have agreed if the Ashton union would have let you?—Yes, I would for one; and would have worked for 1*s.* 10*d.*

11,195. You never paid any money for those outrages?—Never, not a halfpenny, nor ever countenanced anything of the kind.

11,196. But you have heard of them?—Yes, I have heard of them. I have worked for Mr. Shepley.

11,197. And you have had meetings about them I suppose, have you not?—No, we have not. The most we have had these little meetings about amongst themselves, was to give up going so far to Ashton, for it always lost us a day's work.

11,198. But when you heard of those things, did you not remonstrate against them?—We had no meeting over it. Everyone in our district I believe was as sorry about it as Mr. Shepley's own family, that ever anything should have happened in our district, because it was not within our knowledge. I do not think there was a man in the neighbourhood that knew of it.

11,199. (*Mr. Barstow.*) We know that this damage was done by the Ashton men and not by your men at all?—Yes.

11,200. (*Chairman.*) You say if the thing happened in your district you sent a man to go with the delegate to try and make up the dispute. Supposing they could not make up the dispute, then did you refer it to the Ashton union, you being a branch?—No, we did not.

11,201. You 20 men met, we will say, and heard of a dispute in your branch district between master and men, and you tried to make it up?—Yes.

11,202. Supposing you could not make it up, and terms were offered to you, did you submit them to the general Ashton union?—There was an old man came round to our neighbourhood to know if there was any disputes, and we sent word by this old man, and he was like a delegate between our districts and the Ashton club.

11,203. But you were governed I understand by the Ashton club?—Yes, we were; whatever they said we were to do we had to do as far as rules and price went.

11,204. Do you remember those horses being stabbed that have been talked about?—Yes, I do.

11,205. Were you there at the time?—I was work-

NINTH DAY. ing in the same district, but I never knew of it till breakfast time the next morning. I do not believe that there was any man in Hyde that knew anything of it until after it was done.

B. Worthington.

The witness withdrew.

14 Sept. 1867.

JOSEPH WYATT sworn and examined.

J. Wyatt.

11,206. (*Chairman.*) Are you a brickmaker at Hyde?—Yes.

11,207. Are you the manager of Mr. Shepley's brickyard?—I am.

11,208. Were you formerly a member of the Ashton union?—I was.

11,209. And I believe you left it in 1860, did you not?—Yes.

11,210. Did you leave it in consequence of some fine being imposed upon you?—Yes, I did.

11,211. How much was the fine?—30*s.*

11,212. And what did they say it was imposed for?—I took Mr. Shepley's brickyard to work against them.

11,213. Mr. Shepley had non-union men, we understand?—They were union men at that time, and I left the union men, and said I would do the yard independent of the union men, and they fined me 30*s.* for saying that.

11,214. And then you left the union?—I did.

11,215. Then was Mr. Shepley thinking of employing non-union men, or what was the offence? If he was employing union men how was it you could not be manager?—I left the yard at that time and engaged it the year after 1860.

11,216. Then you were a union man, of course, when the fine was imposed upon you?—Yes.

11,217. I did not thoroughly understand why the fine was imposed?—Because I said I would take the yard and work the yard independent of union men.

11,218. Was that in the year 1860?—Yes.

11,219. In the year 1861 Mr. Shepley appointed you manager, did he not?—He did.

11,220. Were any union men employed at the time?—No.

11,221. In February 1861, did anything happen to your cabin in the night?—It did so.

11,222. What happened?—It broke all the tools that I had in.

11,223. In the night, during your absence?—Yes.

11,224. Then you as manager had a cabin in which the tools were?—Yes.

11,225. Were they wheelbarrows, or what were they?—They were tools of all sorts to get clay with.

11,226. And some persons broke in in the night and destroyed the tools?—They did, and other materials as well as tools.

11,227. What else?—Wheelbarrows.

12,228. What else?—A kiln barrow.

11,229. And they destroyed them all, too?—They destroyed them all too, and threw them into a reservoir.

11,230. Did they destroy all that was in the cabin?—Yes, they did not leave anything.

11,231. Was there a letter fixed on the door threatening injury to you?—Yes.

11,232. Do you remember what the injury was that was threatened?—Well, I gave the letter up to Mr. Liddell, the deputy-constable, and I have forgotten the most of it, but I think it said that if I did not leave or go away from the yard, and they visited the yard any more, the next time they visited me I must look for my life.

11,233. Was that a printed letter or a written letter?—A written letter, and I gave it to Mr. Liddell.

11,234. Where was it put?—On the front of the door in the street.

11,235. Had you any personal quarrel with any one?—Not a word.

11,236. Was there any other reason for this letter except this quarrel with the union?—Not that I am aware of.

11,237. I suppose the letter was not signed by any one?—No.

11,238. And you do not know by whom it was written?—No.

11,239. Used you at that time to walk to your work?—Yes, I had nearly two miles to go night and morning.

11,240. Did your way lay across fields or private paths, or anything of that sort?—It was a private road.

11,241. Was it partly over fields?—Through the town, and about a mile was private road.

11,242. And I suppose you went at regular stated hours?—Yes.

11,243. So that people would know what your hours were when you walked along the path, and when you were expected to come back?—Certainly.

11,244. Did you ever on those occasions notice any union men watching you?—On many occasions I saw them on the ground before I left work, and they followed me on the way.

11,245. At what time in the morning did you usually go to your work?—Sometimes half-past 6 or 6, or near upon 7. It depended upon how light the morning was. This was in winter time.

11,246. What time did you go in winter time?—Just about half-past 6 or 7, so that I could get to my work as soon as it was light.

11,247. And what time did you use to come away?—Five or half-past.

11,248. Just as it was getting dark?—Yes.

11,249. You say that on several occasions you noticed union men watching you?—Yes.

11,250. How were they watching you?—In different postures. Sometimes I could see them half-way up a field, and near the footpath.

11,251. Did you notice or know any of those men that were watching you?—I have seen a man of the name of Barker watching me.

11,252. Do you remember his christian name?—Yes, William Barker.

11,253. Anybody else?—Yes, a man of the name of Rawlinson.

11,254. Were those two Ashton union men?—They were Hyde men.

11,255. But did they belong to the Ashton union?—Yes, and a man of the name of Holland I have also seen.

11,256. Was he also an Ashton union man?—Yes.

11,257. Did they say or do anything to you on any of those occasions, when you say they were watching you?—Not upon my travels.

11,258. What were they doing when you saw them?—They seemed as if they were seeking, or hiding, or watching for something, looking on the ground when I was passing, or something of that sort.

11,259. But they did not say or do anything to you?—No.

12,260. Did you notice anything in the path when you went along on any of those occasions?—Several times I have found apples and oranges right in the path.

11,261. Where you must go?—Where I must go close by them.

11,262. Did you ever pick up any of the apples and oranges?—Yes, I did, and examined them.

11,263. Which did you pick up?—I picked up both of them.

11,264. Did this happen several times?—It did.

11,265. What did you observe in either the one or the other?—When I cut them through it was green.

11,266. Take an orange; did you cut the orange through?—Yes.

11,267. What did you observe?—It was green where the end of the boring was; the same as you might bore a cheese, and bring the cork out, and then drop it down again into it.

11,268. The end of the hole was something green?—It had struck the orange green.

11,269. The orange was bored, then, as I understand?—Yes.

11,270. Did it appear to have been bored with a knife?—No, it had been bored by a sharp instrument something like a gimlet.

11,271. Had the hole which it had made at the top been filled up again?—Yes, put down just as a cork in the bottle, so that you could not discover that anything had been done to it.

11,272. A sort of hole had been made with a gimlet, and then at the bottom of the hole something green was eventually discovered, but the top was filled up so that nobody could discover that it had been bored at all?—Yes.

11,273. How many times did you discover this in the oranges?—All times.

11,274. How many times did you discover it in them?—Four or five times.

11,275. At the same time that you found the oranges did you find the apples?—There were five apples along with the oranges the first time.

11,276. How many oranges were there there the first time?—About five.

11,277. Five oranges and five apples?—Yes.

11,278. Did you discover that this had been done in opening all the five oranges?—Yes.

11,279. In every one of them?—Yes.

11,280. Did you open the apples?—Yes.

11,281. What had been done to them?—The very same.

11,282. And at the bottom of the boring there was something green, and the hole was covered up again so that you might not observe it till you cut it open?—You could not observe it till you cut it open.

11,283. Did you pick all the ten up, the five oranges and the five apples?—Yes.

11,284. Did you cut them open?—Yes, and made them away.

11,285. You never were successful in finding it out?—No, it struck me forcibly that something would be done to me because I had heard so many threats, and people had said so. I was always on my guard.

11,286. In opening the oranges and apples you found this boring in them?—Yes.

11,287. What did you do with them; did you take them to any chemist?—No.

11,288. What did you do with them?—I made away with them in the ashpit.

11,289. The first lot you threw away, the five oranges and five apples?—Yes, and then I informed Mr. Liddell about it, and Mr. Liddell said, "If you do not mind they will trick you; anything that you find in that way make away with it, and destroy it without touching it.

11,290. Without eating it?—Yes.

11,291. You say that the first time you discovered them there were as many as five apples and five oranges?—Yes.

11,292. Before that, had you seen any men in the field?—A fortnight previous I had.

11,293. On the very day had you seen them?—Yes.

11,294. How near the place?—There were seven there.

11,295. Was it at night when you were coming home?—Yes, the first lot was in the night.

11,296. What month was it?—The latter end of February, I did not make any entries of them.

11,297. And you saw some of those men on your road home at that time?—Yes.

11,298. And near the spot where the oranges and apples were found?—No, they were a couple of hundred yards from the place.

11,299. Were the men whom you saw then the men whose names are mentioned, Barker, or Rawlinson, or Holt?—Yes, and several others.

11,300. Did you see those men on that occasion?—Yes.

11,301. And there were several others?—Yes, that I knew were union men by sight.

11,302. Upon any other occasion besides this one, did you find any oranges or apples in your path?—Yes, about five times in all.

11,303. And all about that time, February or March?—The beginning of March and the latter end of of February, when it began to get a bit light in the morning I could see everybody, and therefore I was not troubled with them.

11,304. How many times did you pick them up?—Every time.

11,305. Did you open them every time?—No.

11,306. Not after the after the first time?—No.

11,307. How many did you generally find in the path these five times, both oranges and apples?—There were more every time.

10,308. There were four or five each time?—Sometimes, and something like six and seven in the end.

11,309. Half oranges and half apples?—Yes.

11,310. And after having found out the first lot being in the way you have described you did not open the others?—No, Mr. Liddell told me to make away with them.

11,311. Therefore each of the remaining times you destroyed them all?—Yes.

11,312. By throwing them in the ash-pit?—I threw them over the bridge into the river as I went over.

11,313. You threw all you found into the river?—Yes.

11,314. It was only on the first occasion that you opened the five oranges and the five apples?—Yes.

11,315. This took place at the end of February and pretty well through March?—Yes, four or five weeks they were agait it.

11,316. Was William Barker assistant secretary to the Ashton union?—Yes, he was.

11,317. When does the brickmaking season commence?—About the middle of April; it depends upon the weather.

11,318. You say that you went to Mr. Shepley's service in the beginning of the year 1861, the brickmaking season began about April?—Yes.

11,319. Before it began did you see William Barker? Yes, I saw him regularly.

11,320. Do you remember him saying anything to you?—He said to me when we commenced brickmaking, that before we should make 200 bricks I should have a ball through me, and he say, "The "others will remember when the butterflies come."

11,321. Do you remember whether at the commencement of the year 1861 all the clay that was tempered was spoiled?—Yes.

11,322. By needling?—Yes, by needles, tacks, and pins.

11,323. Did you often watch the ground at night?—I did after that night for two years.

11,324. While you were watching the ground at night, were you often disturbed?—Many a time; the police were with me generally.

11,325. How many?—Just as I had a mind to call upon them, if I saw danger. There was always one.

11,326. And sometimes more?—There was always one going round, and he came in to look round.

11,327. How were you disturbed?—By men coming round the yard to see whether they could attack me. Often they sent a black dog round, and if it found anybody it would make a noise and bark.

11,328. To warn them that you were there?—Yes, that somebody was there.

11,329. Can you tell whether those who were attacking you were brickmakers?—They were in disguise.

11,330. Did you know that they were brickmakers?—We could see that they were after something at that hour of the night.

11,331. Of no good?—No good.

11,332. Do you remember the attack on the horses?—Yes.

11,333. Were you in the service of Mr. Shepley at the time?—Yes.

11,334. While you were a member of the union did you attend the meetings?—I did not attend so many.

NINTH DAY.

J. Wyatt.

14 Sept. 1867.

11,335. When you did attend, were matters of this kind brought before the meeting ?—There was not much done at the time when I left.

11,336. But there were complaints brought before the meetings ?—There were little ones.

11,337. But no big ones ?—Not at that time.

11,338. There was a branch union at Hyde ?—Yes, called the Hyde branch.

11,339. Were you a member of that ?—I paid my money to both of them, I worked at Denton and it belonged to Ashton.

11,340. (*Mr. Chance.*) You have spoken of Barker and Rawlinson, were any of the men belonging to the Hyde branch there ?—The three I mentioned did belong to the Hyde branch.

11,341. You say that you were watched by union men ?—Yes.

11,342. Were any of the union men by whom who were watched members of the Hyde branch ?—Yes, all three were.

11,343. Are you sure of that ?—Yes.

11,344. Do you know who was acting as secretary of the Hyde branch at that time ?—Buckley Worthington.

11,345. The witness who was called last ?—Yes.

11,346. Did you ever see him amongst the men who were watching you ?—No.

11,347. Did you ever have any communication with him ?—Not after I left the union.

11,348. But before you left the union ?—Upon no particular business.

11,349. You are quite sure that some of the men who were watching you were members of the Hyde branch ?—Yes.

11,350. (*Chairman.*) Did you show those oranges or apples after you cut them through to anybody ?—No, I told Mr. Liddell the next morning.

11,351. You told him, but you did not show them to him ?—No.

11,352. Nor did you show any of the others ?—No, I made away with them according to his orders.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. J. Little.

Mr. Joseph Little sworn and examined.

11,353. (*Mr. Chance.*) You are deputy chief-constable of Cheshire ?—I am.

11,354. Is Hyde your station ?—Yes.

11,355. Were you deputy chief-constable in 1860 and 1861 ?—Yes, I have held that position for 26 years.

11,356. We have had a statement made to us with regard to certain outrages committed upon Mr. Shepley ?—Yes.

11,357. Do you remember the last witness, Joseph Wyatt, saying anything about any of these outrages in the year 1861 ?—I remember it distinctly.

11,358. Tell us what you remember Wyatt telling you ?—Wyatt told me that he had been waylaid from time to time ; that he had found fruit, oranges, and apples on the road, as if they had been thrown there with the intention for him to pick them up. In consequence of what had previously taken place among the unionists, I told him to make away with them at once : "Do not use anything of the sort, bury them ; whatever they may be that you find suspiciously that way, bury them at once and do not use them."

11,359. You told him so ?—I told him distinctly so.

11,360. Did he tell you that he had found those things more than once ?—Yes, I was in daily communication with him, I had nearly a dozen men engaged nightly in watching these unionists.

11,361. He never showed you any oranges or apples ?—No.

11,362. Did he describe the appearance of them ?—Yes.

11,363. Did you hear him give his evidence ?—Yes.

11,364. Did he tell you that there was a green appearance in the fruit ?—Yes, he described the appearance to me the same as he described it in court to-day.

11,365. Have you any reason whatever to disbelieve his evidence ?—No, I believed him to be telling the truth at the time, and knowing that these gangs were going about, and that the police said they were going about and destroying bricks, I had great doubts about these men, and Wyatt being a man working was a confirmation of the suspicion about these things.

11,366. (*Chairman.*) You did not think it worth while to have the green stuff found in any of these things examined by a chemist ?—I did not think so ; it was rather negligent on my part.

11,367. It would have been better if you had done so ?—It would have been much better as this inquiry has taken place, but I did not do so.

11,368. You advised him to destroy anything he found in that way and not to touch them ?—Yes.

11,369. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Why did you tell him to make away with them ?—He said he found a little hole bored in and something green in the centre of the fruit, and I told him not to use them by any means, but to bury them.

11,370. What did you understand from him that this green substance was ?—My opinion was that the unionists were throwing these things for him to take and eat to destroy his life ; there were many things found ; we found a canister of powder.

11,371. (*Chairman.*) Where ?—On the night Mr. Shepley's horses were destroyed, that is the morning after ; there were four canisters of powder found in the brook near to their place, and three men were seen running away from Mr. Shepley's place to this brook, where the canisters of powder were found.

11,372. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Still that is a very different kind of thing from poisoned fruit ?—I merely mention this to show to you the practice amongst these unionists.

11,373. The practice we know very well, but this is quite a new sort of practice ; have you known any other instance of their throwing poison in anyone's way ?—I cannot say that ; there has been powder laid ; there have been bottles of powder with fuses.

11,374. These canisters of powder would not have blown up the brook ?—No.

11,375. They were intended for some other purpose and were hidden away in the brook. Had you known any instance of poisoned fruit or anything of that sort laid in the way of any man who was offensive to the union ?—I cannot say distinctly that I have done so.

11,376. Have you any recollection at all of anything of the kind ?—Not with the exception of this.

11,377. This man had to go over some considerable distance from his house to the works ?—He had.

11,378. Would it not have been very easy for these union men to have attacked him on the way ?—No, because I had men to watch them ; I was aware of the game they were playing at, and I appointed men privately to watch and protect him both in Dukenfield and Hyde.

11,379. You can scarcely have had men to accompany Wyatt backwards and forwards to his work ?—No, I had not.

11,380. You mean that you were more than ordinarily vigilant ?—I had men to protect the works and to protect Wyatt, knowing that he had refused to act in the union.

11,381. That I quite understand, but they did not follow him backwards and forwards ?—Do you mean to accompany him ?

11,382. Yes.—No, certainly not ; they watched him down a certain distance to see that he was away from these people that were supposed to be in Hyde—the unionists.

11,383. Did you ever hear of any personal injury being done to Wyatt ?—Do you mean threats ?

11,384. No, personal injury.—Not personal injury, but threats.

11,385. Was anything done to his house or property?—No, there was nothing done to his house; a placard was given to me which I have unfortunately lost.

11,386. You have not heard that he has been injured in fact?—No, but there have been threats used to him.

11,387. But no injury has been done to him, in fact?—No.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. Thomas Blocksage sworn and examined.

11,388. (*Chairman.*) Are you a brickmaker, living in Macclesfield?—Yes.

11,389. Is that in the district of the Ashton union?—Yes.

11,390. You were employing non-union men in the year 1862?—Yes.

11,391. Had you been employing union men before you employed the non-union men?—Yes, in 1860.

11,392. When did you cease to employ union men?—On the 7th of May 1860.

11,393. From the year 1860 upwards did you cease to employ them?—I ceased working for two years, and commenced again in 1862.

11,394. When you commenced brickmaking which did you employ, union or non-union men?—Non-union men.

11,395. In consequence of your employing non-union men was any representation made to you by the union?—Not in that year; they did not come to see me in that year, but they destroyed a number of bricks.

11,396. Did any members come to see you before the bricks you speak of were destroyed?—No.

11,397. In that year had you any bricks destroyed?—Yes, between 50,000 and 60,000.

11,398. How were they destroyed?—Trampled upon, and the walls pushed down upon the new-made bricks as well.

11,399. How many men do you suppose were employed in destroying the bricks?—I do not know the quantity; I have seen in the papers somewhere about how many there were.

11,400. You saw the bricks after they were destroyed?—Yes.

11,401. Could you tell from the impression?—No, I could not tell from that.

11,402. Could you tell whether there were more than two or three?—There must have been more than that to destroy the quantity they did.

11,403. Had you been fined by the union before this damage was done to your bricks?—Yes.

11,404. That was in 1860?—Yes.

11,405. That was before you gave over working?—Yes, that was the reason we ceased working for that season, and the season after.

11,406. Because you were fined?—Yes.

11,407. What were you fined for?—Some dispute between them and me about 12*s.* for the work not being properly done, and I would not pay it.

11,408. For work done by their men?—Yes, the work was done by piecework, and it was not done to my satisfaction.

11,409. Did you complain to them of the work not being properly done?—Yes.

11,410. What did they say?—My bookkeeper stopped 4*s.* per cent. while the work was done, and they turned out against it, and then they called a district meeting, that is, a number of men met together and fined me 5*l.*

11,411. What did they allege was the reason for fining you?—The reason was their having to strike against me.

11,412. But what was the fault that you had committed?—Their having lost their day's labour.

11,413. And they wanted you to pay it?—They wanted me to pay 5*l.*

11,414. Did you pay 5*l.*?—No.

11,415. Did you refuse to pay it?—Yes; I have done so since.

11,416. Soon after that you gave up brickmaking?—Yes, through being fined I threw up the contracts that I had in hand.

11,417. You were annoyed at the conduct of the union?—It was rather forcibly expressing it, to have to pay 5*l.* before I could have men to go on with.

11,418. Had you any other damage done to your property besides the destruction of these bricks?—We had an attempt to set the shed on fire for one things.

11,419. When was that?—About 1864.

11,420. Was it after the destruction of the bricks?—Yes.

11,421. Long after?—Yes.

11,422. Was it in the same year?—No, it was not in the same year.

11,423. What year was it?—About 1864. I am not certain.

11,424. Were you employing non-union men at that time?—Yes.

11,425. Had any representations been made to you by the union previous to the attempt to set the shed on fire?—Yes, deputations waited upon me almost every season except 1861 and 1862, and I said if my men wanted to go into the union they might do so, I should not object to it.

11,426. Did the non-union men object to go into the union?—They would not go in.

11,427. Was the fire put out before it took hold of the shed?—It was a very trivial attempt to set it on fire; there was nothing burnt but a few chips that were saturated with something, and a few candles put together, the damage was very trivial. Whether they were disturbed I do not know, and whether it was done by union men I cannot swear.

11,428. You only know the fact that they attempted to set the shed on fire?—Yes.

11,429. Did you make any complaint to the union about it?—No, they generally wait upon me.

11,430. At any time after that had you any damage done to your property?—The latter end of 1864 I had a horse that was struck in the stable, but whether it was done by union men or not I cannot swear.

11,431. Have you any reason to suppose that it was done by union men?—No, from the first outrage up to now they have been very lenient with me, no doubt. I mean I have had other property at stake by which they might have punished me severely.

11,432. You mean by that that they do not destroy all the property that they might do; that is leniency, is it?—Yes.

11,433. (*Mr. Chance.*) Had you any quarrel with any private person at this time?—No.

11,434. Do you know why any person, from a private quarrel, should set the shed on fire or stick your horse?—No.

11,435. Did the horse die?—No, the wound was about five inches deep, and an inch and a half broad.

11,436. Whereabouts?—In the breast; they just missed the heart; it might have been more severe.

11,437. Can you conceive any reason why that should have been done?—No.

11,438. Is it not your belief that it was done in consequence of your employing non-union men?—I cannot swear to that; it may possibly be so. I had a good number of men that were working, and some of them that were discharged might take it upon themselves to do it.

11,439. Had you behaved badly to the men to induce them to do it?—Sometimes they are discharged, and they do those things.

11,440. Had you discharged some of your men about that time?—I cannot remember.

11,441. Your attention would have been called to it if you had discharged a man, and he would have been likely to have done this upon being discharged;

NINTH DAY.

Mr. T. Blocksage.

4 Sept. 1867.

did you take any trouble afterwards to ascertain who had done it?—No, I warned the police about it.

11,442. Did you ask them to endeavour to find out who had done it?—They kept better watch upon the premises.

11443. They kept better watch upon the premises, did they?—Yes.

11,444. Did you ask them to try and find out who had done this?—They strove to do it.

11,445. Did you instruct them to do it?—Yes, I told them to look after it.

11,446. Did you express a wish that they should do it?—Yes.

11,447. After this was anything else done to any of your property of any kind?—No, I have not anything to complain of else.

(*Chairman.*) So far from complaining you seem to think that they are lenient.

11,448. (*Mr. Chance.*) Had you a man named James Barker in your employ at that time?—No, I am not aware of anyone of that name in my employ.

11,449. Had you a man of the name of Sidebotham in your employ at that time?—Yes.

11,450. When was he in your employ?—In 1862.

11,451. Was he a member of the union or not?—No, he was not a member.

11,452. Was he threatened at all by the union men?—He did not complain to me, but I have heard of it since.

11,453. Did he about 1862 ever complain to you of having been threatened by the union men?—I cannot remember whether he did or not.

11,454. Had you any man in your employment who was a non-union man who had been threatened by the union men in 1862?—Well, I cannot remember any one having told me they were threatened.

11,455. Do you remember your premises being watched by policemen in consequence of any anticipated attacks?—Yes.

11,456. When was that?—In some part of May 1862.

11,457. You were afraid of being attacked, and got some police to guard your premises?—Yes, and a watchman.

11,458. Do you not remember Sergeant Buckley being attacked by a number of men when he was watching your premises?—Yes.

11,459. Was that in 1862?—Yes, he saw a number of men behind a parting between my brickyard and the lane, crouched behind the hedge. He made an alarm and got a sufficient number to help him, and they ran away immediately.

11,460. For what purpose do you suppose those men were there on that occasion?—They must have come there to destroy the bricks.

11,461. Do you suppose that they were union men come to destroy the bricks?—I cannot form any other conclusion.

11,462. What is your belief upon the matter?—I believe that they were.

11,463. (*Mr. Barstow.*) You say that when this horse was stabbed you gave information to the police?—Yes.

11,464. Did they investigate the case for you?—Yes.

11,465. On whom did the suspicion fall; you must tell us?—The suspicions of the police?

11,466. Yes, as to the injury to the horse.—I do not know.

11,467. They never told you anything about it?—No.

11,468. Who did you think had done it at the time?—I could not tell of any one having done it.

11,469. Did not you form any opinion in your own mind as to who had done it?—I did not form any opinion about it.

11,470. You have had your bricks injured before?—Yes.

11,471. Who did you think had done it?—The brickmakers' union.

11,472. After the policemen found the men close to your premises?—Yes.

11,473. And they ran away?—Yes.

11,474. You told us that you thought that those were union men who were there to destroy your property?—Yes.

11,475. Who do you think destroyed your horse?—I must come to the same conclusion.

11,476. Did you at the time come to the same conclusion?—I thought so.

11,477. Why did you not tell us so at once if you thought so. You have been asked half a dozen times at least who you thought at the time had done it?—You want to make me say so. I have no grounds for saying so.

11,478. You were asked who you thought had done it at the time, and now you say, having been asked half a dozen times, that you thought it was the union men?—Yes.

11,479. (*Chairman.*) You had had no quarrel with any man?—No.

11,480. Are you under fear now of speaking out?—No.

11,481. You seem to hesitate about speaking out?—No, I am not in any fear.

The witness withdrew.

J. Barker.

JAMES BARKER sworn and examined.

11,482. (*Chairman.*) Were you ever in the employment of the last witness, Thomas Blocksage?—Yes.

11,483. When was that?—In 1862.

11,484. At that time was he employing non-union men?—He was employing non-union men.

11,485. Were you at that time a member of the union?—No.

11,486. Have you ever been?—I was in 1861 a very short time.

11,487. And you are not a member now?—No.

11,488. Blocksage was employing non-union men, and you had been a union man, but had ceased to be so when you were in his employment?—Yes, I was not a union man at that time.

11,489. When you were in his service were you threatened?—Many a time.

11,490. Can you tell me the names of anybody who threatened you?—I never took any notice of them; I only passed them away as well as I could.

11,491. Were they union men who threatened you?—Yes.

11,492. Just give us a sort of notion of the threats used?—They called me a "bloody knobstick" and said they would kill me if they had a chance, or such words as that.

11,493. Was that often done?—Yes, very often.

11,494. Were there several people together with these union men when it was said?—Three or four perhaps then. We met them in the street.

11,495. Was anything ever done to you?—No, only threats. I always minded to keep away from them as well as I could.

11,496. How long did this go on? How long were you working for Mr. Blocksage? — Five years I worked for him off and on.

11,497. Are you working for him now?—No, I am carting for Edward Wayland at Stalybridge.

11,498. What is he?—A carrier.

11,499. You have nothing to do with brickmaking now?—No.

11,500. Were you ever asked to cart machine-made bricks?—No.

11,501. If you had been asked, how would it have been?—I should have had to do it.

11,502. Would you have been in any danger in doing it?—No, there is none where I am now.

11,503. What made you give up Mr. Blocksage's service?—I gave up when he had finished.

11,504. When he had finished the particular job there?—Yes.

11,505. Did it take five years to finish it?—No, I was with him five years off and on.

11,506. After that did you go to this carter?—I went out working after at spade work.

11,507. You had nothing to do with bricks?—No; I was at that until I got the job of carting.

11,508. (*Mr. Chance.*) What made you leave the union?—I did not like their way.

11,509. (*Chairman.*) How long had you been a brickmaker?—I cannot tell you.

11,510. For a good many years?—Yes, I was a wheeler; I was not a brickmaker.

11,511. Were you a brickmaker for some years?—Yes.

11,512. Did you give it up in consequence of the disturbances of the union men?—No, I was not a bit frightened of them.

11,513. Do you know Timothy Burns?—Yes; I was going on the rail side from Guide Bridge in 1862.

11,514. Where were you working?—At Blocksage's.

11,515. Did Timothy Burns hail you?—Yes; he was going on to Guide Bridge and I was going on, and he said I was on the top and he would throw me in the water.

11,516. Did you leave off work in consequence of that threat?—No.

11,517. Did you have any threat of that kind from the others?—No, I took no notice of them.

11,518. (*Mr. Chance.*) You left the union because you did not like their ways?—I did not like paying my money except I knew where it was going to; I wanted to know where the money went to.

11,519. And did they refuse to tell you?—They never let me know but very little business while I was in.

11,520. Did you ask now and then what became of the money?—When they were reading the books they said so and so, and I asked what it was for, and they would not tell me.

11,521. What was the so and so; what was the word used?—There were 2*l.* or 3*l.* for so and so, and I asked what it was for.

11,522. Was it put under the head of "sundry expenses"?—Yes, but they would not tell me what it was for.

11,523. And that was the reason why you left?—Yes.

The witness withdrew.

JAMES SIDEBOTHAM sworn and examined.

11,524. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Did you work for Mr. Blocksage as a brickmaker?—As a temperer.

11,525. In what year was that?—1862.

11,526. How long did you continue in his service?—I have worked for him ever since.

11,527. Do you work for him now?—No, I work in a coal pit now.

11,528. When did you leave his service?—Five weeks since.

11,529. What made you leave it?—For bettering myself.

11,530. (*Chairman.*) Have you ever been threatened by union men?—No.

11,531. You have never been threatened at all?—No, not in Ashton?—I was attacked in Manchester making bricks for this place here.

11,532. Where was that?—At the top of Cheetwood.

11,533. When was it?—In 1865 I believe—two years since.

11,534. Who attacked you?—I do not know.

11,535. How many men attacked you?—There was me and another man, there were seven or more attacked me.

11,536. Where were you working at the time?—I was making bricks for this prison.

11,537. There was a great dispute at the time with the union and you about making bricks for this prison?—Yes.

11,538. What was the dispute, were they using machine bricks?—Yes, they were using machine bricks, and we were making the stuff for it.

11,539. And seven or eight men attacked you?—Yes.

11,540. Were they union men?—I suppose they were.

11,541. What did they do to you?—They knocked me down with a shovel shaft.

11,542. Where did they hit you?—Across the shoulder.

11,543. Did you know any of them?—No, I was stranger about there.

11,544. Do you know any of them now?—No.

11,545. They knocked you down with a shovel shaft?—Yes, it was 6 o'clock in the morning, they knocked me down and set off as hard as they could go.

11,546. What became of the man with you?—The man followed me down Cheetwood; they hit his head with a bottle and cut it and hurt it very badly.

11,547. Was that because you were working at the machinery works?—It was because we were making bricks at a machinery place.

11,548. You were working at a machinery place?—Yes.

11,549. That was in 1865?—Yes.

11,550. Had you to give over working after that?—We gave over.

11,551. You gave over for fear of these attacks?—Yes.

11,552. You mentioned that you were making bricks for Blocksage, did any men interfere with you when you were making bricks at the yard?—Yes.

11,553. When was that?—It was in 1860, they came and stopped me.

11,554. Was Blocksage employing non-union men?—He was employing union men then.

11,555. How came the men to attack you?—I had been working at a machine yard in Dukinfield, and I went to get a job off him.

11,556. Of whom?—Off Blocksage, and they heard that I was going to start there and they called a meeting on Monday.

11,557. Who did?—The union men.

11,558. Where did they hold it?—At Hyde. On Tuesday morning Joseph Frith and Hibbert came and told Blocksage that if we started the other men would have to stop, and Blocksage let us start.

11,559. You had been working at the machine-making place, and then you came to work at Blocksage's, and Hibbert came and told Blocksage himself that if you started at that place they would come and stop the men?—Yes.

11,560. Did you start at that place?—No, Blocksage would not start us.

11,561. Nothing happened to you beyond that?—No.

11,562. Then you were without work in consequence?—I went and got another job at Clifford's.

11,563. Had you known Frith and Hibbert before?—Yes.

11,564. You had known them before?—Yes, I had seen them frequently enough.

11,565. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Who is Hibbert?—He is a temperer; they are both temperers.

11,566. Do you know Hibbert's christian name?—Elias Hibbert.

11,567. Is he a union man?—I do not know whether he is now, he was then.

11,568. Of what union was he a member?—The Ashton union.

The witness withdrew.

NINTH DAY.

Peter Buckley sworn and examined.

P. Buckley.

14 Sept. 1867.

11,569. (*Mr. Chance.*) Are you an inspector of the Cheshire constabulary?—I am sergeant.

11,570. Do you remember sometime back going to watch the premises of Mr. Thomas Blocksage?—I was on duty in the neighbourhood of his brickyard.

11,571. You had been put there specially to watch his brickyard?—No, not to remain there.

11,572. Then your attention was directed to his brickyard?—Yes.

11,573. Was it in consequence of outrages having taken place in the neighbourhood?—Yes.

11,574. Do you remember one night while you were on duty having your attention attracted by a number of men in the brickyard?—Yes.

11,575. When was that?—It was on the 23rd of June 1862, the Monday night in the same week that Constable Jump was shot on the Saturday morning.

11,576. What did you see?—I was going by the brickyard to visit a man in the neighbourhood, and I saw Blocksage's watchman. I spoke to him and went forward, and on my return I saw the watchman again soon after. His little dog was coming out of the field where the kiln is situated; it was growling. On looking down the road leading to the cottage gardens I observed a man. I did not expect that they were coming to spoil the bricks, thinking they were coming to needle the clay. I went down and found that it was not a man. I then went across the field, and in doing so about 150 yards out of the field I observed something under the fence. I went towards it and got within a dozen yards of it, when I could see that it was a number of men, perhaps about 20. I turned my head another way as if I had not seen them, and went down the cottage gardens and went down the field and turned into the road. I went back again into the lane and went forward along the lane and spoke to the watchman. I told the watchman to keep quiet for a while and I would get some assistance. I went down the road, knowing where two constables would be found, and I met Mr. Blocksage and told him they were there, and went round to get the two constables, thinking that I would enclose the field. I went and got the two constables and when I came out there I met two men coming along the road. I asked them to turn back with us. One of them said, "You do not need to go any further; they have gone away." I asked him how he knew, and he said he had met them. I asked where, and he said at Jumpson Brook. I asked him how many there were, and he said four or five. The night after I saw some men coming from the direction of Dukinfield Hall at 12 o'clock at night, and the man said he met 16 or 17.

11,577. Were you at any time attacked by a number of men?—No; when I saw them I turned my head another way as if I had not seen them to go and get assistance.

11,578. You saw nothing more that night?—No.

11,579. Were you at any time attacked by a number of men?—No.

11,580. Have you heard nothing more about it?—I was attacked by a number of men, but that is 12 years ago, in Manchester.

11,581. I speak of this?—As soon as I saw them I thought I would get some men to enclose the field.

11,582. Do you know who these men were?—No.

11,583. Do you know any of them?—No. The night was dark; I could not swear to any of them. They went in the direction of the men who were apprehended in Jump's affair.

11,584. You said nothing to them?—No.

11,585. And they said nothing to you?—No. They sat under the hedge; they were sitting very heavily armed; they were sitting on their weapons, brick-shafts or spade-shafts, or something of that sort.

11,586. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Was any damage done to Mr. Blocksage's yard that night?—No, not that night; there had been 50,000 or 60,000 bricks spoiled a month before that.

11,587. But not that night?—No.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. W. Hibbert.

Mr. William Hibbert sworn and examined.

11,588. (*Chairman.*) What are you?—A cotton manufacturer.

11,589. How long have you been so?—About 10 years.

11,590. Where do you carry on your business?—At Godley, near Hyde.

11,591. Do you work with many men?—I made bricks in 1861 but not since; I employed perhaps a dozen men.

11,592. Were the men whom you employed union men or non-union men?—Non-union men.

11,593. Was there any quarrel between the union men and the men whom you employed?—There was a bad feeling shown.

11,594. In the year 1861?—Yes.

11,595. Was anything done to your clay at that time?—A very large quantity of needles and pins and nails were found in it.

11,596. Were they thrown into some tempered clay?—They were thrown in the tempered clay.

11,597. Was this in the year 1861?—In the month of June 1861.

11,598. And a large quantity of needles were thrown in?—Yes.

11,599. Do you know any cause for such an act except the quarrel between your men and the union men?—None at all.

11,600. That was done only on one occasion was it?—Only on one occasion.

11,601. How much clay was spoiled?—I do not think 10*s.* worth would be spoiled.

11,602. What quantity of clay was spoiled?—It would have spoiled 8,000 or 10,000 bricks, but the needles were taken off; they were fortunately discovered and taken off without much loss.

11,603. You luckily discovered them so as to take them out?—Yes.

11,604. You ceased to make bricks?—Yes, after that.

11,605. Was that the reason of your giving it up?—Partly so.

11,606. In consequence of these constant disturbances with the union?—Yes, the unpleasantness.

11,607. And you discontinued that trade?—Yes, I discontinued that trade.

11,608. You do not know at all about the reason why they actually did it?—No, not at all.

The witness withdrew.

J. Langford.

John Langford sworn and examined.

11,609. (*Mr. Barstow.*) In the year 1860 were you in the employment of Mr. William Hibbert?—Yes.

11,610. As a brickmaker?—Yes.

11,611. Were you a non-union man?—Yes.

11,612. You were not a member of any union?—No, never.

11,613. Were any of Mr. Hibbert's men union men?—Yes, some of them were.

11,614. Was any effort made to induce you to leave his service?—No.

11,615. Do you remember some bricks of his being spoiled?—Not of Mr. Hibbert's.

11,616. Do you remember some clay being needled?—Yes.

11,617. Was any information given to the police?—At that time?

11,618. Yes?—Not that I know of, except what Mr. Hibbert did.

11,619. That is all you know about it, that they were needled?—Yes.

11,620. You know that needles were put in the clay ?—Yes.

11,621. And you do not know who did it ?—No.

11,622. You have no idea ?—No, none.

11,623. Do you know a man named Parrott ?—Yes, he worked for him at the same time.

11,624. Had you any talk to Parrott about it ?—Yes.

11,625. What did Parrott tell you about it ?—Parrott told me that he knew that Buckley Worthington gave some money to a man named James Farrell for doing damage at Mr. Shepley's.

11,626. He did not say anything about Mr. Hibbert's property ?—No.

11,627. He did not tell you ?—No.

11,628. Did he say how much ?—Yes; he said, I think, 3*l.* or 3*l.* 10*s.*, I will not be sure which.

11,629. Did he say where ?—At the "Rock Tavern."

11,630. That is where the club is held ?—Where it was held at that time.

11,631. Is the "Rock Tavern" in Hyde ?—Yes.

11,632. Did he say anything more about it than that ?—No, only he said he saw Buckley Worthington give the money.

11,633. Did he say who was present ?—No.

11,634. Did he say how he came to be there ?—He is a club man.

11,635. Were any other club men there ?—No doubt there were, but he did not say who.

11,636. He did not tell you who ?—No.

11,637. Did anybody ever tell you anything about Mr. Hibbert's clay being needled ?—Mr. Hibbert.

11,638. But did anybody tell you about who had done it ?—No.

11,639. Or about who was committed for it ?—No, nothing of that sort.

11,640. You know nothing of that sort ?—No.

11,641. What time did Parrott tell you that he had seen Worthington ?—It was about the 11th of June, as near as I can judge.

11,642. In what year ?—In 1861.

11,643. (*Mr. Chance.*) Was that after Mr. Hibbert's clay had been needled ?—It was just about the time that it was needled.

11,644. Two or three days after ?—It might be a day or two after.

11,645. Was it after the clay had been needled ?—Yes, after.

11,646. Was it a day or two afterwards that Parrott told you this ?—Yes.

The witness withdrew.

James Parrott sworn and examined.

11,647. (*Mr. Chance.*) What are you ?—A brickmaker.

11,648. Whom were you working for in 1861 ?—Mr. Hibbert.

11,649. Were you a member of the union then or not ?—Part of the time I was.

11,650. What part of the time ?—The beginning.

11,651. The beginning of the year ?—Yes.

11,652. Were you a member of the union in any part of June 1861 ?—I cannot swear whether I was exactly or not.

11,653. Do you remember Mr. Hibbert's clay being needled ?—Yes.

11,654. Were you a member of the union at the time ?—No, I was working for him at the time.

11,655. You were not a member of the union at the time ?—No.

11,656. There were non-union men working with you, were there not ?—Not at that time.

11,657. There were other men working with you ?—Yes, there were other men working with me.

11,658. What men were working with you; were they union men ?—No, they were non-union men when I was there after the pins and needles were put in.

11,659. Do you know a man named Buckley Worthington ?—Yes.

11,660. He was a member of the Hyde branch of the Ashton club, was he not ?—Yes.

11,661. Did he go round collecting money for the Hyde branch ?—I never knew him to go round.

11,662. Do you also know James Farrell ?—Yes.

11,663. Do you remember seeing Worthington pay some money to James Farrell ?—I never did.

11,664. Be careful what you say ?—I never saw him pay any money.

11,665. Have you never told John Langford that you had seen Buckley Worthington pay money to James Farrell for some damage being done ?—I did not belong to the union at the time the damage was done.

11,666. Did you never say that you saw Worthington pay money to James Farrell ?—I never did.

11,667. Did you never see Worthington pay money to James Farrell ?—No.

11,668. Do you know the "Rock Tavern" in Hyde ?—Yes.

11,669. Is that where the club used to be ?—Yes.

11,670. Do you often go to the "Rock Tavern ?"—I have not been there for seven or eight years.

11,671. Were you at the "Rock Tavern" in June 1861 ?—I went in many a time then; I worked just at the side of it.

11,672. Did not you tell Langford that you had seen Worthington pay money to James Farrell ?—I never did.

11,673. Did you say that you had seen any one pay money ?—No, I never saw any money paid to any one.

11,674. You never said anything of that kind to John Langford ?—No.

11,675. You know John Langford ?—I was working with John Langford.

11,676. He says that you did say so ?—I never did.

11,677. John Langford says that you did tell him that you saw Worthington pay money to James Farrell ?—I never told such a thing.

11,678. Are you a friend of Worthington's ?—No.

11,679. Were you in 1861 ?—No.

11,680. What is Farrell ?—He used to wheel for me the summer before.

11,681. What was he at that time in June 1861 ?—He was wheeling bricks.

11,682. Whom for ?—I do not know.

11,683. Was he a member of the union at that time ?—Yes.

11,684. Did you ever see Worthington and Farrell talk together ?—I have seen them talk together many a time.

11,685. Did not you see Worthington pay him some money ?—I never did.

11,686. That you swear ?—Yes.

11,687. Have you been talking about this matter to anybody ?—I could not talk about it when I know nothing about any money being paid.

11,688. Have you talked to anybody about coming here ?—No.

11,689. Have you talked about what you were to say here ?—No.

11,690. You swear that you have not ?—No.

11,691. Do you know whether Farrell did any damage to Mr. Hibbert's property ?—I do not.

11,692. Did not you hear that he had done it ?—I never did.

11,693. Did not you hear that Farrell had done the damage ?—No.

11,694. Did not you hear that he was one of the men that put the needles into Hibbert's clay ?—I never did.

11,695. Upon your oath ?—I never have heard.

11,696. (*Chairman.*) You were not a member of the union when you worked with Mr. Hibbert ?—Yes, one part of the time.

11,697. What union was it ?—Hyde.

11,698. Was this in the Hyde district in the Ashton union ?—Yes.

11,699. Did you know Worthington at all ?—Yes.

NINTH DAY.

J. Parrott.

14 Sept. 1867.

11,700. What was he?—He was a brick burner.

11,701. Was he anything in the union?—He was secretary when I was in last.

11,702. He was secretary at the time you left the union?—Yes.

11,703. He was a pretty active man, was not he?—I do not know that he was; he drew money and sent it to Ashton every month.

11,704. He would pay anything that was to be paid in the Hyde district?—I do not think he would have paid it.

11,705. He paid everything that was required?—Yes, I never saw him pay any money while I was in.

11,706. You never saw him pay any money at all?—No, he always received it, but I never saw him pay any.

11,707. You used to attend the meetings at that time?—It was very seldom any meetings occurred.

11,708. What meetings there were you used to attend?—Yes.

11,709. Was no money ever paid at the meetings?—No, I never saw any.

11,710. When was money paid if not at the meetings?—Very rarely; they would call a district meeting if there was any money to pay.

11,711. When money was paid, was not it paid at the meetings?—I never saw any paid at any meetings.

11,712. When was the money paid which you say Worthington had to pay?—If there was any money to be paid it would be at the district meetings.

11,713. Hyde is only a district?—It is only a district.

11,714. Then all meetings there were district meetings?—The money would have to be paid at Ashton.

11,715. Do you mean to say that Worthington never paid money at Hyde?—I never saw him pay any.

11,716. He was the acting secretary to the district; it was his duty to pay the money that was paid in the district?—I never received any money from him there, and I never saw him pay anybody else any while I was there.

11,717. Were you a member of the union when Shepley's property was damaged?—No.

11,718. Had you left it at the time?—Yes.

11,719. Before any damage was done to his property?—I was at William Hibbert's at the time.

11,720. What time did you leave the union?—It might be towards June.

11,721. Then you were in the union at the time the damage was done to Shepley?—There was no damage done that I am aware of, there might be.

11,722. You were a member of the union in February 1861?—Yes.

11,723. Then you were a member of the union in February 1861, and you were there when the damage was done to Shepley?—Yes.

11,724. Do you mean to tell us that you do not know anything about it?—No; I recollect that pins and needles were put in the clay, but I do not know who did it; there were pins and needles also put in Hibbert's clay at the time I was working for him.

11,725. Do you remember his hut being broken into, and the tools destroyed?—No, I do not.

11,726. That was whilst you were a member of the union?—Well, I do not know that.

11,727. Hyde is only a small place?—I never heard it mentioned before.

The witness withdrew.

T. Rawlinson.

THOMAS RAWLINSON sworn and examined.

11,728. (*Chairman.*) What are you?—A brickmaker.

11,729. How long have you been so?—For many years.

11,730. Are you a member of the Ashton union?—No.

11,731. Where do you live?—At Bradbury.

11,732. Are you a member of any union?—No; I am a contribution member.

11,733. To the Stockport union?—Yes.

11,734. Do you remember Mr. Blocksage's clay being needled?—No.

11,735. Do you remember either Mr. Hibbert's or Mr. Shepley's clay being needled?—I remember there was some talk of Shepley's clay being needled.

11,736. Do you remember his shed being injured?—He had none.

11,737. Do you remember men breaking into his hut in 1861, and injuring the tools?—Yes, I recollect hearing something about it.

11,738. Do you remember the "Rock Tavern," in Hyde?—Yes.

11,739. Do you know a man named James Parrott?—Yes.

11,740. Do you know a man named Buckley Worthington?—Yes.

11,741. Do you know another man named James Farrell?—Yes.

11,742. Were you at the "Rock Tavern" when those people were present?—Missing two of them.

11,743. Which of the two do you remember?—Nobody was there that night except Worthington. I do not remember Parrott and Farrell being there.

11,744. Worthington and you were there?—Yes.

11,745. Anybody else?—Yes, Joseph Sinclair, Mathew Ainsworth, and others.

11,746. Do you remember on this night whether anything was said or done about any damage that had taken place?—No.

11,747. Nothing was said at all?—No.

11,748. Were you there upon any other occasion when something was said about damage being done?—No.

11,749. Did you ever see any money paid?—No.

11,750. Not at the "Rock Tavern" at all?—No.

11,751. Did you ever see Buckley Worthington pay money to anybody?—No.

11,752. Did you see James Farrell receive any?—No, never in my life.

11,753. Nor anybody else?—No.

11,754. You know a person of the name of Parrott?—Yes.

11,755. Did you ever threaten him?—No.

11,756. You are perfectly harmless, and you were never present when it was done?—No, never,

11,757. Never at all?—No.

11,758. Did you know a man named Ward, who was afterwards executed?—Yes, I knew him before he was executed.

11,759. Did you know a man named Burke?—Yes.

11,760. Were they at the public-house, the "Rock Tavern" at the time you mention?—Yes, on the Sunday night.

11,761. You did not mention their names?—I did not mention them. I was not asked to name them.

11,762. I asked you who was there?—They were there; they came there about 10 o'clock.

11,763. Were they there when you were there?—Yes, of course.

11,764. When Ward, and Burke, and you were there, who else was there?—Buckley Worthington was there, me, and Joseph Sinclair, and a man they called Jack; I do not know his other name, he worked for Dr. Hayne.

11,765. Do you remember some money being produced on that occasion?—No.

11,766. And did you hear of money being got from Ashton by Buckley Worthington?—He always took money there, he did not bring it back.

11,767. Did Buckley Worthington bring any money there?—No.

11,768. Did he produce any money there?—No, not in my presence.

11,769. How came you to meet there that night?—I cannot tell you.

11,770. Were you constantly in the habit of meeting?—We were all constantly in the room; there

was no meetings, there were three or four of us having a pot of beer when these people came in.

11,771. Did you often have a pot of beer with Burke and Ward?—Never in Hyde; I have in Ashton. They worked with me in Ashton.

11,772. And you have often had a pot of beer with them?—Yes, of course, but not in Hyde; they were Ashton chaps.

11,773. You have often had a pot of beer in Ashton?—Yes, after I began working with them, not before.

11,774. Have you talked about union matters with them?—No.

11,775. Who paid for the beer that night?—Ward.

11,776. Did he pay for you all?—He paid for three or four half-gallons.

11,777. Whatever money was paid for the beer he paid it?—When they came in.

11,778. And nobody else paid money for the beer but Ward?—No, not after they came. Burke said to Ward, "We have half a gallon of beer on the table; pay for half a gallon of beer; thou hast got some money;" and he paid for three or four, and it was shutting up time, and we came out.

11,779. Whatever money was paid was paid by Ward?—Yes.

11,780. And did Buckley Worthington pay any money?—No.

11,781. You have never done so?—No.

11,782. You have never seen Buckley Worthington paying any money?—Never in my life; I have paid money to him.

11,783. That is your contribution money?—Yes.

11,784. And you have never seen him pay any money?—No.

11,785. Did you ever threaten Wyatt?—Not me.

11,786. Or people in your presence?—No, never in my life; I was not much in their company.

11,787. Did you ever threaten Wyatt; never mind about being much in their company. Did you ever threaten him?—No, never in my life.

11,788. You knew that he was a non-union man?—So was I at one time.

11,789. You knew that Wyatt was working, and that he was a non-union man?—Yes, of course.

11,790. When he was working with non-union men, were you then a member of the union?—I had just joined them.

11,791. You know that is a ground of complaint among you about non-union men being employed?—Yes.

11,792. Have you never heard of anything being threatened to be done to Wyatt because he was a non-union man?—Never.

11,793. You have always been gentle with non-union men?—I have always been on pretty good terms with all parties, and the union men have not used me very well.

11,794. What have they done to you?—When first I came into the trade I was a non-union man, and Mr. Shepley employed me, as I had been an old hand of his before, and they drew all the men away and left me. I had to do all the work, and had all the money, and I did so. I could do without them.

11,795. They went on strike because you were there?—Yes.

11,796. How long were they on strike?—Perhaps a week. I managed without them. I finished what I had to do.

11,797. Then did you give up?—No, I finished my work.

11,798. After you finished your work did you give up?—I went selling fish, or anything I could, independent of their trade.

11,799. Was that the reason why you wanted to be independent of their trade?—Because they would not let men work with me. When they took me in as a regular worker I was fish selling.

11,800. After that you became a member?—Yes, after this time.

11,801. So as to get some work?—So as to get my living.

11,802. You had to give it up because you could not get your living in that way, and then you were obliged to join them?—Yes.

11,803. Have you continued ever since?—I have been away four years at Nantwich or Middlewich.

11,804. Working at the brickmaking trade?—No, salt boiling, or anything I could get.

11,805. Did you give up the brick trade in consequence of all this?—No, I went away in a bit of a pet from my relations when the brickmaking was finished to do something else; an honest man would not be idle if he can a living anywhere else.

11,806. And will they let you work now?—They let me work now, but I am only half a member now.

11,807. But you still are that?—Yes, I pay my money.

11,808. And you are able to work?—Yes.

11,809. And without that you would not be able?—No.

11,810. (*Mr. Barstow.*) There is no salt-boilers' union, is there?—Yes, there is one; you will have to have a look through them.

11,811. How did you come to work at salt boiling?—It is boiling out the brine.

11,812. How did they come to let you work at that?—I went through my process, I wanted to be an odd hand, and the master said he would chance going on with me if I paid my union money.

11,813. You were a member of the salt boilers' union?—Yes.

11,814. You were a contribution man?—Yes, the master took it on his own risk, I was not a professional, but I did my best.

11,815. If you had not been a contribution man you would not have been able to get your living there?—No.

11,816. (*Chairman.*) Have they rules in their union such as the brickmakers have in theirs?—Yes.

11,817. And they will not work with men who do not subscribe to their union?—No.

11,818. Are there any turns out in that trade?—Many a one.

11,819. And a little spoiling of property?—They cannot spoil much there.

11,820. There is not much to spoil?—No, it is rather too hard for them.

11,821. The only remedy they have if a man breaks the rules is to strike?—Yes, to give over, they might have stuck me at the same time if they could get the chance.

11,822. Have you ever known anything of that sort being done?—No.

11,823. You have not heard of a man being thrashed for going against the rules?—No, I have never heard tell of them.

11,824. (*Mr. Chance.*) You were not maltreated after you joined the union?—No.

11,825. It was all right then?—It was all right enough.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. JOHN HARTLEY sworn and examined.

Mr. J. Hartley.

11,826. (*Mr. Barstow.*) You are a master brickmaker?—Yes.

11,827. Where do you carry on your business?—At Dukinfield.

11,828. Have you any non-union men in your service?—Mine was always a non-union yard.

11,829. I suppose you have disputes with the Ashton union?—Not myself.

11,830. How do you mean not yourself?—They never come near me, and they have never said a word.

11,831. They come near your property if they do not come near you?—Yes.

NINTH DAY.

Mr. J. Hartley.

14 Sept. 1867.

11,832. In short you had 40,000 bricks spoiled?—From 1858 to 1863.

11,833. At different times?—Yes.

11,834. How many times did they come?—About five or six times.

11,835. Can you tell us when they came first?—I cannot recollect one single date.

11,836. I do not want you to go through all the dates, but tell us the first and the last in what years did they take place?—They commenced in 1858.

11,837. What time of 1858?—Somewhere in the brickmaking season, from May to August, and September.

11,838. Do you not remember the first date?—I do not remember any date.

11,839. One would think that you would remember a thing of that kind; it is a very annoying thing to have property destroyed?—In three cases there were not more than a man would destroy, and I did not think it worth while to trouble about it, three walls were pulled down and they were put in a kiln afterwards, they were not much damaged.

11,840. How much damage was done altogether?—10*l.* or 12*l.* worth.

11,841. Spreading over how many years?—Five or six years.

11,842. How many people do you imagine had been there?—At one time I thought about five or six.

11,843. And sometimes not so many?—I could trace two of them. There were three men and a boy went from the top end of the flats up and down till they spoiled about 6,000.

11,844. Have you lost a quantity of tools besides?—No, I never lost any tools.

11,845. Had you any tools destroyed?—No.

11,846. Had you any quarrel with anyone?—No.

11,847. Were any of your own men dissatisfied with you?—No.

11,848. To what do you attribute the spoiling of your bricks?—Only from being a non-union yard.

The witness withdrew.

J. Harris.

JOHN HARRIS sworn and examined.

11,849. (*Mr. Chance.*) Are you a brickmaker?—Yes.

11,850. Were you in the employment of John Hartley, brickmaker?—Yes.

11,851. Were you there in the year 1858?—I was there up to 1861.

11,852. From what time?—I was there about three years.

11,853. Were you at that time a member of the union?—No, I was not then.

11,854. You were not a member at the time you worked for him?—No.

11,855. I believe he was employing other non-union men at the time?—I believe he was.

11,856. Do you remember seeing any of his bricks destroyed?—Yes.

11,857. When was that?—In 1862 I think that was.

11,858. At what time did you see the bricks destroyed?—At about half-past 12 at night.

11,859. Were you on duty at that time as watchman?—No, I was not.

11,860. What were you doing in the brickyard at the time?—I was at the beerhouse at the time, and two of them came in while I was there.

11,861. Two strange men?—Yes.

11,862. Did they say what they had been doing?—No, they had not been then; they had come from towards Denton.

11,863. What took place?—They came in there and got some beer, and they had some words with me there about the union because I was not in it.

11,864. They had some words with you because you were not in the union?—Yes, that was all.

11,865. What words did they make use of?—Nothing so bad.

11,866. What did they say to you?—I cannot say; it is so long since.

11,867. Were they union men?—Yes.

11,868. Did you know them?—Yes.

11,869. Who were they, do you know their names?—Richard Brown and John Middleton.

11,870. They were members of the union?—Yes.

11,871. Did they endeavour to get you to join the union?—I had been in a fortnight since myself.

11,872. You had been in?—Yes.

11,873. Did they use any threats against you?—No, nothing particular; they did not.

11,874. What did they say?—I cannot tell you, I forget.

11,875. Did they say they would do anything to you if you did not join the union?—I cannot say now; it is a good bit since. I forget all about it.

11,876. Do you know anything more about these two men?—No, we found they had spoiled the bricks.

11,877. How did you happen to find out that they had spoiled the bricks?—I saw them going into the brickyard afterwards.

11,878. That night?—Yes.

11,879. You had some words with them; did you see them leave the public house?—They went to the corner of the beerhouse and I saw them whispering there, and I thought they were going to the brickyard and I followed them into the yard.

11,880. Where did they go to?—Into the brickyard.

11,881. Was that Mr. Hartley's brickyard?—Yes.

11,882. You followed them?—Yes.

11,883. What did they do?—I saw them go and push the walls down and tread on the bricks and I went after them.

11,884. Did you see them trample on the bricks?—Yes.

11,885. Did you not try to stop them?—I could not, they ran as soon as I went to them.

11,886. How long after they left the beerhouse did you follow them?—10 minutes or a quarter of an hour.

11,887. Then you must have been almost close behind them?—I was not far off them.

11,888. Were you not in time to stop them?—They ran away when I got into the yard.

11,889. How many bricks had they trampled on?—I cannot say how many. I believe there were about 2,500 spoiled.

11,890. How long would it take them to destroy those?—Not so many minutes.

11,891. Had they destroyed those before you came up?—Yes, they were destroying them when I got there.

11,892. And pushing the wall down too?—Yes.

11,893. Did they make off as soon as they saw you? Yes, they ran away and I called to them, and a policeman heard me call, and he came up to me afterwards and he went after them.

11,894. Did he apprehend them?—He cotched one at home and another in a farmyard called Ogden's.

11,895. What did he do with them?—They got six months for it.

11,896. Do you know of any bricks being injured or anything else destroyed any time after that?—No.

11,897. Were any threats made use of at any time to you by any of the members about your joining the union?—No, only by these two.

11,898. Has not any man ever told you that you would be shot if you did not join the union?—No, I cannot say to that.

11,899. I am informed that you told Inspector Maybury that a man had told you that you should be shot unless you gave up working for Hartley?—Oh, he is under a mistake.

11,900. You cannot have told him that?—I cannot say that I have. I think I have not.

11,901. You must know whether you have said so or not?—I have not, I am certain.

11,902. What made you say that you think you have not?—Well, he came to our house one Sunday to inquire about this here. I was drunk when he came and if he did take it that way he took it wrong.

11,903. If you did say it you said it when you were drunk?—I cannot say that; I may have done.

11,904. You might have said so to him when you were drunk?—I might have done; I cannot say that I have.

11,905. Had any man ever said to you that you should be shot if you worked for Hartley; did the men you are speaking of say that if you did not leave Hartley's service you should be shot?—No, not to me; we had some very warm words together, but what they were I cannot say.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. Thomas Hague sworn and examined.

Mr. T. Hague.

11,906. (*Chairman.*) You were a master brickmaker at Hyde?—I was.

11,907. How long ago?—In 1861.

11,908. At that time whom used you to employ, union or non-union men?—Union men.

11,909. Did you, in consequence of repeated turnouts, come to a resolution not to employ any union men any more?—Yes.

11,910. Was that in 1861?—Yes.

11,911. And did you consequently employ non-union men?—Yes.

11,912. After you had employed the non-union men were you threatened?—Yes, I had about 7,000 bricks spoiled.

11,913. Did you form any opinion of how many men were employed in spoiling the bricks?—About three.

11,914. In addition to that were you threatened at all?—Yes.

11,915. How were you threatened?—I kept putting men on and they kept going away. I asked what they left for, and they said they dare not work; then I had another lot.

11,916. Did the union men threaten you?—Yes, and a man met me one day——

11,917. Who met you?—A man with a fustian jacket.

11,918. A brickmaker?—Yes.

11,919. You did not know him?—I knew a great many by sight, because I kept vaults, and they used to come. This man met me and he said I was much respected, but they had come to the determination to shoot me.

11,920. They had come to the determination to shoot you?—Yes.

11,921. You do not know either of the men who said it?—He was a man with a fustian jacket on.

11,922. You do not know his name?—After that I went to the office, and while I was telling Mr. Liddell he was off.

11,923. Was he alone?—Yes, he said he was come from the union.

11,924. As a delegate to give you that information and show you that respect?—Yes.

11,925. After that was there any other threat used to you?—No, I started with union men the next morning.

11,926. You turned off the union men who had stuck to you?—Yes.

11,927. How many non-union men did you turn off?—Six.

11,928. And you took on union men?—Yes, in consequence of the fear of my life. I thought I would get the bit of clay made up and then give over.

11,929. How long did it take you to get your clay made up?—Something like 12 weeks.

11,930. You got it made up by the union men?—Yes.

11,931. Then you gave over?—Yes, I told them they must make bricks themselves for the future.

11,932. And you gave up making bricks for the future in consequence of this fear for your life?—Yes.

11,933. How long had you been a brickmaker before this took place?—16 years.

11,934. In consequence of your life being in danger you gave it up?—Yes.

11,935. Did you ever pay money to any union?—No.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. John Warden sworn and examined.

Mr. J. Warden.

11,936. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Are you a master brickmaker?—Not at present.

11,937. You were at Newton Woods?—Yes.

11,938. Were you making bricks for a mill there in 1866?—It was a tile yard at that time; there was the yard that had been used for mill purposes.

11,939. Did you or not make bricks for a co-operative mill?—No.

11,940. You took the yard after the mill was built?—Yes.

11,941. Is yours what we have heard called a non-union yard?—Yes.

11,942. Were you solicited to join the brickmakers' union?—Yes.

11,943. And you refused to do so?—Yes.

11,944. When was that?—In the spring of last year.

11,945. In the summer of that year did anything happen to your property?—Yes.

11,946. Do you remember the date?—The 15th of July.

11,947. And what was done to it?—The shed was burnt down, and materials of various descriptions.

11,948. Your tools, barrows, trestles, boards, and all those sort of things?—Yes.

11,949. What amount of damage was done?—A little over 100*l.*

11,950. We have already heard who did that?—Yes.

11,951. Is that the only damage that has been done to your property?—Yes.

11,952. You have never had any bricks destroyed?—No.

11,953. When this damage was done to your property did you give any information to the police?—The police knew of it; they found it out first.

11,954. They made inquiries?—Yes.

11,955. Was anyone apprehended?—No, I believe not.

11,956. Did you ever know who did it?—No.

11,957. To what did you attribute it at the time?—To the union men.

11,958. Since our inquiry have you heard who did this damage to you?—No.

11,959. When was the mill built?—It was commenced in 1861; there was an outrage committed at that time in the place.

11,960. Nothing has been discovered about this?—No.

11,961. Is this at Jumpson Brook?—No.

11,962. In what district; in what union is it?—I believe it is in the Ashton union.

11,963. There was no other reason for doing it than that yours was a non-union yard?—No, I believe not.

The witness withdrew.

NINTH DAY.

P. Kelly.

14 Sept. 1867.

PETER KELLY sworn and examined.

11,964. (*Mr. Chance.*) What are you?—A labourer.

11,965. For whom are you working?—I am working for Mr. Warden at present.

11,966. For whom were you working in July 1866?—Mr. Warden.

11,967. What were you doing for him?—I was wheeling clay.

11,968. Were you a member of any union then?—No.

11,969. Are you now?—No.

11,970. Do you remember Mr. Warden's shed being burned down?—Yes.

11,971. That was in July of that year?—Yes, the 15th of July, I think.

11,972. Do you remember some men calling upon Mr. Warden?—Yes.

11,973. Who were they that called upon him?—They were strangers to me; I did not know either of them.

11,974. I think you know their names?—No, not the first man who came I did not know.

11,975. Two men came first, and then some came after?—Yes. Two men came and asked me which was master, and I showed them which was master, and they said they came to ask him if he would join the union, and he said he had no objection if all the other masters would combine, and asked them to call again, but I heard nothing more of them.

11,976. You heard that?—Yes.

11,977. And they went away?—Yes.

11,978. How long was it before the other men came again?—Some time after; the shed was being rebuilt before the other two men came.

11,979. How long after the first men came was the shed burnt down?—I cannot speak to it exactly.

11,980. About how long?—A month or six weeks perhaps.

11,981. That was after the shed was burnt?—Yes, it was being re-built when the other men came.

11,982. Did they come and ask for Mr. Warden?—Yes.

11,983. Who were they?—I only knew one of them

11,984. What was his name?—Thomas Barrett.

11,985. Do not you know the name of the other man?—No.

11,986. Were there two of them?—Yes, there were two of them.

11,987. Thomas Barrett was one?—Yes.

11,988. What did they say when they came?—They came to me where I was working, saying that the union was thrown open for six months, and if I had a mind I could join it. They said I could get the six months to pay the sovereign in. I said I had not a sovereign to spare, and I could not do it, and I would not join the union.

11,989. And you refused to join?—Yes.

11,990. Did they say anything more?—No.

11,991. Did they not say if you did not join it you would have to join it?—No.

11,992. Was Barrett a member of the union?—Yes.

11,993. Of what union was he a member?—Of the Ashton union.

The witness withdrew.

J. M. Walker.

JOHN MIDDLETON WALKER sworn and examined.

11,994. (*Chairman.*) Are you a brickmaker?—Yes.

11,995. How long have you been so?—Above 30 years.

11,996. Do you remember an outrage at Newton Woods?—No.

11,997. You know the works called "Newton Wood"?—Yes.

11,998. Do you remember the bricks being injured or the shed burnt down there?—No.

11,999. Do you remember the shed being burnt down?—No.

12,000. In 1866 were you a member of the Ashton union?—No.

12,001. Were you a member of the Ashton union at any time?—Yes.

12,002. When?—In 1861 and 1862.

12,003. Do you remember some bricks being destroyed in Newton Wood in 1861?—No.

12,004. Were you ever taken into custody?—No.

12,005. Is your name John Middleton Walker?—Yes.

12,006. They have made a mistake about you then. Have you never been convicted?—Yes.

12,007. What for?—They said I spoiled some bricks at John Hartley's; that is not in Newton Woods.

12,008. In what year was it that they said that you had done such a thing as this?—They said that it was in 1862.

12,009. That was at Dukinfield, was not it?—Yes.

12,010. They said you had a hand in it?—Yes.

12,011. Where were you tried?—At Dukinfield.

12,012. At the sessions?—No, at Dukinfield Hall.

12,013. Were you sent to Knutsford?—Yes.

12,014. How long is it since you came out of Knutsford?—Six weeks.

12,015. And that was for injuring Hartley's?—Yes.

12,016. Of course you were not there?—I was not, not that I know of. I was drunk.

12,017. Whether you were there or not you do not know?—I was drunk. I do not know whether I was there or not, but they made me know; they sent me to Knutsford.

12,018. You have no recollection about it?—No.

12,019. You were a member of the union at the time?—Yes.

12,020. Did they say anybody was with you?—They said Brown was with me.

12,021. Had you seen Brown that night?—We had come from work together.

12,022. Had you been out drinking together?—Yes.

12,023. Was anybody else with you?—No.

12,024. Nobody at all?—No.

12,025. There were only you two together?—Yes.

12,026. You do not remember going anywhere with them?—No.

12,027. Where did you get drink?—Dukinfield Inn.

12,028. It was not far from where the bricks were destroyed?—No, the brickyard is at the back door.

12,029. The back door of the house where you got drunk?—Yes.

12,030. And Brown was there too?—Yes.

12,031. Whether you went together out of the back door, you do not know?—No.

12,032. Did Brown get punished too?—Yes.

12,033. Six weeks?—Yes.

12,034. And he did not know whether he was there?—No.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to Monday next at 11 o'clock.

TENTH DAY.

Assize Courts, Manchester, Monday, 16th September 1867.

PRESENT:

PERCIVAL ANDREE PICKERING, Esq., Q.C. | GEORGE CHANCE, Esq.
THOMAS IRWIN BARSTOW, Esq. | JAMES SHEIL, Esq., Secretary.

PERCIVAL ANDREE PICKERING, ESQ., Q.C., IN THE CHAIR.

TENTH DAY.

Mr. S. Adshead.

16 Sept. 1867.

Mr. SAMUEL ADSHEAD sworn and examined.

12,035. (*Chairman.*) I believe you are a master brickmaker?—Yes.

12,036. Do you live at Ardwick?—Yes.

12,037. Were you some years ago erecting a weaving shed?—It is 12 years ago.

12,038. Does any part of your evidence relate to anything within the last 10 years?—It does not.

12,039. All that you were going to speak about happened more than 10 years ago, did it?—Yes.

12,040. Then I do not think we ought to go into it. You say that you have nothing to speak of which has occurred within the last 10 years?—Nothing at all.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. W. A. Atkins.

Mr. WILLIAM ALFRED ATKINS sworn and examined.

12,041. (*Chairman.*) Are you a machine brickmaker?—I was.

12,042. Were you a machine brickmaker in 1862?—Yes.

12,043. Where do you carry on your works?—In Cheetwood Lane.

12,044. How far is that from here?—It is just behind; about a quarter of a mile across.

12,045. In Manchester?—Yes.

12,046. Do you remember, in February 1862, some bricks being removed?—The place was blown up about that time.

12,047. Will you tell me what happened then?—It was on Saturday night. When I woke in the morning there was some one knocking at the door to say that the place had been blown up.

12,048. Did you go to the place?—Yes.

12,049. In what state did you find it?—The roof of the engine-house was blown of.

12,050. Was it all right the night before?—Oh yes.

12,051. You supposed that it was done by gunpowder?—Yes, we found a can in the engine-house.

12,052. Had that can contained gunpowder, was the gunpowder all used?—It was all used.

12,053. Would it have required a large quantity, do you think, to blow off the roof?—I should think not, the place was slightly built, for they were afraid of something of that kind, so that it might not do any damage.

12,054. What made you afraid of something of that kind?—We had been threatened repeatedly.

12,055. You were a machine brickmaker?—Yes.

12,056. Had you been threatened by the union men?—Yes.

12,057. By the men of which union?—By the Manchester union men.

12,058. You made bricks by machinery, and you had often been threatened by the Manchester union men, and then this happened?—Yes.

12,059. You had no reason to suppose that anything was done by anybody but Manchester union men?—No, we had reason to believe that it was done at the instigation of the masters as well as of the men.

12,060. Why do you think so?—Mrs. Woolgar, a person in the neighbourhood, said she had heard a master brickmaker say that he wished the place was in hell.

12,061. Was he a brickmaker who made bricks by hand?—Yes.

12,062. You making bricks by machinery?—Yes.

12,063. Then what makes you say that it was done by the union men?—There is no doubt that it was done by the brickmakers. They were constantly threatening us.

12,064. You say you have often been threatened by them; at any other time was damage done to you?—Well, we constantly had bricks spoiled or something put in the machine to make it break; sometimes in the wheels.

12,065. Will you explain what you mean?—A piece of iron would be put into the wheels sometimes. Sometimes we would find it in the pug mill, and then it would get between the teeth, and then of course there would be a break down.

12,066. Had you ever a break down from it?—Yes, many a time.

12,067. And have you many a time had your bricks spoiled?—Yes. We employed men to burn, and after they had burned for a week or two very nice bricks, then we should have a kiln spoiled.

12,068. And the machinery injured in the way you have described?—Yes.

12,069. How long did this go on?—For two or three years.

12,070. Are you now a brickmaker?—Oh dear no!

12,071. When did you give it up?—Three years ago.

12,072. Did you give it up in consequence of those outrages?—I could not carry it on any longer; all my money was gone.

12,073. Did you ever offer a reward for the discovery?—Yes, 50*l.* when the first blow up took place.

12,074. Was that in 1862?—Yes.

12,075. Was there another blow-up afterwards?—We had the water let out of the boiler, in order to produce that sort of thing two or three times.

12,076. If the water was let out of the boiler there might be a blow up?—Yes.

12,077. And in your judgment was all this done for the purpose of doing you an injury?—Yes, no doubt of it.

12,078. All those things went on, as I understand you, from time to time for two or three years?—Yes, and we had men abused working in the place.

12,079. This all happened, as I understand you, simply because you were a machine brickmaker?—Yes.

12,080. What were the sort of men whom you employed?—We employed non-union men.

12,081. Have you known them to be threatened as well as yourself?—Yes, and one or two of them have been beaten.

12,082. Do you remember in what year it was that they were beaten?—No, I do not, but I believe it was in 1854.

TENTH DAY.

Mr. W. A. Atkins.

16 Sept. 1867.

12,083. They had been beaten in connexion with this before ?—Yes.

12,084. Generally how were they beaten, were they beaten at night or when ; was it in going to or from their work ?—It was about six o'clock in the morning when they were beaten. I had a letter sent to my house containing a sketch of a coffin, saying that I was to prepare for my latter end.

12,085. And some of your men were beaten, were they ?—Yes.

12,086. Were they beaten with sticks ?—Yes.

12,087. And injured ?—Yes.

12,088. Do you remember whether there were many men beaten ?—Two of them ; the carters that brought some firebricks to the works.

12,089. Were the carters beaten ?—Yes.

12,090. They were beaten as they were taking bricks ?—Yes, no cart could come to the yard, but what it was watched and the carters threatened.

12,091. And this system of terrorism went on for two or three years, did it ?—Yes.

12,092. And at last you gave up your business ?—Yes.

12,093. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Are there any machine bricks now made in the Manchester district ?—Not that I am aware of, only at the prison.

12,094. (*Chairman.*) Where did you generally sell your machine-made bricks ?—We sold them to two or three different parties ; a person of the name of Ellison and Mr. Robinson.

12,095. In the Manchester district ?—Yes, but they were not allowed to use any other bricks.

12,096. Are machine-made bricks in your judgment better than the hand-made brick ?—Oh yes, they are better, and they could be made cheaper.

12,097. (*Mr. Chance.*) Can you give the names of any of the men who you say have threatened you ?—No.

12,098. Do you know that they were union men ?—I know that they had been working in the yards about.

12,099. Have you any reason to believe that it was the masters who did it?—I have very little doubt about it ; I have heard of a master saying that that damned place was going on yet.

12,100. What was the name of the woman from whom you heard that ?—Mrs. Woolgar.

12,101. Were those brickmasters, many of them, members of the union ?—All the Manchester brickmakers subscribe to this union, no doubt about it.

12,102. They subscribe to it without having any benefit from it ?—It is a sort of partnership that they will not allow any person to have bricks that owes them any money. For instance, supposing I built a house and got up to the first floor and I could get no further, and sold it to another person, and I had not paid for my bricks, no brickmaster in Manchester would sell any bricks to finish that house until those bricks were paid for, even to put up a grate ; and then, as I understand, the delegate, as he is called, is the same man that is employed by both masters and men, and he goes and looks after their interests and gives them notice if a cart goes through a prescribed yard, that they must not let that man come there again or serve them with bricks.

12,103. But is it the case generally that the brickmasters in Manchester subscribe to the Manchester union?—There is no doubt of it.

12,104. How many brickmasters do you suppose are subscribers to the Manchester union ?—I am sure I cannot say that ; but I should say the great majority of them.

12,105. Could you give any approximate number ; do 50 or 100 of them subscribe ?—There may be ; but I was only engaged in the trade as a brickmaker by machinery.

12,106. Do you know how much they subscribe?—Oh dear no ; but I should fancy from what I have heard that if any of the brickmakers get into a scrape by doing such injury as was done to us they will go to the masters and they will find them plenty of funds to defend them.

12,107. Do you know of that ever happening ?—I have heard so.

12,108. Can you tell me how much a brickmaster is generally speaking expected to subscribe to the union ?—No, but I have heard by report ; in fact some of the brickmasters have told me that they were compelled to subscribe.

12,109. Have you ever heard how much they were compelled to subscribe ?—No.

12,110. Is it a contribution or a donation ?—I think it is a contribution ; I have no doubt if those books had been in existence you would have found that subscriptions had been entered into those books as received from the masters' union.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. C. Hadfield.

Mr. Charles Hadfield sworn and examined.

12,111. (*Mr. Barstow.*) What are you ?—I was a brickmaker till within these last three years.

12,112. Were you a machine brickmaker ?—Yes.

12,113. Were you in partnership with the last witness ?—Yes.

12,114. What paper is that which you have in your hand ?—Only some notes to remind me of the cases.

12,115. When did you begin to carry on business ?—In 1861.

12,116. Did you employ union or non-union men ?—Non-union men.

12,117. In consequence of your employing a machine had you any threats before any outrages took place ?—We were constantly threatened by men that were working in the yards adjoining, almost every day.

12,118. What was the nature of the threats they used ?—Well, when they came past the place they would threaten to do some damage to the men if they continued their work.

12,119. Did you know the men ?—We knew them from working in the other yards ; in Mycock's yard in particular.

12,120. Did you know any of their names ?—No, we did not know their names.

12,121. Did you inquire their names ?—No, I did not inquire their names. We inquired from the police who were on their beat. Then we had a burner who came from Durham. He was living in Cheetwood Lane ; that was in 1863.

12,122. What is his name ?—Wood. They threw a bottle of combustibles through his window in 1863.

12,123. What was the first outrage in order of time that you speak to ?—The first outrage that we had connected with ourselves was the letting off of the water.

12,124. What time was that ?—That was in 1862 ; it was the latter end, I think, of October 1861 when we commenced.

12,125. What was the next outrage ?—The next was the blowing up of the place.

12,126. Of course when your water was let off you could not temper your clay ?—The water was let off both out of the reservoir and from the boiler. It was intended for the engineer to get a fire under the boiler to destroy it.

12,127. What occurred next in order of date ?—The next in order after that was putting bolts and nuts into the machine or between the teeth of the wheels to destroy it. We have had that done frequently.

12,128. Have you seen them there ?—I have seen them ; I got them out. I have one in my pocket now that was got out (*handing it to the Examiners*). It was crushed between two iron wheels.

12,129. Had it been put into the clay ?—No, it had been dropped in between two of the teeth of the wheels, so that as soon as the machine commenced working it made a break down.

12,130. Who could have done it?—We supposed that some of the men whom we employed were bribed to do it.

12,131. And that caused a break down?—Yes, it caused a break down, and about 12*l.* worth of damage was done, besides stopping the machine.

12,132. How long did it stop the machine?—It stopped the machine that time about eight days; but we have been stopped frequently by things being put in in different parts of the machinery.

12,133. How often do you think it has happened altogether?—I should think not less than 14 or 15 times in the course of three years.

12,134. The same thing happened 14 or 15 times?—Yes.

12,135. You need not recur to those things, to the stopping of the engines, but what was the next?—We were supplying Mr. Councillor Clewes in 1862 for some buildings that he was erecting, and he was threatened by some of the brickmakers' union men that if he continued fetching they would waylay him some night.

12,136. Mr. Clewes I suppose is alive now, is he not?—He is alive, and living in Chorlton-upon-Medlock.

12,137. That is not an outrage upon you?—No, but that was owing to his using our bricks.

12,138. What was the next outrage?—Messrs. Elliotson and Dickson had six houses pushed down because they were using our bricks. They were building six houses near Regent Road in Salford. That was in 1863.

12,139. What do you mean by "pushed down?"—They were built up to the first storey, and about 50 of the brickmakers went one night and pushed them all down to the ground again.

12,140. Do you mean that they really levelled them down to the ground?—Yes.

12,141. How do you know that there were as many as 50 people concerned in it?—From the report at the time; they were met by some of the police.

12,142. You say the brickmakers levelled those houses?—It was some of the union men.

12,143. Are you aware whether it can make any matter to a brickmaker whether he uses a machine brick or a hand-made brick?—Well, the union men have a society amongst themselves, and they prevent any other men going into the society.

12,144. But I ask you is there any reason why bricklayers should prefer to lay hand-made rather than machine-made bricks?—The bricklayers at that time preferred our bricks to the hand-made bricks; but owing to this strike at the new gaol the bricklayers combined together with the brickmakers, and to bring this strike to a termination the bricklayers turned out against our bricks.

12,145. Then the bricklayers did not do this on their own account?—It was the brickmakers, not the bricklayers.

12,146. I understood you to say that the brickmakers had pulled down those houses?—Yes.

12,147. You say that the brickmakers levelled those houses in September?—Yes.

12,148. What is the next outrage in order?—I do not know of anything in order.

12,149. You have not told us about the shed being blown up?—Well, I thought the other witness had told you.

12,150. What did happen; it was blown up, was it not?—Yes.

12,151. Do you remember any of your men being threatened or beaten?—Yes; we had some square bricks that we wanted making for the cornices for the new gaol, and Sidebotham and two other men and a boy were making them by hand at the top works, and they met them one morning with a pick-shaft and left him, as they thought, for dead one morning at about a quarter to 6. Sidebotham was here and gave his evidence.

12,152. Have they ever threatened you?—Yes, I have been threatened personally, and so has Atkins. We were met one dark night in November 1863, and had we been perhaps 50 yards higher up we might have been left there perhaps to be picked up.

12,153. Where were you threatened?—In Cheetwood Lane, within 100 yards from this building.

12,154. And who threatened you?—There were two men who came up and threatened us, and we accidentally getting nearer to the lamp they ran away and we followed them into Springfield Lane in Salford, and there we lost them. We followed them over the bridge close to here.

12,155. Have you ever been beaten?—No.

12,156. Have you had anything done to your house?—No, I did not live here then.

12,157. You say that Wood, your burner, had his house blown up?—Yes; he had a bottle full of powder and slugs, with a fuse attached to it, thrown into his bedroom window.

12,158. Did it explode?—No, he was not gone to bed then, I think; he was downstairs, but he heard the crash and threw it out.

12,159. Did it explode?—It did explode outside.

12,160. Where is Wood now?—He is dead. His son is somewhere in the country; he was living in the house at the time.

12,161. Is that all that you can tell us of any injury or threat?—Yes; that is all that I can remember.

12,162. (*Chairman.*) Wood was your burner in 1863, was he?—Yes; he came from Durham purposely to burn.

12,163. Where did he live?—He lived in a house in Cheetwood Lane, close to the works.

12,164. Did a bottle full of combustibles go into the room?—It went into the bedroom through the window. They threw it out again, and the fuse had not had time to get to the powder.

12,165. But the fuse was applied?—The fuse was applied.

12,166. And they threw it out again?—Then threw it out again while it was running on.

12,167. You say that it was supposed to contain slugs?—There were slugs found all round where it had exploded.

12,168. Do you remember what time of the night it was when it was thrown in?—I was not there, but it was somewhere about 11 o'clock from what Wood and his wife said.

12,169. You say that he was a married man?—He was a married man.

12,170. Had he any family?—Two sons and, I think, one daughter. We had all the family at that time working for us.

12,171. You say that those two men who attacked you in Cheetwood Lane threatened you?—Yes.

12,172. Do you remember what they said?—I believe they said they would blow his brains out.

12,173. You were walking with you partner, were you?—Yes, down the lane.

12,174. What time of night was it?—It would be, I should think, between 8 and 9.

12,175. What time of the year was it?—In November.

12,176. Then it was dark?—It was dark and the lamps were lit. We followed him.

12,177. Had he anything in his hand?—I did not notice anything in his hand.

12,178. Was there only one man?—There were two, but we lost one in the dark, and we followed the other into Springfield Lane, and whether he went round a corner or into a shop we could not distinguish.

12,179. I understand that you have now given up brickmaking?—Yes.

12,180. Had you a carter of the name of Wogden?—Yes, he had his stack burnt.

12,181. Is he here himself?—He is here himself I fancy.

The witness withdrew.

TENTH DAY.

T. Wogden.

16 Sept. 1867.

THOMAS WOGDEN sworn and examined.

12,182. (*Mr. Chance.*) Were you a carter in the employ of Mr. Atkins or Mr. Hadfield in 1862?—I was employed in machine brickmaking by Mr. Grundy.

12,183. Was that in Cheetwood Lane?—That was in Cheetwood Lane. One was in Cheetwood Lane and the other was in the top here. I do not know his name, but I have carried bricks from there too.

12,184. Have you been in the habit of carting machine-made bricks?—Yes.

12,185. For Mr. Grundy?—Yes.

12,186. How long ago is that?—Between four and five years since. I carted for them three years or more.

12,187. Was anything ever said to you by anybody because you carted those bricks?—Yes.

12,188. What has been said to you?—Why, I have been stopped many a time.

12,189. Do you know the men who stopped you?—I do not know them.

12,190. Were they the same men that stopped you every time?—It was the master that stopped me.

12,191. But were they the same men that stopped you at different times?—Yes, but it has been through the brickmakers.

12,192. Were they members of any union, do you know?—To be sure.

12,193. You do not know their names?—No, I do not.

12,194. What did they say to you when they threatened you. Did they say that they would do anything to you?—They did plenty to me.

12,195. Did they say they would do anything to you?—No, they never charged me anything, only once.

12,196. What was that?—They swore to take the life of me, although I did not know them.

12,197. Did they ever do anything to you?—Yes, they set my haystack on fire.

12,198. Where was that?—In Gomershall.

12,199. How far from Cheetwood Lane do you live?—A mile along. We turn down Queen's Road.

12,200. When was it that they set your haystack on fire?—Four years ago next Thursday.

12,201. Was that because you carted bricks?—They had naught else against me.

12,202. How do you know that that was the reason?—Because a brickman in a moleskin dress had walked backwards and forwards in the lane.

12,203. By your haystack?—In the lane, happen about 50 yards off it.

12,204. Was this the man, or one of the men, who had stopped you before?—Well, I did not see him, but different people did see him. I did not see him myself.

12,205. Was he one of the men who stopped you when you were carting bricks?—I cannot say that he was because I did not see him.

12,206. At what time of the day was that haystack set on fire?—Between 5 and 6 o'clock at night.

12,207. Was it in the summer or the winter?—It will be 4 years next Thursday.

12,208. Did you ever hear who had done it?—No, but the man was seen coming away from it too.

12,209. Who saw the man coming away from it?—We had a nurse living with us then, and he wanted to know where I was, and she said I should be at home directly. She had been out for some milk, and she saw him coming back to the haystack; she looked at the haystack and it was all in a flame, and he was getting happen 40 or 50 yards from it running.

12,210. Did she know the man?—No, she did not know him.

12,211. She did not know his name?—She did not know his name.

12,212. Then you cannot tell us who did it?—No, I cannot.

12,213. Have you ever had any more damage done to anything belonging to you?—Well, to be sure I had to pay a fine.

12,214. To whom did you pay the fine?—To Mr. Kay.

12,215. To James Kay?—Yes.

12,216. You knew him then?—To be sure I knew him to my sorrow.

12,217. Has he stopped your cart sometimes?—Yes, he has been the cause of it at different times.

12,218. But he never did stop your carts himself?—Well, he always got a master building a house and told him, "You cannot have any brick if that man carts any more brick."

12,219. How much money have you had to pay to Kay?—Well, I paid 5*l.* the first time.

12,220. You paid it to him yourself?—I paid it to him myself, and then I paid him another 5*l.* in a fortnight. There was a meeting that night, and he said he would bring a stamped paper for all of it, but I never had only one stamped paper.

12,221. Have you that paper now?—Yes.

12,222. Have you it here with you?—Yes.

12,223. Will you bring it out.

The witness produced the paper which was as follows:

"Manchester, March 11th, 1867.

"Received from Thomas Wogden the sum of five "pounds on account.

"£5 0 0.

James Kay,
£5 0 0"

12,224. When was it that you paid those fines, after your stack had been set on fire, or before?—After.

12,225. Where was it that you paid Kay the money?—I paid Kay beside the top building at a corner public house; I forget the sign, but it is a place where I have regularly gone to. Then I paid him another 5*l.* at the "Queen's Arms," in the Queen's Road.

12,226. Was anybody else with you when you paid Kay?—There was another man with him like himself.

12,227. What were you fined for; what had you done?—For wheeling machinery bricks. Then I could not go out again anywhere. They had me out of work for eight months.

12,228. And that was all you had done?—That was all that I had done that I know of.

12,229. For that he fined you?—Yes, for that he fined me 10*l.*

12,230. Were you obliged to leave off work afterwards?—No, I did work after and I had to get work among them.

12,231. But had you to leave off wheeling machine-made bricks?—Well, you know they gave over.

12,232. But did you keep on working with Grundy or Atkins till they had given over?—No, Grundy gave over then.

12,233. But did you work with them till they gave over?—Yes.

12,234. And then afterwards you got work elsewhere?—Yes, not among the brickmakers; I could not get work there.

12,235. And you had to pay a fine before you were allowed to work anywhere else?—I had to pay a fine before I was allowed to work anywhere else.

12,236. You paid 10*l.* altogether?—Yes.

12,237. After working for Atkin's for whom did you work, was it wheeling bricks then?—No, I never was wheeling bricks; I was carting bricks.

12,238. What did you do after you left the machine brickmakers?—I went to the steel works in Newton and worked for them about three years.

12,239. Was it in order to be allowed to do that that you had to pay the fine?—No; then the steel works got slack, and then I had to get work somewhere else, and there they had me fast after I left the steelworks.

12,240. Then after you left the steelworks what did you do?—I went about eight times over to the

brick place where they had their meetings to their society.

12,241. After you left the steelworks you went to the brickmakers' union meeting ?—Yes.

12,242. What did you go there for ?—To beg for work, to get work anywhere.

12,243. Then it was that you had to pay the money ?—Yes, I had to pay the money, I went eight times and they would give me no answer.

12,244. Where did you go ?—I went to the club-house.

12,245. Where is that, at the "Crown and Cushion" ?—Yes, that is the name of the place.

12,246. Did you see other members of the union besides Kay ?—Yes, I saw them.

12,247. Were there many of them there ?—Yes, many, a room full. They ordered me out when I went before them then ; that was the first time I went. So the men sat the same as you sit, and they laughed and jeered at me, and so this man in the middle said, "Down with him !" and down he knocks his hammer in the room, and then they put me out of the room.

12,248. Did they refuse to let you work ?—They refused to let me work ; I went four times afterwards, and said the master brickmaker "Lie to them ; lease them again," so I went three times over, and the fourth time I got my sentence and a fine of 10*l.*

12,249. After going a great many times they at last let you work upon paying 10*l.* ?—Yes.

12,250. And then you began working again ?—Yes, I began working again.

12,251. Are you a member of the union now at all ?—No, I never was in my life ; I never had anything at all to do with them and never wanted.

12,252. (*Chairman.*) Did you ever cart any more machine-made bricks after you were fined ?—No, never since, or else they would be fast on me again ; I had to shift the machine-made bricks, I dare not touch them, there would be another 10*l.* on me if I did, or else they would double it.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. JOHN HOLT sworn and examined. *Mr. J. Holt.*

12,253. (*Chairman.*) You are a master brickmaker are you not ?—Yes.

12,254. Did you live at Royton, near Oldham ?—Yes.

12,255. In 1859 did you employ a person named Thomas Buckley ?—Yes.

12,256. Was he a member of the Oldham union ?—Yes, he was.

12,257. There is a brickmakers' trade union at Oldham, is there not ?—Yes.

12,258. Do you remember what it is called ?—Well, I have never seen anything, but they term themselves the Oldham Operative Brickmakers. I have it that way in the circular that they sent me.

12,259. You employed Thomas Buckley in 1859 you tell me ?—Yes.

12,260. Was there any dispute as to the manner he was doing his work ?—Yes.

12,261. With whom was the dispute ?—With me.

12,262. Of what did you complain ?—I complained of his not doing his work in a proper workmanlike manner.

12,263. In consequence of that complaint did he leave your service ?—Yes, he said he could turn up and give over. I said, "Very well, it is all right."

12,264. Then did he give over ?—Yes.

12,265. Were you employing other union men at that time ?—Yes.

12,266. After he gave over what happened to the non-union men ?—They all went away.

12,267. How many were there ?—There were three.

12,268. And then you were without men at all ?—Yes.

12,269. What did you do then ?—I let the work stop for three days ; I thought they might send a deputation to me, but none came.

12,270. And during that time were any of your bricks spoiled ?—I made a few myself and they came and spoiled those that I made myself.

12,271. Did you after that employ any non-union men ?—Yes.

12,272. After you had employed non-union men did anything happen ?—Yes.

12,273. What was it ?—They set fire to my shed and put needles in my clay.

12,274. Were there any tools, barrows, or anything of the kind in the shed, or was it only the shed that was burnt ?—There were seven or eight barrows, and all the tools they could pick up, shovels, picks, riddles, and all put together and set on a pile and set on fire.

12,275. Were you told of this in the middle of the night ?—Yes, about 1 o'clock in the morning.

12,276. Did you get up in consequence ?—Yes, I did.

12,277. And did you find the shed on fire ?—Yes.

12,278. And I suppose you did your best to get the fire under ?—Yes.

12,279. And you did so ?—Yes.

12,280. In addition to this has anything been done to your clay ?—They had put some thousands of needles into it.

12,281. Did your men try to work the clay after the needles had been put into it ?—Yes ; I advised them not to. I said, "I am afraid you will get crippled ;" but, however, they said they would chance it and would work it.

12,282. Did the men proceed to work the clay into which the needles had been put ?—Yes, they did.

12,283. Did any of them get injured ?—Two men got injured and got needles in their hands.

12,284. Was either of them permanently injured ?—One of them has his longest finger stiff to this day.

12,285. What was his name ?—John Noble.

12,286. And this is entirely from working the clay with the needles in ?—It is.

12,287. And the other man you say was injured, but not so permanently ?—He was injured, he has had to lose his work for a couple of weeks together.

12,288. From that ?—Yes, I think repeatedly.

12,289. Is it a difficult thing to discover where the needles are if they have been put in in that way ?—Yes, it was difficult in that case ; I will tell you why, They pulled the mats off the clay ; we cover the clay with sugar mats, and they pulled the mats off the clay, then they would throw the needles over the clay, then they would put the mats over the clay again and trample on the mats to tread the needles into the clay, so that we could not actually pick them out or see them. Then after that they spread a great lot of needles over the mats, and they likewise covered the cast-up clay with needles (that is the clay that is cast up ready for tempering), and they covered even the moulding-table with needles, and the planks up which the wheeler has to wheel his clay to the table. They gave us plenty of needles I can assure you.

12,290. When the mats are put again over the clay, why do they put the needles on the mats ?—I do not know what that is for.

12,291. Was it for the purpose of deceiving you, and making you think that those were the only needles ?—Perhaps it was, or it might be a notice that they would bring us more.

12,292. Have you ever had your property injured or destroyed at any other time after this ?—No, not at all since then ; I had many a time previous to that.

12,293. That was in 1859 ?—Yes.

12,294. Had you any property destroyed in 1860, or is that what you have been speaking of ?—A few bricks, I think, but very few.

12,295. Was that done by trampling upon them ?—Yes.

12,296. Not by needles ?—No, by trampling.

12,297. Have you any doubt that this injury was done by union men ? —I could not suspect any other party.

TENTH DAY.

Mr. J. Holt.

16 Sept. 1867.

12,298. You had no personal quarrel with anybody?—No, with no man living.

12,299. And at that time you were employiong non-union men?—I was.

12,300. Did you see any brickmakers about your premises at the time when you got up, when the shed was on fire?—No, there was one William Burn there.

12,301. Who is William Burn?—He was a moulder at the time that they struck work. He was a young man that I brought up as an adopted son.

12,302. William Burn was there, you say, at the time when you went to see the fire got under?—He was there.

12,303. Was he a union man?—Yes.

12,304. Had he been working for you?—Yes.

12,305. And had he left when the others left?—He did.

12,306. And on that night when you got up and saw your shed on fire, did you see him about the place?—Yes, he was there.

12,307. Did he render you any assistance?—Not at all.

12,308. He did not at all help to put the fire out?—Not at all; he never put a hand to it, all he did was laughing at it.

12,309. (*Mr. Chance.*) Do you know where those waste needles came from?—I do not know where they come from.

12,310. Do you whether they are used instead of nails by joiners, and carvers, and gilders?—I should think not.

12,311. But you do not know that they are sold at Manchester for that purpose in large quantities?—I do not know.

12,312. You do not know where they come from?—No, I do not.

The witness withdrew.

J. Hay.

John Hay sworn and examined.

12,313. (*Mr. Barstow.*) A believe that you are now a private in the 99th Foot?—Yes.

12,314. In 1858 were you in the service of John Holt?—Yes.

12,315. Do you remember a man named Thomas Buckley being in his service?—Yes.

12,316. Do you remember his leaving Mr. Holt's service?—Yes.

12,317. And all the union men went at the same time?—Yes.

12,318. Were you a union man?—No, I was not of age for it.

12,319. Did you remain in Mr. Holt's service?—Yes.

12,320. Do you remember the fire at the shed?—Yes.

12,321. How did you come to hear of it?—I was living close by the side of John Holt's at the time with my father.

12,322. And did you see the fire?—Yes, and put it out.

12,323. About what time of night was it?—It was early in the morning.

12,324. About what time?—I cannot speak to that exactly.

12,325. Do you mean two, or three, or five, or six, o'clock?—Well, I think it would be somewhere about between 1 and 2.

12,326. You had gone to bed?—Yes, I had been in bed a long time.

12,327. And you were called up?—I was.

12,328. Did you go to the shed?—Yes.

12,329. What was there burning there besides the shed?—There was some barrows in the shed on the floor burning.

12,330. And picks and shovels?—Yes.

12,331. Do you know a man named Thomas Jackson?—Yes.

12,332. I believe you helped to put out the fire?—Yes.

12,333. Jackson was one of the union men who left work, was he not?—Yes.

12,334. Did you hear him use any threat towards Mr. Holt?—Yes.

12,335. What was that?—When there were three of them leaving the ground he only said it would be a little worse for them.

12,336. That was when they were going away altogether?—Yes.

12,337. Did you see anybody else there?—I only saw Burns and Jackson and Buckley.

12,338. Burns and Jackson and Buckley were at the fire, were they?—Burns was at the fire.

12,339. Was he helping to put it out?—No, he stood there and laughed at it.

12,340. Do you know whether Burns was a union man?—Yes, he was at that time.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. J. Smethurst.

Mr. John Smethurst sworn and examined.

12,341. (*Mr. Chance.*) Are you now a cotton spinner at Royton?—Yes.

12,342. In the year 1859 you were a brickmaster, were you not?—Yes.

12,343. And also a coal proprietor?—Yes.

12,344. At that time were you employing union men?—Non-union men.

12,345. Had you employed union men before that?—I am not aware that I had.

12,346. You always employed non-union men?—Yes, for anything I know.

12,347. Had you any reason for not employing union men?—The rules of the union of the operative brickmakers were considered to be so much in the favour of the workmen that a master brickmaker had no control over the work in the yard, and they were considered to be so much in favour of the workmen that a number of the master brickmakers in Oldham determined not to submit to such rules.

12,348. What did they do?—A number of the master brickmakers in Oldham had a meeting with some of the men who represented the operatives with a view to induce them to revise and alter some of their rules. They would not do so, and consequently a considerable number of the employers would not employ union men.

12,349. Who were the members of the union with whom you had a meeting?—I do not know the names; they sent two men from the union, but I do not recollect their names it being so long since.

12,350. But you heard the names at the time, did you not?—Well, I might have done so, but I do not recollect the names.

12,351. Could you tell the names if you were to hear them?—Well, I do not know; I might, or I might not.

12,352. Was William Connell one of the names?—I do not recollect.

12,353. Patrick Nolan?—I have no distinct recollection of the names. I would not wish to say that I knew any of the names. From the annoyances at the time I determined to go out of the brickmaking.

12,354. Was Richard Eckford one man?—I cannot tell you; I do not recollect.

12,355. Is it your belief that either of those men, William Connell, Patrick Nolan, or Richard Eckford, was one of those men?—I should not like to say that I do recollect. I have not got it so firmly fixed on my memory that I can remember any names.

12,356. Have you any belief on the matter?—Well, I have so little recollection as to it that I would not like to say.

12,357. Am I to understand that you really cannot recollect the names?—Most decidedly I cannot; I would have given them to you in a moment if I could.

12,358. What action did you take upon their refusing to revise their rules?—I employed non-union men so long as I continued to make bricks afterwards.

12,359. Do you remember in July having any of your bricks destroyed?—Yes, I have a perfect recollection of it.

12,360. How many were destroyed?—There were about 7,000 bricks trampled upon, and upon examining the yard there appeared to be about three different sizes of shoe-marks upon the bricks.

12,361. You suppose there were three men then?—There would be three men at least; they trampled up and down the flats as the bricks lay upon the ground, pushed walls down, and carried away two pairs of moulds that the men had to work with.

12,362. Had you any watchman upon your premises at the time?—Not at that time; afterwards I erected a platform at the head of the yard and put on an iron grate, and kept up a large fire during the night and kept a watchman, and I had no more damage done that year.

12,363. What did you pay the watchman for watching?—Well, he was one of my men that I regularly employed; this yard of mine was close to a colliery, and I had men working there in the night, and one or two of them attended to go up and feed his fire, which was immediately in the same close, so that the fire shone straight from the head of the yard to the pit.

12,364. You had to pay the watchmen extra at night, did you not?—Most decidedly; that was in consequence of the ill-feeling existing in the neighbourhood, and in consequence of the damage that was being done all round the neighbourhood.

12,365. Had you any more damage done in that year?—Not in that year.

12,366. Had you any more communication with the union that year?—At that time a number of master brickmakers met at Oldham (we had many meetings there) at the "Spread Eagle Inn;" I have some recollection of the operatives sending two men at least——

12,367. You have told us about that. Had you another meeting afterwards at which some of the union men attended?—I believe not.

12,368. Then was this meeting with the unionists before the 7,000 bricks were destroyed or after?—I am not very clear whether it was before or after, but I have a perfect recollection about this meeting; the men, I believe, engaged Mr. Ashcroft, the solicitor in Oldham, on one occasion, to see the master brickmakers.

12,369. Was it very nearly at the time when the 7,000 bricks were destroyed, that the meeting was held?—Well, my recollection is not very clear; I could not fix it whether it was before or after.

12,370. Was it near the time?—I am not clear as to whether it was before or after, so as to fix the time.

12,371. Whether it was before or after, was it about the time: was it in the same year, 1859?—Well, I really cannot tell you.

12,372. Cannot you say whether it was in 1859 or not?—I cannot say whether it was in the year 1859 or earlier.

12,373. Had you any damage done to you in the year 1860?—I had some more bricks destroyed in May 1860.

12,374. Was it the same night as some damage was done to Mr. Holt's bricks?—I believe it was.

12,375. How many bricks had you damaged upon that occasion?—I had about 3,000 damaged.

12,376. Were they damaged in the same manner—They were trampled upon.

12,377. You had given over watching at that time, had you not?—I believe I had no watchman on at that time.

12,378. Had you had any communication with the union at that time?—Not that I am aware of.

12,379. Not previously?—Not previously.

12,380. Do you know of any additional cause having arisen why this destruction of bricks should take place in 1860?—Only in consequence of employing non-unionists.

12,381. There was no alteration of the rules with you?—There was no alteration; it just remained as it had been.

12,382. Had you any further damage done to your property?—No more than twice.

12,383. Had you ever any threats against you by members of the union?—No.

12,384. After that I think you gave up, did you not?—I gave up; I made up my mind during that time, that I would not continue in the trade, where there were such annoyances and being continually in dread, and I have not made any bricks since the year 1862.

12,385. You say it was in consequence of annoyances or of injuries that were done to you from time to time?—Yes, I did not consider that we were safe at night.

12,386. And it was in consequence of that that you gave up brickmaking?—It was.

The witness withdrew.

William Connell sworn and examined.

12,387. (*Chairman.*) What are you?—I am a temperer in the brickmaking.

12,388. Have you been so a long time?—A long time, about 20 years.

12,389. Are you now a member of the Oldham brickmakers' union?—Yes.

12,390. Have you been so for some time?—Yes.

12,391. Are you in any office at this moment?—No.

12,392. What office have you filled there?—I was secretary.

12,393. When were you secretary?—I was secretary after the club opened; I was the second man that served as secretary.

12,394. When was the union opened?—In 1846.

12,395. When were you last secretary?—Well, it would be either 1853 or 1854, and I was about nine months secretary then.

12,396. Is that the last time you were secretary?—Yes.

12,397. Who is the secretary now?—William Burke.

12,398. Does he live at Oldham?—Yes.

12,399. Who is president now?—George Haywood.

12,400. Have you a treasurer?—Yes, we have a treasurer, the man at whose house the club is held.

12,401. What is his name?—John Lord.

12,402. What is the name of the house?—The "Volunteer Inn" in George Street.

12,403. In Oldham?—Yes.

12,404. How often do you meet?—Every fortnight.

12,405. Are those the only three officers you have—the president, the secretary, and the treasurer?—Yes, these are the three officers.

12,406. And then have you any acting council, or do you settle all your business at your meetings?—There is a council called occasionally whenever there is anything to be done.

12,407. If there is anything to be done is it brought before the whole meeting?—No.

12,408. Before whom is it brought?—The council.

12,409. Who compose the council?—There are men appointed by the body at a general meeting for that purpose.

12,410. For each purpose or generally?—For three months.

12,411. Of how many members does the council consist?—Nine, I think.

12,412. Are the president, secretary, and treasurer

TENTH DAY.

W. Connell.

16 Sept. 1867.

always on the council?—No, they are not concerned in it.

12,413. Then you have nine members on the council now?—Yes.

12,414. Before any money is paid away is it brought before the general meeting; who has a right to distribute the money?—There is a claim made for anything of that kind, and it will be brought before the secretary and treasurer of course, and they will be told that there is so much money wanted.

12,415. But who tells them?—Whenever there is anything wanted it will be made known to them; I cannot tell you who will make it known to them.

12,416. In the first place I suppose you all subscribe something a year, do you not?—We pay a weekly subscription.

12,417. Of how much?—6*d.* when we are working, and 2*d.* when we are not working.

12,418. Each week?—Yes.

12,419. How many members have you?—About 130 at present.

12,420. Not more?—Not more I think at the present time, but I am not certain to a few members.

12,421. Are there other people, who are not members, who subscribe for the liberty of working?—Yes, the "contribution members" we call them.

12,422. What do they pay?—They pay the same.

12,423. What benefit do they get?—They get turn-out money.

12,424. But is that the only benefit which they have?—For anything I know it is.

12,425. You do not know of any other benefit that a contribution member has?—No, but I have known some of them to die, and we make up a funeral subscription among the members for them.

12,426. Do you not pay for the funeral out of the actual funds of the club?—No, we all subscribe so much to bury them.

12,427. It is not part of the actual expenditure then?—No.

12,428. Are you liable to be called upon, and must you pay?—No, it is left to ourselves.

12,429. It is voluntary?—It is voluntary.

12,430. What are the actual expenses to which your money necessarily goes, there is the rent of your room?—Yes.

12,431. And pay for turn-outs?—Yes.

12,432. Is there anything else?—If a member is sick, or his family in a low state, we might give them something as a gift, or something of that kind, and then there are several other expenses besides that too.

12,433. What are the other expenses?—When there is any disturbance between masters and men we send some one to settle that dispute between them, and we pay them for their time.

12,434. Do the turn-outs cost you a good deal?—A good deal; there are a great many heavy turn-outs.

12,435. Have there been any heavy turn-outs lately?—Not so very lately.

12,436. Last year?—I cannot exactly say; I have a very bad recollection, and I cannot say to a year.

12,437. It often is so apparently, but I think you remember pretty well too?—Well, I can think of the things that you ask me.

12,438. But the turn-outs have been rather heavy, have they?—Yes.

12,439. And when there have been disputes between masters and men you send a delegate to settle it?—Yes, we send a delegate and sometimes two.

12,440. How does he settle it generally?—Sometimes the masters and men will appear face to face, and then they will strive to arrange it between them as well as they can.

12,441. And if they do not, do you endeavour to use a little persuasion?—Of course, the delegates go with that purpose, to persuade them.

12,442. And if the masters cannot be persuaded, how do you then?—I cannot tell you how they will go on then.

12,443. What sort of authority has the delegate if a little gentle persuasion will not do?—We leave it to themselves to do the best they can then.

12,444. But suppose they will not be persuaded?—That I cannot tell you.

12,445. You have heard of damage being sometimes done in your district, have you not?—Yes, I have heard of it several times.

12,446. You have heard of bricks being spoilt?—Several times.

12,447. Had you any idea who did it?—No.

12,448. Never at all?—I had not.

12,449. Not the slightest?—I had not.

12,450. That is not the mode of persuasion which you adopt sometimes, is it?—No.

12,451. Nothing of the sort?—No.

12,452. Have you heard of sheds being fired in your district?—Yes, I have heard of it.

12,453. Have you ever heard that discussed at your meetings?—Never; I never heard it discussed at any of our meetings.

12,454. Perhaps there was no opposition to it?—I never heard it discussed at our meetings.

12,455. You never heard it mentioned?—I have heard it mentioned many a time both in meetings and in private; in and out of doors.

12,456. But there was nothing of what you call a discussion?—No.

12,457. There was no opposition made to it was there?—No.

12,458. Did you come to resolutions about it sometimes?—No, I never had anything to do with anything of the kind.

12,459. I do not suggest that you had; but you heard it talked of?—I have heard it talked of, but no resolutions passed.

12,460. But you have heard it talked about at the club, I understand?—I have heard it talked about both in and out of doors, at several places.

12,461. Was it at a meeting?—No, not at a meeting.

12,462. But at the "Volunteer Inn?"—I have heard it talked about at the public-house at the time, and, of course, what happens is talked about there.

12,463. Did it happen sometimes that those outrages took place after the master had been reported to be what I think they call "stupid"?—Yes. No doubt. I heard nothing discussed about it.

12,464. There was a book in which of course you as the secretary made all entries?—Yes, of course.

12,465. Have you got any books?—No, I have got no books at present. I suppose the secretary of course has them.

12,466. But you remember the sort of book which you had when you were in office?—Yes, I do very well.

12,467. Was it pretty full?—Yes.

12,468. Do you remember how far it went back?—I believe I was in office between 1853 and 1854.

12,469. Where were you in the book then—were you towards the end or in the middle?—I was very near the end of the book. Then the secretary who was after me got a new book immediately after I left.

12,470. Was it 1854 or 1864 when you left?—It was 1864. That was a mistake.

12,471. Had you nearly finished your book at that time?—Yes, very nearly finished it.

12,472. And your successor got a new book, did he?—He got a new book after I left.

12,473. How long after?—Immediately after.

12,474. What has become of your book?—I cannot tall you what has become of it.

12,475. When did you see it last?—I have not seen it this long time. I have not seen it since I left because I have not been secretary since.

12,476. You have never seen your book since 1864?—Never since.

12,477. When were you last at a meeting?—Last Saturday week.

12,478. Had the secretary his book then?—Yes.

12,479. It was all right then, was it?—Yes, he had his book then.

12,480. Have you had any meetings since?—No.

12,481. Now, was it the duty of the secretary to make an entry of such moneys as he paid?—Yes, he makes an entry of all moneys he pays.

12,482. When you were secretary you did that?—Yes.

12,483. Who generally pays the money — the treasurer?—The treasurer pays it of course, and he pays the money to the secretary of course.

12,484. But supposing any delegates have to be paid or any of the men have to be paid anything, is it the treasurer who pays it?—No, it is the secretary and the president.

12,485. Then when you were secretary you not only made an entry of payments, but paid money?—Yes.

12,486. When you were secretary did all the money which was paid pass through your hands?—It did not.

12,487. Then who was the other person through whose hands some of the money passed when you were secretary?—I cannot tell you, but no money passed through my hands when I was secretary but what I could give a perfect account of.

12,488. That I am glad to hear. But supposing there was other money which did not pass through your hands, whose duty was it to pay that money?—That I cannot exactly tell you. I am upon my oath and I cannot tell you.

12,489. Do you mean to tell me that you do not know what other officer in your union had a right to pay away money besides the secretary?—I cannot tell you.

12,490. Do you mean to tell me that you do not know whether any other officer of your union had a right to pay any money besides the secretary?—I can tell you that I cannot tell you.

12,491. That is very easy; but do you mean to tell me that you do not know whether any other officer of the union had a right to pay away money?—I know that there was money drawn on accounts that I knew nothing about, and that I cannot tell you about. That is my meaning.

12,492. But then you had to put it down, had you not?—Yes, as expenses.

12,493. Was that the expression?—Of course our treasurer would say so much cash.

12,494. I thought so. I suggested that probably the treasurer would pay a little. Then the treasurer paid so much and you put it down as "cash"?—Yes.

12,495. And you did not put down what it was for but it only went down as "cash"?—I did not know what it was for.

12,496. And you asked no questions?—No.

12,497. Did that occur very often?—No, very seldom.

12,498. On some special occasions?—I cannot tell you what the occasions were.

12,499. But now and then there was some money paid by the treasurer, and he told you to put it down as "cash"?—Yes.

12,500. You paid away money yourself sometimes as secretary, did you not?—I was present at the payment of it of course.

12,501. But did you actually pay any money yourself with your own hands?—No, I was present at the payments.

12,502. When you have been present at the payments who is the officer whom you have seen pay money?—Our president of course, such as turn out money.

12,503. Then it was the duty of the president to pay turn-out money?—Yes, and wages, and such as that.

12,504. And then the treasurer paid some other money of which you knew nothing, and you put that down as "cash"?—I cannot tell you as to that.

12,505. But that is what you have told me?—Did I say the president?

12,506. The last time you said the president; before, you told me that the treasurer paid some money, about which you did not know anything, which you put down as "cash," but then you told me that the president paid away certain moneys for turn outs, wages, and so on, is that right?—I suppose it is.

12,507. It is your place to know now, is that right?—Yes.

12,508. Then you put them all down, and it is the secretary's duty to put them down?—Yes.

12,509. Have you a box in which your books are kept?—Yes, we have a desk.

12,510. How many books have you?—Only two.

12,511. Have you a minute-book as they call it?—We had what is called a cash-book and a ledger.

12,512. The cash-book is the book in which the secretary makes the entries?—Yes.

12,513. The ledger is the book in which the contributions are put down I suppose?—Yes.

12,514. Was there also a book in which the resolutions were put down?—I had no book of that kind in my possession.

12,515. But was there a book of that kind?—No, but there was a book in which the council put their things down.

12,516. Was it called a council book or a minute book?—I cannot tell the name.

12,517. But they had a book?—Yes.

12,518. Did they put down the resolutions of the council or the resolutions of the whole meeting?—They put down what they would do.

12,519. Whose duty was it to make entries in that book?—I cannot tell you.

12,520. But it was the duty of one of the nine, was it not?—Yes.

12,521. Has there been a new book for the council lately?—I cannot tell you.

12,522. Have you seen the old book lately?—No.

12,523. Was it generally seen at the meetings every fortnight?—I suppose it was.

12,524. When you were there last Saturday week did you see it?—I had nothing to do with the council I only went to pay my contribution.

12,525. But did you see the council book at the council meeting?—No.

12,526. You usually go to the meetings, do you?—No.

12,527. I thought you told me just now that you did?—No.

12,528. When did you last see the council book?—I cannot tell you; it is a length of time.

12,529. But was it not usually opened at the meeting and mentioned?—No.

12,530. Do you mean to tell me that they did not at the meeting mention what the council had done?—The council was sitting in a separate room and the contributions were paid, and when the contributions were paid a member walked out.

12,531. He would have the right to go to the general meetings, I suppose?—Yes, of course.

12,532. At the general meetings did not the council produce that book?—That is left to the body at the general meeting; the council has nothing to do any more than any other members at the general meeting.

12,533. But was not their book produced at the general meeting?—No.

12,534. Was that kept in the same box as the others?—Yes.

12,535. Now we have the council book, the cash-book, and the ledger, is that right?—Of course.

12,536. Those were the three books which you had?—Yes.

12,537. Have you got any others?—No.

12,538. Was there any other book which contained a record of what passed at the general meetings?—No.

12,539. None whatever?—No.

12,540. You were a member in the year 1862, were you not?—Yes.

12,541. Do you remember your union coming to some resolution about subscribing for the defence of the persons who had murdered a man named Jump?—Yes, of course I do.

12,542. Do you remember two delegates coming

TENTH DAY.

W. Connell.

16 Sept. 1867.

from Ashton about that?—Yes, there was two delegates came.

12,543. You remember Harrison and Barlow coming, do you not?—Yes.

12,544. We understand a meeting was called?—Yes.

12,545. You were present, were you?—Yes.

12,546. Harrison tells us that he told you all about it; or did you know without his telling you?—He told us; we did not know till he told us.

12,547. And did he explain to you all the details and circumstances, and the reasons why he asked your assistance?—He came to get some money from us and we gave him some money, because they were in distress.

12,548. And he told you why they wanted it?—To defend those men.

12,549. Who were accused of the murder of a man named Jump?—Yes.

12,550. He told you that it was connected with the trade union outrages?—He did not tell us that it was connected with the trade union outrages, but that the men were taken up and that they wanted to defend them.

12,551. But that it was connected with trade union matters, and that so he claimed your assistance?—Yes.

12,552. We understand that he left the meeting, having told you that; you knew all about it from the papers, I suppose, without his telling you much?—Yes, we had all seen it in the papers.

12,553. Then they left the meeting and you took it into your full consideration, did you not?—Yes.

12,554. And as it was a trade union matter you agreed to subscribe a certain sum?—Yes.

12,555. How much was it?—I cannot exactly say whether it was 10*l.* or 20*l.*

12,556. Were you secretary at the time?—No.

12,557. The secretary would make an entry in the book, would he not, of a subscription for the defence of so and so?—Of course he would.

12,558. It would be his duty to do that would it not?—Yes.

12,559. Or would he put it down as "cash"?—I cannot tell you how he would put it down.

12,560. Do you remember Greaves's place being blown up, and some injury being done?—Yes, I heard talk of it.

12,561. You heard a good deal of talk of that, did you not?—Yes.

12,562. You were in office at that time as secretary, were you not—No, not at Greaves's time.

12,563. Then what is the time you are thinking of?—I was in office nine months afterwards.

12,564. But was it the time are thinking of when you remember something being done when you were secretary. You are bound to tell us the whole truth? I cannot say whether it was in Greaves's time or not, but to the best of my knowledge it was at the time when I was secretary.

12,565. You were secretary then?—Yes.

12,566. What did you hear of the outrage at that time?—I heard of a shell being thrown into his house.

12,567. Did the shell burst?—I cannot tell you.

12,568. But you heard of its being thrown into his house?—Yes, I heard of it.

12,569. Have you any idea why it was thrown in?—No, I have not.

12,570. It quite astonished you?—I had no idea of it.

12,571. And you had not at the time?—No, I never heard anything about it until after the occurrence.

12,572. Was it talked of at your meeting?—Not before it happened.

12,573. But after it happened?—I heard it talked over several times after in many a place.

12,574. Nobody had any idea why it was done?—No, I never could hear why it was done.

12,575. Still it was an interesting subject to the meeting I suppose?—I heard it talked about.

12,576. At your meeting at the "Volunteer Inn"?—I heard it talked of in the house of course many a time.

12,577. Was there any money paid about that time as "cash"?—No, I was secretary and there was no money paid at that time.

12,578. Not as cash?—No.

12,579. Nothing of the sort?—No, there was not. I made no entry at that time of any cash, only turn-out money and so on.

12,580. Do you remember some money being brought to the Oldham union by a man named James Kay; you know him pretty well, do you not?—I know him by eyesight, but I was never acquainted with him.

12,581. But your eyesight is pretty clear upon that point, is it not?—I know him, I have seen him.

12,582. Have you seen him at the Oldham union?—I have seen him at the club-house.

12,583. Often?—No, not often.

12,584. He was not a member of your union, was he?—No.

12,585. He was a member of the Manchester union, was he not?—Of course he was.

12,586. What was he doing at your club-house when you saw him?—I saw him there once on our yearly day.

12,587. Was there a meeting at the time when he came?—No.

12,588. Have you seen him more than once?—No, I have never seen him but once.

12,589. Did you ever know him bring you any money?—No, I have never known him to bring any money.

12,590. You never knew that he brought money to the union?—No, I did not see him bring any money, but I heard of his bringing the money.

12,591. What did you hear of his bringing?—We had a turn out at one time, and he brought money at that time.

12,592. What did he bring?—Well to the best of my knowledge he brought 100*l.*

12,593. So that you had a turn out at that time, and Kay brought you 100*l.*?—Yes.

12,594. It was a pretty heavy turn out, was it not?—Yes.

12,595. What did that turn-out cost your union?—A good deal of money.

12,596. And did you send to ask the Manchester people to assist you with money?—Yes.

12,597. And so Kay came and brought you 100*l.*?—Yes.

12,598. Did any other union send you some money?—Yes, we got money from other parties.

12,599. From what other parties?—From the Ashton people.

12,600. What did they give you?—I cannot tell you exactly.

12,601. But you remember Kay's 100*l.* very well?—Yes, it was a large sum; I cannot tell you what any other party else gave us, but we got money from different people.

12,602. What other union gave you money?—We got some from Stockport, and we got some from Wigan, and different other places, and from Sheffield too.

12,603. Did you send after the money?—Yes, we sent.

12,604. You sent a delegate after the money?—Yes.

12,605. And you sent the delegate to Ashton, and I suppose to Stockport?—Yes, of course we did.

12,606. And to Sheffield and Liverpool?—Yes.

12,607. And to St. Helen's?—Well, I do not just remember whether any came from St. Helen's or not.

12,608. Do you think you sent there?—Well, I do not know; I cannot tell you for truth.

12,609. Is it likely, do you think, that you sent there?—It might be.

12,610. You will not swear it was not so?—No.

12,611. Did you send to Birkenhead?—No.

12,612. What was this great trouble you got into, that you had got this 100*l.* for from Manchester; was it merely a turn out?—A turn out for wages.

12,613. Nothing else?—Nothing else.

12,614. In what year was it?—That I cannot tell you.

12,615. Was it when you were secretary?—No, I cannot tell you what year it was in.

12,616. There was a great deal of trouble that year, was there not?—Yes.

12,617. What was the turn out about?—It was for wages.

12,618. It was to raise your wages, was it?—We wanted an advance of wages.

12,619. How long did the turn-out last?—It lasted for many a month.

12,620. And it cost your union some money?—Yes.

12,621. Have you any idea how much it cost you?—I cannot exactly say how much, but it cost us a deal of money.

12,622. More than 100*l.*?—Yes, a vast deal more.

12,623. Do you think it cost you 300*l.*, or 400*l.*, or 500*l.*?—I do not know whether it amounted to that; I cannot say.

12,624. And you got the money in this way from different unions?—Yes.

12,625. How would the application of that money appear; would the books show it?—Of course, the books would show that we received this money and paid it for turn-outs.

12,626. The books ought to show how the money was paid, at all events, ought they not?—Yes.

12,627. How would it be entered; would it be entered as turn-out money?—Yes, turn-out money.

12,628. Was that the favourite mode of entering it, "expenses?"—Turn-out money; there would be a good deal to pay. The delegates would have to be paid their wages while they would be claiming this money.

12,629. It was a large sum of money you know; do you think it all went in paying turn-outs?—I cannot tell you, but I think it did all go for that purpose.

12,630. Were there a good many unpleasant things happened at that time?—Not that I know of.

12,631. Did you not hear talk of them?—I could not hear of anything happening at that time.

12,632. You never heard of any bricks being spoiled?—I have heard of bricks being spoiled, but not at that time.

12,633. Was it before or after that that you heard of the bricks being spoiled?—There were some after that.

12,634. Did you ever hear of anything else being done besides this shell that you have mentioned?—No.

12,635. No bottle with a fuse?—No.

12,636. Nothing of the kind?—I did not hear of it.

12,637. You never heard of that at all?—No, never.

12,638. Did you ever hear of a shed being fired?—Yes, I have.

12,639. There was nothing of that sort done in your time, was there?—No.

12,640. Not when you were secretary?—No.

12,641. Did you pay any "cash" about that time?—No, I did not.

12,642. How long did you say you were secretary?—I was secretary for about nine months, I think it was.

12,643. And how much more than that?—I was four years secretary at the first commencement of the club. There was one secretary before me, and then I was secretary, and I served four years then.

12,644. And after that you ceased to be secretary, and then you were secretary for nine months?—Yes.

12,645. Did the same book last you for the four years that you were secretary?—No.

12,646. How many cash-books had you in those four years?—I had two.

12,647. Were they small books then?—Yes, small books.

12,648. And you filled one in two years?—Yes, I filled one. There was one when I commenced, and then I got another, and it was nearly full when I left. There were two in my time.

12,649. Then you had another when you were secretary for the nine months?—Yes, a different volume.

12,650. Are all those books kept?—They were destroyed or thrown away when they were full.

12,651. They were destroyed as being of no use?—Yes.

12,652. Were they burnt?—Yes.

12,653. Did you burn yours?—Yes.

12,654. What made you burn it?—Because I thought it was of no use when it was full.

12,655. How many books have you burnt in your time?—I have burnt one, that is all; the second was not full when I left.

12,656. As soon as it was full you burnt it?—Yes.

12,657. When you left office if it was full you burnt it?—Yes.

12,658. That has been the habit of the society, has it?—Well, I did it, however.

12,659. And you did before as they have done who have come after you?—Yes.

12,660. And it is a regular rule of your society, is it, to burn the books when they are full?—I did it.

12,661. Is that the general rule with all the books?—I cannot tell you how it was after my time.

12,662. But up to your time were all the books that were full burnt?—After my time I cannot tell.

12,663. But up to your time?—Yes, up to my time they were.

12,664. It was a sort of rule of the society that all the books that were full were burnt?—Yes.

12,665. And that rule, as far as you know, has been acted upon ever since?—Yes, as far as I know they thought they were no use; they were only lumber.

12,666. Which was the last burning at which you were present?—I was not present at any burning, only at the one I burnt myself. I was not present at any since.

12,667. Have they told you that they have burnt any books lately?—No.

12,668. You have not heard it mentioned of course?—No, I have never heard anything mentioned about it.

12,669. I think you told me that the secretary was not a member of the council?—No.

12,670. When fines were levied were they paid to the secretary?—Yes.

12,671. Who had the right to levy the fines?—It was left to the council, they were summoned before the council.

12,672. Where the council the only people who levied the fines?—Yes, if they complained of the fine afterwards it was brought before the quarterly or general meeting, and it was left to them whether they would agree to the fine or not.

12,673. Supposing a man was fined because he was working with people not belonging to the union, was that brought before a general meeting?—I never knew any one to be fined for that.

12,674. You do not remember any case of the kind?—No.

12,675. Do you remember any man being fined for working with non-union men?—No.

12,676. Do you remember a carter of the name of Wogden being fined?—No; I never knew a man of that name.

12,677. What were men fined for?—They were fined for working under wages.

12,678. Suppose a man was fined for working under wages, was he fined by the council or by the general meeting?—Sometimes it was brought before the general meeting, and sometimes before the council.

12,679. Have you ever known a fine of 10*l.* levied?—Never.

12,680. What is the largest fine you remember?—10*s.* or 5*s.*, and some fines may run up to 1*l.*

12,681. What was that for, do you remember?—No.

12,682. Would it be the duty of the secretary to make an entry of that?—Yes, it would be.

12,683. And to whom was the fine paid; to the secretary?—To the secretary of course.

12,684. Were there many fines in the course of the year, do you remember?—Sometimes there would be

TENTH DAY.

W. Connell.

16 Sept. 1867.

not very many. I cannot remember that particularly; my memory is very bad in regard to that.

12,685. If the fine was not paid I suppose the man was turned out, was not he?—Yes, they would put him out of benefit after a certain time.

12,686. Then you turned him out?—Yes.

12,687. Did men pay money to your union for the liberty of working at your trade?—Yes, they would have to pay a certain amount when they entered.

12,688. You would not allow men to work for your trade if they were not members of the union?—No.

12,689. If they did not do their duty, what happened?—That is immaterial to me.

12,690. Were they turned out?—There was many a time an occasion for a turn out.

12,691. Would you let any man into the union who liked to join?—Yes, any man who came forward.

12,692. And who would pay?—Yes, and was likely to be a man who could do his work.

12,693. You told me you thought you were secretary when the outrage was committed upon Greaves?—Yes.

12,694. That was in 1859?—Very likely it might be.

12,695. Do you remember an outrage being committed upon a man named Holt the same year?—I remember there was an outrage committed, but I cannot say whether it was that year or not.

12,696. But you remember there was an outrage?—Yes.

12,697. Do you remember that his shed was set on fire?—Yes, I heard of it.

12,698. Are you sure that nothing was paid to anybody who did it?—Not that I know of.

12,699. Not that you know of?—No, not to my knowledge there was not.

12,700. If any man did any service of that sort to the union, I suppose your union paid him, not you individually?—I cannot say whether he was paid by our union or not, because I never paid any money myself.

12,701. You never paid any money yourself?—No.

12,702. It would not be your place, it would be the treasurer's place to pay it?—It was never done, to my knowledge.

12,703. But what the treasurer paid the money for you do not know?—No.

12,704. Do you remember in the same year some bricks being destroyed belonging to Mr. Smethurst?—I heard of that also,

12,705. These things were pretty common at that time, in 1859?—They were things that had been committed.

12,706. And your union had nothing to do with them?—I cannot tell you whether they had or not. I cannot answer you perfectly because I did not know of it, therefore not knowing I cannot tell you.

12,707. Those places, Holt's and Smethurst's, were in your union district?—Yes.

12,708. And Greaves's?—Yes.

12,709. Were they brought before the notice of your meeting?—I heard of them after they were committed.

12,710. Was it discussed at the time?—I heard of it after.

12,711. I suppose when any outrage was committed within your district, it was a natural subject of discussion at the union meeting?—It was talked about, of course; it was a public thing in the town.

12,712. And you discussed public matters of that sort?—Yes, of course it was talked about.

12,713. Who did you say was treasurer when you were secretary in 1859?—It was Daniel Wyld.

12,714. Was any person treasurer besides him?—No, not at that time.

12,715. But during the four years you were secre-secretary was Daniel Wyld treasurer all the time?—Yes.

12,716. Who was the president during four years that you were secretary?—There were different presidents.

12,717. You have told me out of their names?—A man of the name of Heckford was president.

12,718. And Nolan?—No, I do not think Nolan was in my time.

12,719. He was president afterwards?—I do not know whether he was president. I do not think Nolan was ever president.

12,720. Who was president when you were secretary the last time for nine months?—Thomas Robinson.

12,721. Was Robinson president?—Yes.

12,722. Who was treasurer?—It was John Lord for the last time.

12,723. You have told me that the sum which Kay gave you was 100*l.*, and that you went round to get subscriptions for the payment of turn outs?—Yes.

12,724. Will you swear that there were turn outs at the time in your district?—Yes.

12,725. Mention to me where they were?—I cannot exactly tell where they were.

12,726. It is a large sum of money; and you sent delegates round?—There were turn outs at the same time upon Ashton Road.

12,727. How many men?—Five stools were working there at the time.

12,728. And there were three men to a stool?—Yes.

12,729. That is 15 men?—Yes.

12,730. Was that in 1859?—Yes.

12,731. The same time that the shell was thrown at Greaves?—I cannot say whether it was at the very same time.

12,732. Was that the same time when you sent the delegates round to get money from the other unions?—Yes, it was.

12,733. It was?—Yes.

12,734. It was the same time when there was a turn out of 15 men on the Ashton Road?—Yes.

12,735. What other turn outs were there at the time to which this money was applied?—There was a machine taken up to make bricks, and that was the cause of the turn out of the union.

12,736. Who got up the machine?—I cannot tell; there was a company at the time.

12,737. They of course did not employ union men?—No.

12,738. There was no turn out there?—That was the cause of it.

12,739. If they did not employ union men there was no turn out?—One man was working there before that, and of course when they had nothing to do they were upon the club.

12,740. I do not understand that; there was a machine-making company there?—Yes, and they would not employ union men at the work.

12,741. Did they ever employ union men?—Yes, before that they did.

12,742. How many men did they employ?—I cannot say how many; there were five stools making bricks.

12,743. That is 15 men again?—Yes.

12,744. Was that at the same time?—Yes.

12,745. You have now told me of 30 men; were those turn outs going on at the same time?—Yes.

12,746. That you swear?—Yes.

12,747. Were there no other turn outs?—Not that I can tell you of; I cannot recollect at present.

12,748. And you mean to swear that you paid the money out of the funds of your own union, and you sent delegates round to get money from the other unions in the way you have said, merely to pay these 30 men for a turn out?—Yes.

12,749. What did you pay them?—12*s.* a week.

12,750. Three stools would be nine men. I was wrong in putting it at 30, it was only 24; were those the only men on turn out at that time?—Yes.

12,751. And you swear that because 24 men were out at the time you sent delegates round to all these different unions to collect money. You have told me upon your oath that you sent delegates round to these different unions which you have

mentioned, that Kay from the Manchester union brought you as much as 100*l.*, and that it cost you a good deal; I asked you how the money was spent, and you said in turn outs, and the only turn outs you can mention are three stools in the one case, and five in the other. Just take care what you are about. —There were more expenses besides turn outs.

12,752. I can quite understand that; I ask you what the other expenses are. Do you mean to tell me that these subscriptions were to pay for the turn outs; were there any other expenses?—The men were going round.

12,753. You pay them of course; but here you sent delegates round to other unions, and one union sent you as much as 100*l.* I ask, how do you account for it, and you say it was to pay the turn outs at the time; mind what you are doing.—The turn outs were on some months.

12,754. Was that money solely employed for paying for the turn outs and the expenses of the delegates who went round?—I cannot say whether the whole of it was for that; they gave it to us for that purpose.

12,755. You swear that you know of no other purpose to which it was applied?—Yes; I do not know any other purpose to which it was put at the time.

12,756. And you do not know of any other?—No; I am positive it was never used for any other purpose at the time.

12,757. What period of time did this money take you to collect; was it all collected in 1859?—I cannot tell you that.

12,758. Will you swear that the sole purpose for which the money was collected was to pay for the turn outs?—Yes.

12,759. And for nothing else?—For that purpose and nothing else.

12,760. You were not put to any other expense at the time?—Not at the time.

12,761. Would your books that you have taken care to burn have shown how that money was spent?—I cannot tell you anything about that.

12,762. Yes you can. You were secretary at the time, and it was your duty to put it down. Would your books have shown how the money was spent if you had not burnt them?—I burnt them.

12,763. Would they have shown how the money was spent that you sent round delegates to collect? You shall answer that question.—I cannot answer it any further than that the money was collected and we paid the turn outs, and the rest remained in the general fund; that is, any balance that was over after paying them.

12,764. Would your books which you have burnt have shown how that money was spent?—Yes, of course.

12,765. They ought to have shown it?—Of course, and they would.

12,766. How much money did you collect as well? —I cannot tell you.

12,767. You got as much as 100*l.* from the Manchester union?—Yes.

12,768. Do you remember delegates ever being sent round before to collect money from the different unions? —No.

12,769. Then I should have thought that this special occasion would have impressed itself upon your memory?—I do not know that.

12,770. Have you taken care to forget?—No, but I do not remember it.

The witness withdrew.

WILLIAM BOURNE sworn and examined.

W. Bourne.

12,771. (*Chairman.*) Have you been in court while this inquiry has been going on?—Some few minutes I was.

12,772. While the last witness was being examined? —No.

12,773. You did not hear any witness examined? —No.

12,774. I understand that you are secretary of the Oldham union?—I am.

12,775. When were you elected?—Two months ago.

12,776. How long are you going to be secretary? —I do not know.

12,777. How long is your usual term of office?— Six months.

12,778. You were elected two months ago?—Yes.

12,779. How long have you been a member of the society?—12 or 14 years.

12,780. Have you filled any other office at any other time?—No.

12,781. This is the first time?—Yes.

12,782. Did you succeed the last witness?—I did not see him.

12,783. William Connell?—I did not.

12,784. Whom did you succeed?—Thomas Nolan.

12,785. As secretary?—Yes.

12,786. Who is the president now?—George Haywood.

12,787. Was he elected president at the time you were elected secretary?—No.

12,788. When was he elected president?—I do not know how long.

12,789. Five or six months ago?—Yes it would be that, I dare say.

12,790. Twelve months?—I think it was about six months ago.

12,791. You have been in two months?—Yes.

12,792. How many meetings have you attended, every fortnight?—Several meetings.

12,793. They are held every fortnight?—The club meeting is held every fortnight.

12,794. Are the club meetings held every fortnight? —Yes.

12,795. Have you any other meetings besides the fortnightly meetings?—Whenever they are required.

12,796. May anybody who likes call a meeting?— No.

12,797. Who has the right to call a special meeting? —The district man.

12,798. Who is he now?—It depends upon what district he is in.

12,799. Does any district man call a meeting of the whole club?—No.

12,800. I do not quite understand you; how many district men have you in your union?—We have four.

12,801. Then there are four districts in your union? —Yes.

12,802. May any one of those district men call a general meeting?—Not without the sanction of a district meeting.

12,803. There are district meetings are there, besides the general meetings?—Yes.

12,804. If the district meeting wish to have a general meeting, then the district man calls it?—Yes.

12,805. Has that often happened?—Not so very often.

12,806. Upon something very special?—I cannot say that.

12,807. You never were a district man?—No.

12,808. As secretary you have attended every meeting every quarter?—Yes.

12,809. What are your duties as secretary?—To take contributions, that is all.

12,810. You have not forgotten your duties yet?— No, I think not.

12,811. Is it your duty to make entries in a book? —Yes, of what contributions I receive.

12,812. Is that all?—Yes, that is all.

12,813. We have heard of other secretaries who did more than that; is that all you have done since you have been in office?—Yes.

12,814. Then you have never had any other book except the one in which you enter the contributions? —It is called the cash-book and contribution book.

12,815. Is that the same book?—Yes.

TENTH DAY.

W. Bourne.

16 Sept. 1867.

12,816. We have heard of a ledger?—We had a leager.

12,817. You laid a stress upon the word "had." I suppose that is gone now?—Yes.

12,818. When did it go?—On last Tuesday night.

12,819. Were you present?—I was not.

12,820. It went the way of the fire?—No.

12,821. How did it go?—When I was served with a summons, the sergeant from Royton, and another man came with him, but while they were serving me with a summons we were sitting upstairs.

12,822. Where?—At the club-house.

12,823. The "Volunteer Inn"?—Yes, and during the time they served me with this summons the sergeant from Royton detained me in the room, asking me several questions, and during the time I was in the room some party took the book while I was upstairs.

12,824. Were you in the club-room?—No.

12,825. Where were you?—I was with the sergeant from Royton.

12,826. Where was the book?—It was upstairs.

12,827. And you were upstairs?—No, I was not.

12,828. The book was upstairs?—It was when I left it there.

12,829. And when you were with the sergeant the book went?—The book went while I was away.

12,830. It was burnt?—No, I cannot say what was done with it; I have not seen it since.

12,831. And you are not likely to do so?—Never again, I think.

12,832. Who had it upstairs?—I do not know; when I was called downstairs by the sergeant I left the book on the table.

12,833. Whom did you leave in the room?—The room was full.

12,834. Was that the last club meeting?—Yes.

12,835. Was the president in the room?—I cannot say that.

12,836. You cannot remember whether the president was there or not?—No.

12,837. Had you taken your place as secretary then?—No.

12,838. You had no time to look round?—I had only got in the room when they served me with the summons, and I had the book with me.

12,839. You took the book upstairs and put it on the table?—Yes.

12,840. Did you know that these men were coming after you?—No, they took me by surprise.

12,841. Did they come into the room?—No, they sent for me downstairs.

12,842. Had you seen them before you went upstairs with the book?—No.

12,843. You did not know that they were coming?—No.

12,844. You had no idea of it?—No, not the least.

12,845. It so happened that you took the book upstairs?—I went to attend the meeting.

12,846. Did you take any other book upstairs?—No.

12,847. What book did you call that?—The ledger.

12,848. You took the book in?—When the sergeant called me downstairs I left the book on the table and went downstairs.

12,849. You threw the book on the table?—Yes.

12,850. And from what you hear you do not think that you will ever see it again?—I do not think I shall.

12,851. What did the book contain?—Nothing but the names of the members.

12,852. There was no harm in it?—No.

12,853. Not the slightest?—No.

12,854. There was no reason in the world why the whole world should not see it?—No.

12,855. Can you give any reason why it should be taken away?—No.

12,856. It does not strike you in any way?—No.

12,857. Was it full?—No.

12,858. How many years did it cover?—Two years.

12,859. There were only the contributions in it?—Yes.

12,860. The weekly contributions?—The fortnightly contributions.

12,861. And the names of the members?—Yes, and the contributions received.

12,862. And the name of the treasurer, secretary, president, and so on?—No.

12,863. Do you not put your names down?—No, they were not booked as secretaries, they were only booked as common members.

12,864. Did you describe them in the book except by their real names?—No.

12,865. There was nothing else?—No.

12,866. Did the names of the council appear in the book?—No.

12,867. You have nine gentlemen on the council? Occasionally, as occasion requires them.

12,868. There are now?—If the occasion requires them there are.

12,869. Does the occasion require it generally?—If there is any disturbance in the room there is a council required.

12,870. Or if there is a disturbance anywhere else?—No.

12,871. But there is a council generally?—Occasionally.

12,872. We are told that nine persons are selected as the council?—I did not say so.

12,873. You have said nothing, you do not recollect anything, but there is a council at this moment is there not?—No, there is not a council at this present time.

12,874. Have you ever been a council man?—No.

12,875. Never at all?—I will not say never, because I have acted as a substitute.

12,876. Whose substitute were you?—I do not know.

12,877. You do not in the least know?—Not at the present time.

12,878. Is it so long ago?—No.

12,879. How long ago is it?—Within the 12 months.

12,880. And you do not know whose substitute you were?—No, they do not tell you whom you are substitute for.

12,881. You were somebody's substitute?—Yes, but the name is not mentioned.

12,882. And you have no idea who it was?—No, I never asked, it is not any business of mine to ask.

12,883. And you have no notion?—No.

12,884. Did you act with anybody else when you were a substitute?—Yes, with the other members.

12,885. Who were the other eight members at the time?—I cannot exactly say.

12,886. Do you mean to swear that within the last 12 months you do not remember who the other eight members were with whom you acted?—No.

12,887. Not a single name?—No.

12,888. You do not remember a single name of a single person with whom you acted?—No, not a single individual.

12,889. I merely caution you; if you are guilty of perjury you will probably be punished for it, and you do not get out of it by saying that you do not recollect?—That is the truth; I do not recollect.

12,890. If it should be a falsehood that you do not recollect, and you do recollect, you are just as likely to be punished for perjury as if you said anything else more direct. Now I ask you whether you do not recollect the name of any one of the council with whom you acted?—No.

12,891. How long ago is it?—It is not within the last 12 months.

12,892. Can you remember any measure that was brought before the council?—I can remember one measure that was brought before the council, it was fighting; that was the only measure discussed at the meeting.

12,893. You do not remember any other?—I do not recollect any other but that.

12,894. How often did you meet when you were a substitute in the council ?—Only once.

12,895. Did you meet at the "Volunteer Inn"?—Yes.

12,896. And you only met once ?—Only once when I was on the council.

12,897. That was the only time that you acted upon the council ?—Yes.

12,898. And there was nothing brought before the council except what you have mentioned ?—Fighting and swearing, there was nothing but that.

12,899. Have you the power of fining for those offences of fighting and swearing ?—No.

12,900. What did you do ? Supposing it was brought before you, what had the council to do with fighting or swearing among the members ?—Whatever was put to the meeting, it would be decided by the majority of the meeting whether they were fined or not.

12,901. Have you as a council the power of fining for those offences that you have mentioned ?—The council have.

12,902. But you were sitting on the council at the time ?—Yes.

12,903. Was that all that was brought before you ?—Yes.

12,904. Is it usual if a question of fining takes place for it to come before the council ?—Yes.

12,905. Not before the general meeting ?—No, it is left to the council.

12,906. Any case of fining ?—Yes.

12,907. If any man is fined for working with non-union men, does that come before the council ?—They do not work with non-union men.

12,908. But if they did ?—They do not do.

12,909. We have heard of men being fined because they do not belong to your union, or because they have had to do with matters with which the union has not to do ?—They do not act with non-union men.

12,910. Do you ever fine for any matters that are an offence to your union ?—An offence as far as this, that if they leave a job before the time has expired we fine them.

12,911. If they work for less wages than the other men are getting, do you fine them then ?—If they receive less wages we turn them out.

12,912. Do you fine them first ?—No.

12,913. You turn them out at once ?—Yes.

12,914. For what do you fine them ?—Only leaving jobs, fighting, or swearing.

12,915. You do not fine them if they are doing work for non-union men ?—We do not allow it.

12,916. You turn them out ?—Yes.

12,917. Did you ever fine a man who was not a union man ?—No.

12,918. You never heard of such a thing in your union ?—No, we have nothing to do with them at all.

12,919. You never take any notice of them ?—No, not the non-union men.

12,920. Do you take any notice of men who are making bricks by machinery ?—No.

12,921. You never heard of such a thing as that ?—What ?

12,922. Of anything being done to men who make bricks by machinery instead of by hand ?—No.

12,923. That is quite new to you ?—Yes.

12,924. You never heard of such a thing ?—No, I know of no transaction of the sort.

12,925. You mentioned the destruction of the subscription-book ; was that the book in which you made entries ?—I have not said that it was destroyed.

12,926. You said that you did not expect to see it again. Was that the book in which you made entries as secretary ?—So far as my term of office went I booked all the contributions.

12,927. Was the book which you left on the table, and which you do not expect to see again, the book in which you yourself, since you have been in office, have made entries ?—Yes.

12,928. Was it the only book in which you made entries ?—Yes.

12,929. You never made any entries in any other book ?—No.

12,930. Were the only entries that you made in that book contributions ?—Yes.

12,931. Supposing there had been any fine, would it have been your duty to make an entry of it ?—Not in that book.

12,932. In what book would you enter a fine ?—In the fine book.

12,933. That is a separate book altogether ?—Yes.

12,934. Is it the duty of the secretary to make entries in the fine-book ?—Yes.

12,935. You have the fine-book ?—Yes.

12,936. Have you got it now ?—Yes.

12,937. Have you it with you ?—Yes, it is in my pocket.

12,938. Will you produce it ? (*The witness produced the same.*) This is your present fine-book ?—Yes.

12,939. Does it contain nothing but fines ?—Nothing but fines.

12,940. All these names I see here are for nothing but fines ?—No.

12,941. I see here that there are fines for men changing their jobs ?—Yes, as I have described before.

12,942. Do you fine men upon their marriage ?—Yes, I believe we do.

12,943. How much do you fine a man upon his marriage ?—I do not know.

12,944. In addition to this book of fines have you any other book ?—Yes, I have.

12,945. What is the other book ?—A contribution book.

12,946. That you have told me of ; that is the book which you left on the table ?—No, that is the ledger.

12,947. I thought the ledger was the book in which you entered the subscriptions ?—Yes, what they pay—weekly subscriptions—not the other sum.

12,948. What is the other book ?—It is here (*producing the same*).

12,949. This is the fortnightly subscriptions ?—Yes.

12,950. You have kept this book of fines, and the contribution book which you did not mind our seeing, but you have lost the other ?—Yes.

12,951. What is this ?—This is the contribution book.

12,952. Here are disbursements ?—Disbursements and contributions received.

12,953. The contributions on the one side, and the disbursements on the other ?—Yes.

12,954. This book has just begun ?—It is 1866, I think.

12,955. Are there any books now existing used previously to 1866 ?—No.

12,956. What has become of them ?—They are destroyed.

12,957. They are all destroyed ?—Yes.

12,958. Were they destroyed before you came into office ?—They must have been.

12,959. You never saw them ?—I never saw them.

12,960. You never saw them since you held any office ?—No.

12,961. Did the books which were destroyed contain any account of disbursements ?—Yes, the same as that book.

12,962. Does that book contain all the disbursements ?—Yes.

12,963. Is it the duty of the secretary to enter all the disbursements ?—Yes.

12,964. Have you mentioned to me all the cases in which the men are fined ?—I believe I have.

12,965. Do you know a Mr. Smith, of Ashton ?—I do not know him.

12,966. Do you remember hearing whether a man of that name was fined last week for burning a kiln ?—I do not.

12,967. Did you ever hear of a man of that name being fined for burning a kiln ?—No.

12,968. Never in your life ?—No.

12,969. That you swear ?—Yes.

12,970. Did you ever hear of any man being fined for burning a kiln ?—I never heard that.

TENTH DAY.

W. Bourne.

16 Sept. 1867.

12,971. Did you hear of him being fined for anything ?—Last week ?

12,972. Yes; or the week before ?—No.

12,973. Did you never hear of a man of the name of Smith, of Ashton, being fined ?—No, at no time.

12,974. You never did ?—No.

12,975. That you swear ?—Yes.

12,976. You will swear that you have never been in any office except that of secretary ?—Yes.

12,977. Did you ever hear of any outrages being committed in your district ?—No.

12,978. Were you a member of the union in the year 1859 ?—Yes.

12,979. Did you ever hear of a shell being thrown at a man of the name of Greaves ?—I heard of it at the time.

12,980. You were a member of the union at the time ?—Yes.

12,981. That was not at all connected with any union matter ?—Not that I am aware of.

12,982. You have no notion that it was ?—No.

12,983. Did you hear of Holt's shed being set on fire in that year ?—Yes.

12,984. That had nothing to do with the union ?—No.

12,985. Did he employ union men or non-union men ?—He employed no sort of men at the time.

12,986. You have no notion why it was set on fire ?—No.

12,987. Did you ever hear of Smethurst's bricks being destroyed ?—Yes.

12,988. Were these matters discussed at the meeting ?—I never heard of them at the meetings.

12,989. You never discuss these matters at the meetings ?—No, we have rather more sense.

12,990. If the last witness says he heard them mentioned at the meeting at the "Volunteer Inn," your memory is not so good as his ?—Did he remember them?

12,991. You must answer my question; if he has said that he remembers those three subjects being mentioned at the meeting, your memory is not so good as his, or he is mistaken ?—If he says that he heard them, I cannot say that I have.

12,992. You never heard them; you swear that ?—Yes.

12,993. I caution you, you are on your oath ?—Yes.

12,994. As far as your memory goes you do not recollect their being mentioned ?—No.

12,995. Nor any other outrage ?—No, only by public report.

12,996. You recollect Holt's shed being fired ?—Yes.

12,997. Did you see it ?—Yes.

12,998. Had Holt adopted you in any way; had he acted like a father to you ?—Yes.

12,999. Had you lived with him ?—Yes.

13,000. You saw his shed on fire ?—Yes.

13,001. Did you assist to put it out ?—No.

13,002. Had you before that worked with him ?—Yes.

13,003. Why had you left his work ?—Because there was a disturbance between him and the men.

13,004. What about ?—He would not pay 2*d.* a 1,000 for new cast clay.

13,005. Is that 2*d.* per 1,000 in addition to what he paid before ?—Yes.

13,006. Was there a strike in consequence ?—No.

13,007. You left him in consequence ?—Yes, we left him before we would do it.

13,008. Did you leave him ?—I did at the end.

13,009. How long had he treated you as an adopted son ?—17 or 18 years.

13,010. Had you worked for him during that time ?—Most of that time.

13,011. And because he would not allow 2*d.* extra you left him ?—Yes.

13,012. And you stood by and saw his shed on fire and did not help to put it out ?—Yes.

13,013. Were you a member of the Oldham union when there was a subscription got from the other union, when delegates were sent round to other unions ?—I believe I was.

13,014. What was that money wanted for ?—For an amalgamation.

13,015. For what purpose did they want the money ?—The purpose was to help destitute members when they were out of work.

13,016. Had it ever happened before that you had sent round delegates for money ?—We never sent round any delegates ourselves.

13,017. Did you not send anyone round ?—No; parties have been sent to us.

13,018. Did you, the Oldham union, get any money from the other unions ?—No, not that I know of.

13,019. Will you swear that ?—I will swear that I do not know it.

13,020. Will you swear that you never heard of your Oldham union getting money from the other unions ?—Not that I know of.

13,021. Will you swear that you never heard of it ?—I will.

13,022. Will you swear that you do not remember a person named James Kay bringing 100*l.* to your union from the Manchester union ?—I will.

13,023. Did he bring anything ?—I do not know.

13,024. Do you remember your union asking for money from the other unions ?—I do not know that.

13,025. You never heard of the Oldham union obtaining money from the other unions ?—Not to my recollection.

13,026. You swear that you do not remember it ?—No.

13,027. And you never heard of it ?—No.

13,028. You say that there was an amalgamated fund; is that fund solely employed for the purpose of assisting persons when they are out of work ?—Yes.

13,029. That is all ?—Yes.

13,030. For no other purpose ?—No.

13,031. Did you ever hear of your union supplying money for the defence of persons who were accused of murdering Jump ?—I never heard of it.

13,032. That you swear ?—Yes.

13,033. How long have you been a member ?—12 or 14 years.

13,034. You never heard of your union subscribing any money for the defence of the persons accused of that murder in the year 1862 ?—Not to my recollection.

13,035. Will you swear that you never heard that money was paid for the defence of the persons who were accused of having committed that murder ?—I cannot say what the money was paid for.

13,036. How do you know of a sum of money being paid ?—I do know of parties coming round, but I do not know what it is for.

13,037. You remember parties coming round ?—I remember hearing of them coming round.

13,038. How did you hear that the parties came round to your union ?—For collecting this amalgamation money.

13,039. For what purpose ?—I do not know,

13,040. You have not the slightest notion ?—Only to help destitute members.

13,041. Did you ever hear of parties coming round to collect money for the defence of those men who were guilty of the murder of Jump ?—No.

13,042. You never heard of your union subscribing ?—No.

13,043. You swear that you never heard of it, and that you never heard of your own union sending round delegates to get money from the other unions ?—Not to the best of my recollection.

13,044. Will you swear that you never heard of it ?—No, I do not know of any member of ours going round for any contributions.

13,045. And you do not remember receiving any contributions ?—I have only been upon the books 12 months.

13,046. You were a member of the union 14 years ?—Yes, but I was not compelled to pay constantly to the union.

13,047. Do you recollect that your union ever received money ?—No, I do not.

13,048. And you never heard of it ?—No.

The witness withdrew.

GEORGE HAYWOOD sworn and examined.

13,049. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Are you the president of the Oldham Brickmakers' Society?—Yes.

13,050. When were you elected?—It will be six months when the quarter is up, that will be next Saturday night.

13,051. You have been president nearly six months?—Yes.

13,052. You generally take the chair at the meetings?—Yes.

13,053. Were you present at a meeting of your society last Thursday night?—Yes.

13,054. And I suppose you were in the chair?—I went up and should have been in the chair if the police had not fetched me down.

13,055. You were at the meeting?—I was at the beginning, and the officers took me down and kept me there till it was over.

13,056. Did the officers come for you?—It was all over when I came out of the room with the police.

13,057. Did the officers bring you a summons?—Yes.

13,058. Where did they take you?—Into the bottom room.

13,059. Had the meeting begun when the officers came to you?—It was just starting. I should have opened it but I was not there to open it; they fetched me down before it had opened.

13,060. Then it had not begun: had you taken the chair?—I should have done so if the officers had not fetched me down.

13,061. Had you taken the chair when the officers came for you?—I was just getting seated in the chair.

13,062. Were the books belonging to the lodge out on the table?—The ledger was there to call the names over.

13,063. Were there no other books?—No.

13,064. Is it your duty to call the names over?—No.

13,065. Who calls the names over?—The secretary.

13,066. When you returned the meeting was over?—Yes.

13,067. Do you know who had been in the chair?—No.

13,068. You do not know?—No.

13,069. You did not inquire who called the names over?—No.

13,070. And you have not inquired since?—No.

13,071. When you came back was the ledger there?—Yes, on the desk.

13,072. Did you put the ledger in the safe?—I had nought to do with the ledger; it is not my business to meddle with the ledger.

13,073. When you left the room was there a ledger there?—It was on the desk, the same kind as you have in front of you.

13,074. You left it there?—I had nothing to do with the ledger.

13,075. Was it there when you left the room?—It was there when I left the room.

13,076. Do you know where it is now?—No.

13,077. (*Chairman.*) I understand you to say that you had just got seated in the chair when the officers fetched you downstairs?—Yes.

13,078. You then went downstairs?—Yes.

13,079. Then you went back again after the officers had done with you?—Yes.

13,080. And when you got back again you saw the ledger?—Yes, it was on the desk.

13,081. How long did you remain in the room afterwards?—Two or three minutes, till I got my check for threepennyworth, which I then went to get.

13,082. The ledger was in the room then?—Yes.

13,083. When you got your ticket you left the room?—Yes.

13,084. Did you leave the ledger on the desk when you left the room the second time?—Yes.

13,085. Are you quite sure of that?—Yes.

13,086. Did you leave many people in the room?—Yes.

13,087. You had nothing to do with the ledger?—No.

13,088. Who is the person whose duty it is to look after it, the secretary or the treasurer?—The secretary, I believe.

13,089. It is his duty to look after the ledger?—Yes.

13,090. Did the secretary come back into the room while you were there?—I do not know.

13,091. Did you see him downstairs when you went down?—I was attending to my three pennyworth.

13,092. Was the secretary in the room when you went downstairs?—Yes, and the others with him; we were both in together.

13,093. And when the officers left did you both go upstairs together?—No.

13,094. You went upstairs?—I went to the back door first.

13,095. What became of the secretary when the officers left him?—I do not know.

13,096. You never saw him that night?—No.

13,097. (*Mr. Barstow.*) What time did you leave the room?—I do not know.

13,098. Do not you know at all?—No.

13,099. What time did you go first?—I should think about half-past 5.

13,100. How long were you downstairs with the officers?—I do not know.

13,101. About how long?—I cannot tell you.

13,102. Was it half an hour or an hour?—I am not going to tell lies.

13,103. Was it an hour and a half?—I cannot tell you.

13,104. You do not know whether it was an hour?—It would hardly be so long.

13,105. Half an hour perhaps?—It may be.

13,106. What did they do with you for half an hour?—I do not know; they gave me this paper here, and I axed them to read it for me.

13,107. (*Mr. Chance.*) Were you a member of the union in 1859?—How long is that since?

13,108. How long have you been a member of the union?—Seven years or close on it.

13,109. Do you remember hearing about the murder of police constable Jump?—I have heard tell of it.

13,110. Do you remember your union subscribing money towards the expense of the trial?—I know nothing about that.

13,111. You have heard about it?—I have heard about him being killed.

13,112. Have you ever heard of your union subscribing to the defence of the man who killed him?—No, I have not.

13,113. Have you not heard of it?—No, I have not.

13,114. Do you mean to say that you have not heard of it?—No, not in the union.

13,115. What do you mean by "in the union"?—Among the members. I never heard them talk about it.

13,116. About money being given, or anything of that sort?—No.

The witness withdrew.

MR. HARRISON MACDONALD sworn and examined.

Mr. H. Macdonald.

13,117. (*Mr. Chance.*) Are you son-in-law to the late Isaiah Greaves?—Yes.

13,118. Was he a master brickmaker?—Yes.

13,119. Were you his partner in 1859?—Yes.

13,120. Had you a man of the name of Davenport in your employ?—Yes.

13,121. Was he a member of the brickmakers' union?—Not at that time.

TENTH DAY.

Mr. H. Macdonald.

16 Sept. 1867.

13,122. Had he been a member of the union while in your employ?—No, I do not know that.

13,123. Do you remember Davenport being fined?—I cannot say that I do. I remember it being talked of that he was fined by the union, and he left in consequence of the fine.

13,124. You did not know that he was fined, but you heard of it?—Yes.

13,125. And you heard that he left the union because he was fined?—Yes, he told me so himself.

13,126. When he was in your employ had he not left the union?—He had left the union.

13,127. Do you remember any application being made to Mr. Greaves by the union to discharge Davenport?—Yes, I was present when they came several times.

13,128. Who called?—The union men.

13,129. How many of them?—Once three and once five.

13,130. Do you know what their names were?—I cannot quite remember them just now.

13,131. Do you remember the names of any of them—Yes, some of them I do; one man has gone dead. William Burchall came both times.

13,132. Was he a member of the Oldham union?—Yes.

13,133. Do you remember any others?—Thomas Robinson was one that came.

13,134. Anybody else?—I cannot say that I remember any more.

13,135. You say that they came several times?—I saw them myself twice.

13,136. Did Mr. Greaves listen to the application, and discharge Davenport?—He listened to them, but he told them he would never discharge Davenport.

13,137. He refused to discharge him?—Yes.

13,138. After refusing to discharge Davenport did anything happen to Mr. Greaves or his property?—Yes.

13,139. Just tell us what it was?—In the year 1858 there was a quantity of needles put in some clay that was cast in the brickyard; in the same year there was a quantity of the bricks spoiled, about 14,000. I was up in the kiln the very night when they were spoiled in the yard.

13,140. At that time was he employing non-union men?—He was employing non-union men.

13,141. And no union men at all?—No.

13,142. Previously to that had the union men called upon him?—They were there the week before these bricks were spoiled; he told them he would not discharge Davenport, and they said they would come back to see if he would discharge him, but he said he would not; that was the whole dispute between Greaves and the union men.

13,143. Was it after his refusal that the clay was needled and the bricks destroyed?—The week after.

13,144. Have you any doubt that it was in consequence of the refusal to discharge Davenport that this was done?—We thought so.

13,145. He had no personal quarrel with anybody?—No, not that I know of.

13,146. How long did he continue to employ Davenport?—Up to the time of his death in 1864.

13,147. After the year 1858 was any damage done to his property?—Yes, in 1859.

13,148. What was it?—A grenade was shot at him in 1859, on the 30th of October, on a Sunday night.

13,149. Where was he at the time?—He was just going in at his door; he had one hand on the latch, and the shell came in the left direction and caught the outer wall, and part went by him and took a portion of his trowsers, stockings, and a portion of the skin away; if it had met this wall and caught the other side at the right hand he would have been blown to pieces, it just caught the wall and——

13,150. Were you with him at the time?—No, I was not.

13,151. You are telling us what he told you?—Yes.

13,152. Was anybody with him?—There was a young man who has gone to America since; he was with him; he was just behind him.

13,153. Did you see the grenade afterwards?—Yes.

13,154. How long afterwards did he show you the grenade?—The morning following.

13,155. What was the grenade made of?—I do not understand that.

13,156. What part was shown to you?—It was like a round piece of iron full of holes, with caps fitting in.

13,157. That was a part of it?—Yes.

13,158. What size should you think it would be altogether, judging from what you saw?—About 8 or 9 inches diameter, judging from what I saw.

13,159. Did you go to see the place afterwards where it exploded?—Yes, I found a great portion of what it contained myself.

13,160. What did it contain?—Small knife-blades and horse-nails, and various sharp instruments. I found a great quantity.

13,161. If he had not been protected in the way you have explained it might have blown him to pieces?—I believe it would.

13,162. Had any other cause arisen after the last damage that was done to him, to account for this?—No, only Davenport's case.

13,163. Do you attribute it to the same cause, namely, employing Davenport, who was a non-union man?—Yes.

13,164. Do you know at all how it was?—No.

13,165. Or who had any hand in it at all?—I cannot say.

13,166. Was any inquiry made afterwards?—Yes, a good deal of inquiry was made respecting it.

13,167. And the police set about to try and discover it?—Yes, the same night.

13,168. They always failed?—Yes, Mr. Greaves himself always suspected two parties up to his death.

13,169. Was any other injury done to Mr. Greaves or his property?—Yes, to his property in December 1863.

13,170. That was the next occasion?—Yes.

13,171. The previous one was in 1859?—Yes.

13,172. What was the damage in 1863?—The engine-house was blown up at a quarter before 12.

13,173. He was still employing Davenport?—Yes, he was there still.

13,174. Were you still acting as his foreman up to that time?—Yes, up to his death I was his foreman.

13,175. You can describe to us how it was done?—Do you mean the engine-house?

13,176. Yes.—I can.

13,177. How was it done?—At a quarter before 12 a man came to my door (I lived a few hundred yards away), and said that he believed the engine-house was blown up, and that he would go and inform Sergeant Buckley. When I got downstairs Buckley was at my door, and we went over the yard and got to the engine-house and smelt a strong smell of powder. They had taken the window out to go in, so we went in the same way as they did; we found in one corner a can that had contained powder, it was a pint can with a fuse to it. Looking at the engine we found that they had taken off the cylinder top and put down another can of powder inside the cylinder, with a fuse attached to it, and had screwed the cylinder down again, and it took the cylinder top away and a portion of the engine, and the top of the house was blown nearly 100 yards away.

13,178. Can you say how much powder was put in the cylinder?—No, I cannot say.

13,179. How much did it contain?—Something like a pint.

13,180. What amount of damage was done to the engine?—It cost 28*l.* to put it in proper order again.

13,181. It must have taken some time to take the top of the cylinder off and put the powder down the cylinder?—Yes, an hour, or an hour and a half.

13,182. Could they have done it without some instrument?—There was a key inside the engine-house to unscrew it with.

13,183. Did you ever find out who had done this?—No, I never did.

13,184. You took every step to endeavour to discover it?—Yes, we tried all we could, but it was never discovered.

13,185. Had there been any deputation of the union men to Mr. Greaves previous to this?—I heard him say that they came nearly every week, one or more at a time. I saw them twice myself, and I was with them when they were speaking.

13,186. Do you know who they were?—I do not know all the union men's names; I only know two of them.

13,187. Did you hear them speak?—Yes.

13,188. You heard what they said?—Yes, once when they came.

13,189. What did they say?—They came down to the house one Friday night and began to ask him whether he would discharge the man Davenport. They said they would come back to their work if he would. He said, "No, never while I live shall I do it." He said that he had got plenty of men to do his work, and he could do without them.

13,190. You heard this?—I heard this in his own house.

13,191. Had you heard any conversation between the union men and Mr. Greaves on a former occasion?—Yes, five of them came into the brickfield.

13,192. Was the substance of the conversation similar?—Yes, just the same with regard to Davenport; there was nothing else.

13,193. Were they the same men that came on this occasion?—Buckley and Robinson came both times. I do not know the names of the others.

13,194. Are you speaking now of 1863?—Yes, and 1859; they both came in that year.

13,195. I want to know whether you remember the union men coming to him in the year 1863, before the engine-house was blown up?—I heard they had been there, and his wife told me so too, but I never saw any.

13,196. Was any other damage done to Mr. Greaves that you can remember?—No, I cannot say that there was; that was the last.

13,197. Did you ever hear him threatened?—No, I never heard him threatened.

13,198. Have you ever been threatened?—No, I never was threatened.

13,199. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Did you see Greaves's clothes that had been torn with the grenade?—Yes.

13,200. Did he show you where he had been grazed?—Yes, on the Monday morning.

13,201. Was that the day after?—Yes.

13,202. The following morning you saw the clothes torn, and the mark of the wound upon him?—Yes.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. John Brooks sworn and examined.

Mr. J. Brooks.

13,203. (*Chairman.*) Were you in partnership with your brother in September 1859?—Yes.

13,204. What were you?—Brickmakers and farmers.

13,205. How many men did you employ at that time?—Perhaps about 20 in all.

13,206. Were any of them unionists?—One-half; perhaps the greater half.

13,207. We have heard that a person of the name of Greaves, who was a master brickmaker, had a dispute with his men; that was so, was it not?—Yes.

13,208. Was Greaves's brickyard near yours?—Yes.

13,209. You remember he had a dispute with his men?—Yes.

13,210. I believe there was a turn out in consequence?—Yes.

13,211. We understand that there was a meeting of the masters?—In consequence of the demand upon Greaves a number of masters set.

13,212. Were you one of those who met?—Yes.

13,213. Where did you meet?—At the "Spread Eagle" Inn, Oldham.

13,214. How many met?—About seven.

13,215. Did you come to some resolution?—In consequence of the dispute we had had previously we concluded that we should have to go the ground over again, and from the demand made upon Greaves we decided to stop all the union men in our employ.

13,216. The union men did not return to work with Mr. Greaves?—Yes.

13,217. Did you in consequence discharge the union men in your employ?—Yes.

13,218. Have you ever employed union men since that time?—No.

13,219. This was in September 1859?—Yes.

13,220. After that did anything happen to you?—Yes; I believe in the same month.

13,221. Was that the month of September?—Yes.

13,222. In September 1859 what happened to you?—We had two stacks of hay fired.

13,223. Were they fired in the night?—Yes, about 12 o'clock in the night.

13,224. Were they burned altogether?—No, it was seen.

13,225. So you luckily stopped it?—Some men working opposite saw it and gave the alarm, and I and others were fetched and stopped it.

13,226. Was anything found near the stacks?—In several places were found lucifer matches and chips put together and some had only partially burnt and not taken fire; at other places they had taken fire.

13,227. Can you attribute this to anything else than your quarrel with the union?—No, I cannot.

13,228. Did you find any brickmaker's card near the place?—Yes, in the same field that the stacks were in.

13,229. In the same field that the stacks were in you found a brickmaker's card?—Yes.

13,230. Whose was it?—John Barker's.

13,231. Was his name on it?—Yes.

13,232. He was in office in the union, was he not?—I do not know that.

13,233. He was a union man?—Yes.

13,234. Were you present when it was found?—Yes.

13,235. In the same field in which the stacks were that were fired?—Yes.

13,236. He was a member of the union?—Yes.

13,237. This was in September?—Yes.

13,238. This was the very time, was it not, that you had turned your men off?—Yes, I only stopped them on the 17th of September.

13,239. This happened on what day?—A week or 10 days afterwards.

13,240. Did anything happen to you again a short time afterwards?—Yes.

13,241. In November?—In the same year, in October or November, we had some cows poisoned. We went into the shed one morning and found one cow dead; at noon on the same day another died. We had no suspicion of foul play in the first case, but when the second occurred we sent for Mr. Taylor, the veterinary surgeon. The second cow was opened and examined. He took the inside away for examination.

13,242. Was it found that some poison had been given to the animal?—Yes, there was certain proof of poison.

13,243. Some arsenic had been mixed with her food?—It was supposed that it was laid for them together; of course we did not know.

13,244. The examination showed that something of that sort was in the inside?—Yes, something of that sort.

13,245. You have told us of these two, one in September and the other in October or November 1859; did anything else happen to you after this?—I believe the day, or the day but one, following a number of cakes were found in the field.

TENTH DAY.

Mr. J. Brooks.

16 Sept. 1867.

13,246. A number of cakes were found in the field ?—Yes.

13,247. Were they such cakes as cows would eat ?—They appeared to be made of meal or bran and water.

13,248. Food for cows ?—Yes.

13,249. Were they examined ?—Yes.

13,250. Were they found to be poisoned ?—Yes, they were.

13,251. This was in October or November. Now, in the following May did anything happen to you ?—Yes, we had a quantity of bricks spoiled and needles put in the clay.

13,252. Were the bricks spoiled by being trampled on ?—Yes.

13,253. And needles were put in the clay ?—And needles put in the clay.

13,254. That was in May 1860 ?—That was in May 1860.

13,255. Do you attribute all these outrages which you have mentioned to your quarrel with the union ?—Yes.

13,256. Is yours the Oldham union ?—Yes.

13,257. Where you live is in the district of the Oldham union ?—Yes.

13,258. Are you a brickmaker now ?—Yes.

13,259. At the same place ?—Yes.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. J. Taylor.

Mr. James Taylor sworn and examined.

13,260. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Are you a veterinary surgeon at Oldham ?—I am.

13,261. Do you remember some cows belonging to Mr. Brooks being poisoned ?—Yes.

13,262. He gave you the stomach of one cow to examine ?—Yes.

13,263. And you also examined some cakes which were found about the fields ?—Yes.

13,264. What did you find in the stomach of the cow ?—We analyzed the contents of the stomach and found arsenic in great quantities.

13,265. That would be quite sufficient to cause death ?—Yes.

13,266. Did you also examine the cakes ?—Yes.

13,267. What did you find then ?—I examined it at the time, and on Saturday I sent it to an analytical chemist in Manchester ; he has done the same and has found a great deal arsenic in it. I have some of the cake with me.

13,268. What is the substance of the cake ?—Bran and oatmeal watered (*the witness produced a piece of the cake*).

13,269. There is a peculiar smell with it, is that the arsenic ?—No, it has been kept in the desk for eight years. You can see small specks of white here and there, at the broken edge you will see them. There is a great quantity of arsenic in ; that is part of the original cake that was found.

The witness withdrew.

J. Rigby.

Joseph Rigby recalled and further examined.

13,270. (*Mr. Chance.*) You are a brickmaker ?—Yes.

13,271. For whom are you working ?—Robert Aitkins and Brothers.

13,272. Do you know Richard Beasley ?—Yes.

13,273. He works at Barrow ?—Yes.

13,274. How long has he been working there ?—Between two and three years, I think.

13,275. Do you know where he was working before he was working at Barrow ?—For Brunker, one of the Bridgewater trustees.

13,276. How long had he been working there ?—Between one and two years, 18 months to two years.

13,277. Do you remember five or six years ago a shell being thrown at Mr. Greaves ?—I heard talk of it.

13,278. When did you first hear talk of it. Was it soon after it occurred ?—Yes.

13,279. Did you have any conversation with Richard Beasley about it ?—Yes.

13,280. When was that ?—When we were in Barrow together.

13,281. How long ago is that ?—Two years ago.

13,282. Did Beasley tell you that he had helped to make the shell ?—He told me he had something to do with it ; he helped to make it.

13,283. Did he also say he knew who threw the shell at Greaves ?—Not to me he did not.

13,284. Did he say that to anybody else ?—Not that I know of.

13,285. Did you ever hear him say anything about who had thrown the shell at Greaves ?—No.

13,286. Are you sure of that ?—Yes.

13,287. Have you not said at any time that he did tell you so ?—No, I have not said that. He told me that he had helped to make it.

13,288. Is that all he told you ?—Yes, all that I can swear to.

13,289. Did he say anything about bringing it ?—No.

13,290. That is all you know about it ?—Yes ; I cannot say anything more except I must say something I do not know.

The witness withdrew.

R. Beasley.

Richard Beasley sworn and examined.

13,291. (*Chairman.*) I may tell you that if you make a free and full disclosure of anything you happen to know touching this inquiry you will be entitled to have, and certainly shall have, an indemnity, so that nobody can do anything at all against you for anything you may have done ; but it is upon the condition that you tell everything. Now is your time. You will have the right to have an indemnity, and nobody can do anything against you if you freely tell the truth. I merely mention that to you. Where are you living now ?—In Barrow.

13,292. What are you working at there ?—I am in the brick trade.

13,293. How long have you been at Barrow ?—I cannot exactly tell you, but I should surmise about two years.

13,294. And you have been working at the brick trade all that time, have you ?—Yes.

13,295. Did you formerly live at Birmingham ?—Yes.

13,296. What used you to do at Birmingham ?—I worked in the brick trade in Birmingham.

13,297. The same trade ?—The same trade, but not in the same way as I am now.

13,298. It was the same brick-making trade ?—Not the same way as I am now.

13,299. Was it a better way ?—It is a different branch altogether.

13,300. Still it was part of the brick-making trade ?—It was a different branch, there are different branches.

13,301. It was a different branch from what you are working in now ?—Yes, quite a different process altogether.

13,302. Did you ever go from Birmingham to Oldham some years ago ?—Never.

13,303. Were you ever at Oldham ?—I worked in Oldham.

13,304. Had you been at Birmingham before you were at Oldham ?—Yes.

13,305. When you said you did not come from Birmingham to Oldham, you mean to say that you did not come direct?—I mean to say that I did not come direct.

13,306. Had you been at Birmingham before?—Yes.

13,307. What brought you to Oldham?—Slackness of trade.

13,308. You wanted to get work at Oldham?—I wanted to get work anywhere.

13,309. You went to Oldham for that purpose?—Yes.

13,310. Did you get work there?—Yes.

13,311. Do you remember how long ago that was?—My memory does not exactly serve me. I have no particular date. I cannot tell to 12 months. I should say if I speak within any sort of reason that it might be seven years ago, but I cannot say exactly.

13,312. About seven years ago you were working at Oldham?—I fancy so. I cannot be sure unless I traverse where I have worked, if any gentleman will put down where I say I have worked I can get at it.

13,313. You are quite near enough; you did work at Oldham?—Yes.

13,314. And you worked at the same trade?—Yes, in the brick trade, not all the time.

13,315. How long did you stop at Oldham?—I cannot exactly say.

13,316. Twelve months or more?—I should surmise it was about 12 months, but I cannot say. I have not taken any notice of anything particular.

13,317. Were you a member of the Oldham union when you were there?—I believe I was.

13,318. You have no doubt about it?—There is no doubt at all, because I was.

13,319. Were you once auditor of the Oldham union?—Not that I am aware of. I might have been.

13,320. You were in some office, were you not?—Never.

13,321. Did you audit the accounts?—Never.

13,322. You do not remember doing anything of the sort?—I have never done anything of the sort.

13,323. Did you do anything for the union when you were in it?—I paid my money.

13,324. Anything else?—Nothing that I am aware of.

13,325. Do you think that you will recollect if a little time is given to you?—I will recollect no doubt if you will call it to my memory. It appears to me that you know more than I do, because I have no notes of anything.

13,326. Were you employed by the union to go about to different yards about the moulds?—No, not knowingly; if I was it was unbeknown to me. People may have said I was, but I have not been.

13,327. Did you go for your amusement to the different yards?—I never went to all the yards in Oldham.

13,328. Not all, but did you go to some of them?—I worked in two or three, but I do not think I went into five in Oldham.

13,329. Not to look after them?—No, if I went to them I worked.

13,330. Did you ever assist in making a shell?—No, I never did.

13,331. You never did?—No.

13,332. You have heard of a shell?—I heard talk of it and I read of it, that is all.

13,333. Have you heard others talk about it, too?—I will tell you where I see the most of it; I saw it in the Oldham almanack.

13,334. A long time ago?—I think it is seven years since I was there.

13,335. You never had anything to do with that?—No.

13,336. Do you know how to make a shell?—I do not know; I might make two or three shell oysters into a little grotto, but I know nothing of any other shells.

13,337. You could not put anything combustible in?—No.

13,338. You never tried your hand at this?—No.

13,339. Were you ever present when anybody else did?—No.

13,340. You heard of a shell being used at the time you were at Oldham?—No, nor any other man did.

13,341. Did you hear of a man named Greaves having a shell thrown at him?—I did, but I was working in Sheffield at the time.

13,342. When was that; was that before you came to Oldham?—Yes, 18 months before I saw Oldham or knew what kind of a town it was.

13,343. Did you ever hear of a shell at Sheffield?—Never.

13,344. You never saw one made?—Never.

13,345. Nothing of the sort?—Never.

13,346. You are quite sure of that?—Yes.

13,347. Did you ever say that you did it?—No, not that I am aware of.

13,348. Might it be that you once said that you had something to do in assisting to make a shell?—No, I will not say that ever I had. I will contradict it if any man ever said that I did. I never was in the possession of liquid while I was working in the steel melting. I was never in possession of a pound of steel liquid, never, without three or four men being with me.

13,349. Never mind the liquid; you know what a nail is?—Yes.

13,350. And you know gunpowder when you see it?—I do not know that I should know all sorts.

13,351. Do you know a man named Joseph Rigby?—Yes.

13,352. Is he working with you now?—No.

13,353. Is he working at Barrow now?—No, not that I am aware of.

13,354. Have you ever worked with him?—I worked with him.

13,355. Do you remember ever having any conversation with him about this attack upon Greaves?—No, I had nothing to do with Greaves.

13,356. Nobody said you had, but had you any talk with Rigby about the attack upon Greaves?—No.

13,357. That you swear?—Yes, that I will swear. However, I have sworn to come here to speak the truth, and if you want me to tell lies——

13,358. We do not want that?—I will answer everything that is just.

13,359. It may be all a mistake, but I want to ask whether you have ever told Joseph Rigby that you assisted in making the shell which was thrown at Isaiah Greaves?—No, I never did.

13,360. Nor anything to that effect?—No, I have melted hundreds of thousands of pots of steel for making sickles, scythes, clocks, springs, and other things of that sort, but as to anything in the way you are alluding to, I never did anything of the sort.

13,361. You are able to do all these things; did you learn to do these things you have just named?—I am not able to do them, but I melted the stuff to do it with, and there was a man in the room to look after me.

13,362. You melted the stuff?—Yes.

13,363. Did you learn to do that at Sheffield?—Yes, I paid 6*d.* a day to learn it.

13,364. You never said anything of that sort to Rigby, that you remember?—I never did.

13,365. And you know nothing about the shell that was thrown at Greaves?—I do not.

13,366. That you swear?—I have sworn.

13,367. But you swear to that statement?—I have sworn to that statement, and I will swear again the same. I think it is out of reason.

13,368. Were you ever connected with anybody who got any needles for destroying clay?—No.

13,369. Never in your life?—No.

13,370. You have heard of it being done?—I have read of it.

13,371. And heard it talked of?—And heard it talked of. Since I have been living in Oldham, and 18 months before I went into Oldham, I never saw the

TENTH DAY.

R. Beasley.

16 Sept. 1867.

place or knew where it was. Oldham was as tranquil and peaceable as the society is in this room.

13,372. Before you went there?—Yes, and ever since.

13,373. Before you went there it was perfectly quiet, and you think it has been quiet ever since?—I believe so; I have never heard of anything.

13,374. You never heard of any outrage in Oldham at all?—Never.

13,375. Never in your life?—Yes, I did when I was in Sheffield.

13,376. Did you never hear of any outrage in Oldham after you went there?—No.

13,377. You never heard of any bricks being destroyed?—No.

13,378. Never in your life?—No.

13,379. Where have you heard of clay being needled?—I have never heard of it, only rumoured about with the different people; I have never seen any facts in print.

13,380. Did you hear of it being rumoured about when you were in Oldham?—I did.

13,381. Did you hear of Greaves having been hurt by a shell while you were in Oldham?—I never heard it talked of.

13,382. Do you mean to tell me that you did not hear of it happening while you were in Oldham?—I never heard it at all; it was shown to me in the almanack when I bought it.

13,383. How long after?—Perhaps 18 months.

13,384. While you were in Oldham, or after you had left it?—It would be while I was there; I never saw the Oldham almanack until I was in Oldham.

13,385. And the first time you heard of the shell being fired at Greaves was seeing it in the almanack?—No, it was while I was in Sheffield the first time, it was shown to me in the newspaper.

13,386. And do you mean to say that the shell was fired at Greaves before you came to Oldham?—Yes, above six months.

13,387. Before you went there?—Before I saw Oldham, or knew where it was.

13,388. While you were at Oldham did you hear of any outrage upon a man named Holt, by his having a shed set on fire?—No, I do not know the man.

13,389. Did you hear of any shed being set on fire while you were at Oldham?—No, I did not; I never knew the name or heard it mentioned in my life, not that I am aware of.

(*Chairman.*) We shall want you to-morrow morning.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to to-morrow at 11 o'clock.

ELEVENTH DAY.

Assize Courts, Manchester, Tuesday, 17th September 1867.

PRESENT:

PERCIVAL ANDREE PICKERING, Esq., Q.C.	GEORGE CHANCE, Esq.
THOMAS IRWIN BARSTOW, Esq.	JAMES SHEIL, Esq., Secretary.

PERCIVAL ANDREE PICKERING, Esq., Q.C., IN THE CHAIR.

RICHARD BEASLEY recalled and further examined.

ELEVENTH DAY.

R. Beasley.

17 Sept. 1867.

13,390. (*Chairman.*) You have been already sworn. You understand that the oath which you took yesterday is sufficient for to-day. Have you considered the evidence which you gave yesterday?—I had nothing to consider about.

13,391. At all events you have no occasion to alter anything that you did say?—I cannot alter anything.

13,392. Did you know a person of the name of Thomas Rigby?—I have seen him once or twice; I do not know much of him.

13,393. How long ago is it since you saw him?—I cannot say exactly; it might be a year or two.

13,394. Shall I remind you?—Perhaps you can tell me better than I can tell you.

13,395. You are upon your oath. Did you know a person of the name of Thomas Rigby about five years ago?—I did know such a man; I do not know him now.

13,396. Did you know such a man about five years ago?—I think it is five or six years ago; I cannot say to a year or two.

13,397. Did you ever sleep in the same bed with a man of that name?—Yes, I did.

13,398. Where was that, do you remember?—In Runcorn.

13,399. Have you ever talked with him about any outrages which have been committed at Oldham?—No, I never did, nor he to me; not knowingly.

13,400. Will you swear that you never had any talk with him about outrages committed at Oldham?—Yes.

13,401. You swear that you never had?—Yes. That man was very drunk when he slept with me.

13,402. Did you sleep with him more than one night?—Never; not that I am aware of. He would not let me sleep on the night that he slept with me. He got up and opened the window, and was more like a lunatic than anything else.

13,403. Did you talk to him?—I consoled him, as I thought, and persuaded him to lie down.

13,404. Answer this. You say that you knew Greaves, the man who had a shell thrown at him?—I never knew the man in my life.

13,405. You heard the story?—Yes.

13,406. Did you ever hear him called "Old Cobber Greaves?"—I never knew him by the name of Greaves.

13,407. How did you know him?—I called him "Cobber" when I knew him.

13,408. Did you ever tell Rigby that you and James Kay made a shell which was thrown at old Cobber?—I never did.

13,409. Did you ever tell him that you were the first person who brought needles to Oldham?—No, I never did.

13,410. Damaged needles. Did you never say that?—No, I never did.

13,411. Did you ever say anything to him about needles or damaged needles?—Never in my life; I never had an hour's conversation with him, nor even a minute's.

13,412. A minute would be enough to say that?—I never had a minute's conversation with him in my life. He slept with me and was very tipsy. He took lodgings for a week and went away before that time.

13,413. Did you ever say that you brought needles from Sheffield ?—No.

13,414. Did you ever bring needles from Sheffield ?—I never did.

13,415. That you swear ?—Yes.

13,416. I asked you yesterday whether when you were a member of the Oldham union you had ever been the auditor, and you told me no ?—I was not aware that I ever was ; I am not aware that I was to this day.

13,417. Will you swear that you were not ?—I will swear I never was to my knowledge. If ever I was called upon there it might be for a quarter of an hour when somebody was absent.

13,418. You know what auditing the accounts means. Did you ever audit the accounts of the Oldham union when you were a member of it ?—I cannot say.

13,419. You said "no" yesterday ?—I might have said so yesterday. I say now that I do not recollect it.

13,420. You distinctly told me that you never had audited the accounts ?—I do not think I did.

13,421. Are you sure now whether you have or not ?—I do not recollect ever being auditor.

13,422. You went further yesterday ; you told me positively when you were pressed that you never had audited the accounts of the Oldham union ?—I am not aware that ever I did.

13,423. Not being aware of it is very much the same thing as not recollecting it. Yesterday you said positively that you did not ?—If my memory would let me say "yes" or "no" they would be shorter words than I have used.

13,424. Just look at that book (*handing the same to the witness*). Is that your handwriting or not ; do you see "Richard Beasley" there ?—Yes.

13,425. Is that your handwriting ?—I believe it is, and I believe I was there too now ; my memory did not serve me before.

13,426. Now, looking at the entry and having seen your handwriting, can you say whether you ever audited the accounts of the Oldham union ?—I might have been called upon in a case of emergency.

13,427. You know that book ; does not it prove to you that you did audit the accounts ?—Yes, a man may easily audit.

13,428. Did you audit the accounts ?—I did, or my name would not be here. I was not aware of it. I was not aware that ever they had confidence enough in me to let me audit the accounts.

13,429. James Hegan is the other name above yours ; do you remember him ?—I do not know him.

13,430. You remember somebody else signing the book along with you ?—No, I do not. I have seen the book, but I have not seen the names there ; I have seen my own.

13,431. Just look again and see whether there is any mistake about it (*handing the book to the witness*). The words are as I read them, "Audited and found correct by James Hegan and Richard Beasley." Is not that so ?—Yes.

13,432. Having seen the book do you mean to tell me that you do not remember James Hegan auditing the accounts with you at that time ?—Yes, I know the man now.

13,433. You and he audited the accounts at the time ?—Yes, I have no doubt about it now.

13,434. And before you audited the accounts of course all the items of the accounts were explained to you ; you could not find them to be correct without ?—I could not say they were correct without.

13,435. Turn back and look at some of the entries which were allowed by you to be correct ; turn back to the next page, first of all ; look down that page where your left hand is—you will find there or at the page before it the sum of 20*l.* put down for cash, is it there ?—No ; 2*l.* 2*s.* I see.

13,436. What entry is there upon the page which your left hand is now touching, is there any entry on that page of cash ?—Cash receiving, yes.

13,437. Not receiving ; I mean payments ?—No, I cannot see any payments at all.

13,438. Just turn over the page before, is there any cash down there of 20*l.* ?—No.

13,439. It is the page back, the receipts are put on the right hand side and the payments are put on the left ; it is the way that a debtor and creditor account is kept. "Expenses of two delegates 8*s.* 10*d.*" and after that comes the sum of 20*l.* I think for September the 5th. It is a page back ; do you see it now ?—Yes.

13,440. What does that mean ?—I do not understand it.

13,441. But still it must all have been explained to you according to your own statement ?—It might have been received, I cannot say.

13,442. That cannot be, it is on the side of the payments ?—I never kept this book.

13,443. But you have audited as correct a payment of that sum on September the 5th ?—It does not say what year this is in.

13,444. It may be in the beginning, I did not look ; at all events it is immaterial as long as you audited them ?—There is no doubt about its being in my handwriting, but there is no year here at all.

13,445. Whatever year it was you audited them. Now I want to know what the payment of 20*l.* on September the 5th was for ?—I do not know anything about it.

13,446. Of course it must have been explained to you or you would not have signed it as correct ?—Yes, it says here, "Expenses of delegates 8*s.* 10*d.*"

13,447. That speaks for itself ?—And there is an item here of "cash 20*l.*"

13,448. You found that to be correct ?—It would have to be explained to me one way or the other, or else I could not say that it was correct.

13,449. That occurs to everybody's mind. It having been found correct and an explanation given to you, can you give us the slightest idea what such an entry was for ?—I cannot give any further information than this, it might have been 20 men on strike, 20 men that had 1*l.* a week ; or 40 men at 10*s.* a week would amount to the same ; I cannot say any other way.

13,450. Was not the proper mode of entering such money, if it had been so paid, "Turn out" or "Strike ?"—I cannot say. I was not acquainted with the manner in which the books were kept.

13,451. Is this the only occasion on which you audited the accounts ?—I do not think I was ever called upon again, and my memory did not serve me then, and I would not believe this now if I had not seen it.

13,452. Would you not have expected that that entry would have explained "Turn out" or "Strike" if the money had been so spent ; but here is a mere entry of 20*l.* Can you give any other explanation about it ?—I cannot give any explanation, only a surmise. There might have been forty men out, or there might have been a dispute, or there might have been 50 in two or three different yards ; they might have been paid for two or three days each.

13,453. It might have been anything else. You cannot say whether the proper mode of making such a payment as that would not have been for the thing itself, as for a turn out or a strike ?—If I had entered this I should have entered it so as to have been able to explain it when called upon, but I am not able to explain it.

13,454. You think that the proper entry for a turn out or strike would have been "turn out" or "strike" ?—Yes, if I had been cashier I should have said for a purpose—for labour.

13,455. You would have expressed the purpose ?—I should have expressed the purpose.

13,456. But they have not done so ?—I cannot account for that.

13,457. But an explanation must have been given to you at the time ?—I do not understand the way in which these books have been kept.

13,458. But of course you understood it before you found that they were correct ?—It might have been explained to me, but my memory does not serve me.

ELEVENTH DAY.

R. Beasley.

17 Sept. 1867.

13,459. Just let me look and see whether the date is mentioned anywhere? It begins in August and goes through September to October 1862. Therefore it is clear that this was September 1862?—That would have been five years ago.

13,460. Then it goes on afterwards to January 1863, therefore this must have been in 1862?—You must allow for the class that there are in the fraternity which I unfortunately belong to, in their mode of book-keeping they are not so clever as some men are.

13,461. I do not mean to say anything about that; but you understand what you are told. The accounts are very well kept it appears to me?—If I knew anything about it I would say that I did, but I do not. My memory does not serve me. If it was for food or anything else, if they told me, I do not recollect it.

13,462. The memory does go sometimes when people get into that box?—Mine does not go because I have got into the box.

The witness withdrew.

T. Rigby.

THOMAS RIGBY sworn and examined.

13,463. (*Chairman.*) I want to tell you that if you make a full and true disclosure of all you know, you will not be liable to be prosecuted or troubled in any possible way for anything you have done. We shall give you an indemnity, but it is upon the express condition that you make a full and true disclosure of all; if you keep back anything you will not be entitled to it. Now is the time for you to tell us if you have ever done anything wrong, and I promise you that you shall be free from any trouble on that account afterwards. What are you now?—I am wheeling clay; I am a brickmaker.

13,464. Where are you working?—At Joseph Brooks's in Oldham.

13,465. Have you worked there long?—Four years.

13,466. Have you been a brickmaker all your life?—Yes, the biggest part of it; ever since I was about 22 or 23 years old.

13,467. Have you been a member of any union?—Yes, both the Oldham and Manchester unions.

13,468. Are you a member now?—No, nor have not been for the last five or six years.

13,469. Five or six years ago were you a member of the Oldham union?—Yes.

13,470. How long were you a member of the Oldham union?—I am sure I cannot say.

13,471. Several years?—Yes, several years; going on 12 years.

13,472. Was it before that time that you were a member of the Manchester union, or at the same time?—The same time.

13,473. You were a member of both?—I was a member of both places.

13,474. Did you serve any office in the Oldham union?—Yes, I was one of the council.

13,475. We understand that there were nine; was that so in your time?—There were 11.

13,476. And you were one of the council?—Yes.

13,477. Were you ever treasurer or secretary?—No.

13,478. How often did the council meet; once a fortnight?—Sometimes the council met oftener, and sometimes not so often.

13,479. You met at no particular time?—We met at no particular time; if we were called together we used to meet.

13,480. Might anybody call you together, or must it be a member of the council who called you together?—A member of the council.

13,481. Did he call you together upon any complaint being made?—I suppose it must be so; there must be some complaint laid.

13,482. A complaint that somebody perhaps was interfering with your rules?—Yes.

13,483. Then that matter was brought before the council?—Yes.

13,484. If anybody was taking less wages than your union men that was one of the matters?—Yes.

13,485. Or working with non-union men, was that another?—Yes.

13,486. Upon that did you come to a resolution as to what ought to be done about it?—Yes.

13,487. What sort of resolutions; do you remember. Was it that something should be done to the men, or that something should be done to the property?—Something done to the property or the men either.

13,488. You have often known cases of that sort?—I was once in one case.

13,489. What was that?—It was one of Holt's.

13,490. He was employing non-union men?—He was employing non-union men.

13,491. I forget in what year that was?—It was above 10 years since.

13,492. No it is not?—It is above 10 years.

13,493. Do you remember one in the year 1859?—No, I cannot say that I do.

13,494. What is it that you remember; you may be wrong in the year?—We came to the conclusion that we would set his shed on fire, and we went.

13,495. Who went?—Me, William Burchall, William Smith, and John Suthers.

13,496. Did you go and set his shed on fire?—We went.

13,497. How did you do it; did you get the tools together?—We got naphtha, and we had little tins for putting the naphtha in, and we put fire to the tins and it did not do any execution whatever. It just made a little hole through, just the same as nothing.

13,498. Did you collect the tools and wheelbarrows in the shed together?—No; William Burchell gave me a pistol. I did not see what it was they did; I stood at the door while they did it.

13,499. Which door; the door of the shed?—Yes, and I daresay I should have shot the first that came out of it. I have no doubt I should have shot anyone that came out. I believe I should, because I did not know any better.

13,500. Was it a single or a double-barrelled pistol?—Single barrelled.

13,501. How many carried naphtha?—They carried it in a bottle.

13,502. Who carried it; do you remember?—I cannot say.

13,503. How much did you get from the union for that job?—I got 1*l.*

13,504. You all shared alike?—I do not know that.

13,505. You were to share alike?—We expected to do so.

13,506. Who settled the money that you were to have?—Patrick Nolan gave me mine; he was not the president or secretary.

13,507. He was a member of the council?—Yes.

13,508. Did you generally settle with the council how much money was to be given?—No, I do not know that it was settled.

13,509. You told someone to carry it out and to pay for it?—Yes.

13,510. How did Patrick Nolan get the money from the treasurer?—I do not know. He must have got it, because he gave me 1*l.*

13,511. You say that you did not succeed in getting the shed on fire then?—No, I did not persevere then.

13,512. In what other cases have you been concerned?—I was in no other outrages except that.

13,513. You have heard them talked of at the meetings, of course?—It is no use my coming here and telling you stories, and I shall not do so.

13,514. But you have heard them spoken of at the meetings?—I do not know that I have.

13,515. Surely you must remember that at these council meetings it was the usual thing to have these things talked of. Do you remember any other outrage

being talked of at the meeting; was Smethurst's case mentioned there?—No.

13,516. Were there many in your time in the Oldham district?—I remember about Richard Beasley.

13,517. Did you sleep with Richard Beasley one night?—Yes, I slept with him I dare say at nights.

13,518. Where was it?—At Runcorn. I was there one night, and we were talking about these outrages, so he says to me, "Thou knowest about old Cobber, about that shell." I said, "I heard about it." He said, "I was one making it there, me and Jem Kay."

13,519. He and Jem Kay made the shell?—Yes, but he did not tell me who throwed it.

13,520. He said that he and James Kay were concerned in making the shell which was thrown at "old Cobber"?—He said it was not thrown at him to kill him; it was only thrown at him to fear him.

13,521. It was thrown pretty near him; did he say that?—He said it was thrown at him, and he said he sent for needles from Sheffield to put in the clay and that is all that I know.

13,522. You slept with him you say a week?—I slept with him a week.

13,523. Were you drunk when you slept with him?—No, I was not.

13,524. None of the nights?—No, not a single night.

13,525. Not a single night?—No, not a single night.

13,526. And you are quite sure that he said this?—Yes.

13,527. Had you known him long before?—I never knowed him before I went there, and I did not know that he was a union man when I went there till he told me.

13,528. You knew James Kay, did you not?—Very well.

13,529. He was a union man?—Yes.

13,530. And very much employed?—Yes he was, I believe, but I know naught no more about him.

13,531. Do you remember when the Oldham union wanted some money and sent round to get it from the other different unions? We have heard about that; do not you remember the Oldham union wanting some money and sending round?—They did many a time.

13,532. Did they do it when you were a member of the council?—No, I do not know that they did.

13,533. Do you remember it?—Yes I remember it well enough, but I say that I do not know that they ever sent any money when I was in the council.

13,534. Do you remember James Kay bringing as much as 100*l.* from the Manchester union?—Yes, I do remember that.

13,535. Do you remember when it was?—No, I cannot say.

13,536. In 1862?—I cannot say the year, but I remember it very well, because they fined me 1*l.* for it.

13,537. What were you fined 1*l.* for?—Because they said I had told Cobber that the Manchester union would not find the Oldham union any money, and instead of that there was a levy. I had a son of mine who came to the club-house for me. That night my missis sent my son and nephew down to the club-house for me so that I should come home again, it was a meeting at night; when I went at night there was was about six or seven of the Oldham men come down and they said I had been and told Cobbor that Manchester would find them no money.

13,538. Is Cobber old Greaves?—Yes, James Kay told them that if so be that the Oldham men would leave it to him and give him a portion of the money he would get them 100*l.*

13,539. So they did leave it to him, and he got the 100*l.*?—Yes, and they fined me 1*l.* for telling Cobber, Kay was to get 15*l.* for the 100*l.* but he only got 7*l.* 10*s.*

13,540. Were you fined by the Manchester or the Oldham union?—By the Manchester union, then I got my 1*l.* back again two or three years after that. They sent a letter back from Oldham to Manchester that I was not in fault: so they sent me my 1*l.* back again; my son drew it back.

13,541. For what did Kay bring the 100*l.* to the Oldham union?—There was a turn out, and they wanted 2*s.* a thousand for making their bricks.

13,542. 100*l.* is a large sum of money?—Yes.

13,543. What made him bring as much as 100*l.*, because there was a turn out in Oldham?—He brought it to support the Oldham brickmakers.

13,544. How many turn outs were there at Oldham at the time?—I cannot say.

13,545. Were there many?—Yes, they were all out.

13,546. What for?—They were out, and wanted 2*s.* a thousand for making the bricks, the masters used to give 1*s.* 10*d.*

13,547. The Manchester union gave you 100*l.*?—Manchester gave Oldham 100*l.*

13,548. What did Stockport give?—I am sure I cannot say.

13,549. Did they give something?—They gave something.

13,550. And Liverpool?—Yes.

13,551. Did Sheffield give you something?—Yes.

13,552. Was there any sent from Ashton?—I think Ashton was poor enough, and they did not send so much.

13,553. Liverpool, Birkenhead, and St. Helen's sent you money?—Yes.

13,554. How much did you get altogether?—I am sure I cannot tell you.

13,555. 400*l.* or 500*l.*?—I dare say that or some way near.

13,556. What came out of the Oldham union for that purpose?—I cannot say.

13,557. And this was for turn outs?—Yes, it was not for any outrages, it was only for turn outs.

13,558. How long did the turn out last?—It lasted a good while.

13,559. A fortnight?—Yes, and more too.

13,560. A month?—Yes, more than two months.

13,561. What did you pay the men during the time—full wages?—So much a week.

13,562. How much a week?—12*s.* a week.

13,563. While you were a member of the council do you remember the subject of outrages being brought before the council?—No, it never was brought before the council.

13,564. Still you came to resolutions as to the man whose property was to be injured?—Yes.

13,565. You said if any man had a complaint to make the nature of which you have told me, either for working under wages, or working with non-union men, or for a master who was employing non-union men, it was a matter that was generally brought before the council?—Yes.

13,566. I understand you to say that you came to a resolution that some measures were to be taken upon it?—Yes.

13,567. Do you remember what sort of resolutions they were; were they such as destroying the man's property or frightening him with a shell?—I never threw a shell at anybody.

13,568. I never suggested that you did, but were there not resolutions of the kind that something was to be done with a man's property, or that the man must come before the council?—Yes, we always concluded what must be done.

13,569. Then was it the custom to leave it to somebody to carry it out?—Yes.

13,570. Who was the man you generally selected, Patrick Nolan?—No he was not.

13,571. Who was the man?—There was William Burchall and John Suthers, and me, and William Smith, who carried out what I know about. I know nought about anything else.

13,572. That is what you have been telling us?—Yes.

13,573. Upon other occasions besides this have you employed anybody? When these resolutions were passed, whom did you employ to carry them out?—I do not know that I employed——

ELEVENTH DAY.

T. Rigby.

Sept. 1867.

13,574. Not you yourself?—Nobody that I am aware of.

13,575. Have you sent over to Manchester to get a man; have you ever got James Kay to do a thing of that sort?—No, I never had anything to do with James Kay.

13,576. You have not, but have you known him to be employed by your union?—I have heard them say that he has been.

13,577. You have not known him to be employed by your union to carry out your resolutions?—Yes, but I have not done it.

13,578. No one suggested that you had done it, but you have heard it said that they have gone over to Kay and got him to carry out the resolutions?—Yes.

13,579. Of course he would have to be paid for that?—Of course he would have to be paid for it.

13,580. Did you come to a resolution as to how much he was to have?—No.

13,581. You left that to somebody else to settle?—Yes.

13,582. That has occurred I suppose several times?—I do not know that.

13,583. You have heard it said several times that Kay has been employed many a time?—I have heard them talk about Kay many a time.

13,584. And for things of that sort?—He never does nought else, and he won't do aught else either.

13,585. And he won't do aught else?—Not him.

13,586. What is the utmost you have ever heard of, as being given to him for a job by the Oldham union?—25*l.* When he got that 100*l.* he got me fined 1*l.*, and when he got the 100*l.* from Manchester he got 7*l.* 10*s.* and should have had 15*l.*, but they did not give him 15*l.*, they only gave him 7*l.* 10*s.*

13,587. You have heard of his having as much as 25*l.*?—Yes.

13,588. What was the ordinary sum for a small outrage, 10*l.* or 15*l.*?—I do not know.

13,589. 25*l.* was the most, what do you think was the least, 10*l.*; it was never less 10*l.* was it?—10*l.*?

13,590. Yes.—Oh yes.

13,591. Because you know it had to be distributed?—I drew my own. I did not draw anybody else's.

13,592. Nobody imagined that you did, but 25*l.* was the most you ever got; what was the ordinary sum. 5*l.* or 10*l.*?—Do you mean Kay?

13,593. Yes?—That I cannot say.

13,594. Do you remember what the 25*l.* was for?—No, I cannot say that I do.

13,595. Just try?—I am sure I cannot.

13,596. I think you can?—I cannot.

13,597. Was the deed to be done in Oldham?—No.

13,598. How near Oldham was it?—It was done in Ashton-under-Lyne; I believe it was done at Blocksage's.

13,599. You think it was for that?—I was one of them.

13,600. Kay carried out your resolutions always to your satisfaction, I understand?—Yes.

13,601. That you think was for Blocksage's. Do you remember what any other was for?—No.

13,602. How came they to give 25*l.* for that outrage?—I do not remember; I heard that he had it.

13,603. How came the Oldham Union to give Kay 25*l.* for the outrage at Ashton?—I did not say that the Oldham people gave it him, did I?

13,604. I understood you to say so?—No, I did not say so. I say that was the most I have ever heard of, 25*l.*

13,605. Correct yourself by all means. Who did you hear gave it to him?—It was given by the Ashton people.

13,606. The Oldham people only paid for jobs done in their own district?—Yes.

13,607. What was the most you have ever known Kay to get for having done a job in your district?—I cannot tell.

13,608. 10*l.* or 20*l.*?—Nay, I do not know.

13,609. About that?—I hold no office at all.

13,610. What is the most of which you have ever heard tell?—I do not know. He had 7*l.* 10*s.* when he got the 100*l.*, but I do not know anything else.

13,611. Have you not heard of him having some money for doing a job in the district?—Yes, many a time I have heard of his having money, but not that I know anything about.

13,612. Cannot you mention one of the jobs?—No.

13,613. Were there so many that you cannot very well remember?—No, it is not that road.

13,614. But there were a good many?—There has been many a one.

13,615. (*Mr. Chance.*) Do you remember the murder of the police constable Jump in the year 1862?—Yes.

13,616. Was your union called upon to subscribe to the defence of the men who were guilty of that murder?—Yes, I believe it was.

13,617. Do you know how much you paid?—I do not know.

13,618. Was it upwards of 100*l.*?—I cannot say, because I do not know anything about it.

13,619. Do you know this book (*handing the same to witness*)?—I do not know it.

13,620. Cannot you read?—I cannot read without having my spectacles.

13,621. Have you not got your spectacles?—No.

13,622. Do you know the landlord of the inn where you used to meet, did he advance money for you sometimes?—At Manchester?

13,623. No, at Oldham.—Not that I am aware of.

13,624. What was the name of the man?—He used to be called "Syntax," or "Lord."

13,625. Is he the landlord of the inn where you met?—Yes, he is.

13,626. At Oldham?—They have shifted it since I was in the union.

13,627. Was he the landlord when you were there?—No, not when I was there.

13,628. Was he in 1862?—I cannot say whether he was or not; I believe he was in 1862, but will not say.

13,629. Do you know whether he was?—I was not in the union.

13,630. Not in 1862?—No.

13,631. How long were you in the union? Had you left at the time when you say you were not in the union?—I believe I was not in the union.

13,632. How long had you left the union?—It would be five or six years since.

13,633. Were you in the union at the time when Jump was murdered?—Yes, I believe I was.

13,634. Do not you remember that the Ashton men came to you to contribute to the defence of the men who were implicated?—I know they went about.

13,635. And they came to your union?—They came to our union.

13,636. Do you remember whether your union subscribed or not?—There was money given to them.

13,637. But you do not know how much?—I do not know how much.

13,638. Your union was one of the unions of the amalgamated society?—Yes.

13,639. How much did you subscribe to the amalgamated society?—I am sure I cannot say.

13,640. Was there a subscription to the amalgamated society except when any particular occasion arose?—No, I do not know that there was.

13,641. You do not remember the amount?—No, I do not.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. J. Wrigley.

Mr. James Wrigley sworn and examined.

13,642. (*Mr. Barstow*). Are you a member of the firm of Wrigley Brothers, brickmakers at Oldham?—Yes.

13,643. I must take you first to the spring of 1857; you were then employing union men, were you not?—Yes.

13,644. Had you to discharge your burner, or did he leave your employment, in the winter of that year?—He left of his own accord in 1857.

13,645. Then did you get a non-union man to replace him?—Yes.

13,646. What took place in consequence of that?—We had a shed set on fire.

13,647. But did the union men leave your service?—Yes.

13,648. Did they tell you before they went what they were going for?—They never told us anything.

13,649. Without saying a word they left your service?—Yes.

13,650. To what at the time did you attribute their leaving your service?—We employed non-union men.

13,651. Your employing that non-union burner was the reason they left, was it?—I always thought so.

13,652. After they left did anything happen to your property?—We had a shed set on fire.

13,653. How soon was that after the men had left?—It was in January 1858.

13,654. Between the time of the men leaving your service and the shed being set on fire had you any threats from the union men?—Not that I remember.

13,655. What was burnt at the same time that your shed was burnt?—About half the shed was burnt down.

13,656. After the fire did you examine the place?—Yes.

13,657. Did you find anything there?—No, nothing at all.

13,658. You found no naphtha or anything of that sort?—No.

13,659. Did they burn anything besides the shed?—They burnt some of the barrows and planks.

13,660. What was the total amount of damage done to you?—About 30*l.* or 40*l.* I think.

13,661. Did you give information to the police?—Yes, we offered a reward of 10*l.*

13,662. Was anyone discovered?—No.

13,663. After that time had you any damage done to your property?—We had needles put in the clay.

13,664. When was that?—It would be about two months after, I believe.

13,665. At that time were you employing non-union men?—Yes.

13,666. Did they do any damage?—They filled the clay full of needles.

13,667. But was anyone hurt with them?—Yes.

13,668. How many were hurt?—The moulder was hurt badly on two or three occasions.

13,669. Was anyone hurt besides?—No.

13,670. Was he permanently injured, or could he work at his trade afterwards?—No, he had to stop three or four days at times.

13,671. Have you sustained any damage to your property since that time?—We have had bricks spoiled.

13,672. When was that?—It was in May of the same year, 1858.

13,673. Were they destroyed by being trampled upon?—Yes, about 4,000.

13,674. Can you tell me how many men were engaged in doing that?—No.

13,675. About what was the damage done on that occasion?—It would be about 2*l.*

13,676. Was this damage to your property repeated continually?—I will not be certain whether there was any more done after or not.

13,677. You do not know whether it was so or not?—No.

13,678. Did you go on employing non-union men?—For about two years.

13,679. Altogether?—We had them mixed; there were union men and non-union men working together.

13,680. When was that?—At that time.

13,681. Was that in May 1858?—Yes.

13,682. And then sometime after that you discharged all your non-union men?—Yes, in about two years afterwards.

13,683. Have you ever had any damage done to your property since that time?—No.

13,684. I am now asking your opinion. To whom do you attribute this burning of your shed?—Well, I always thought it was the union men.

13,685. And the same of the other damage that was done to your property?—Yes.

13,686. However, you turned away the non-union men who had done you no damage and took in the union men who had done you this damage?—Yes.

13,687. And you have not been disturbed since?—No.

13,688. No one was apprehended in consequence of any of this damage I believe?—No, no one.

13,689. (*Mr. Chance.*) What was the name of your burner?—Samuel Smith.

13,690. Was anything done to him?—No, I do not remember anything.

13,691. Was he a non-union man?—Yes, at that time I believe he was.

13,692. Was he one of the men whom you discharged afterwards?—Yes.

13,693. And you discharged him in consequence of pressure put upon you by the union?—Yes.

13,694. But he was never himself injured, was he, that you know of?—No.

13,695. Nor threatened?—Well, I cannot say for that.

The witness withdrew.

SAMUEL SMITH sworn and examined.

13,696. (*Mr. Chance.*) Are you a member of any union?—Yes, I am in one now.

13,697. Of what union are you a member?—Of the Ashton union.

13,698. How long have you been a member of that union?—I have been in 30 years and better in all. I have been in about seven years this time.

13,699. Do you remember being in the employ of Messrs. Wrigley Brothers at Oldham?—Yes.

13,700. When did you first go to work with them?—I entered in 1857 and I tarried till 1859, two years in all.

13,701. What were you doing for them, were you burning?—I was burning for them.

13,702. And you say that you were a member of the union at that time?—No.

13,703. I thought you said that you had been a member of the union 30 years?—Yes, but off and on.

13,704. At the time you were working for Messrs. Wrigley you were not a member of the union?—No, I was not; I had been working in Yorkshire.

13,705. Do you remember his taking you on in the place of another burner whom he discharged?—He did not discharge him. This burner came to me and offered this job to me; I was working in the next yard; he asked me if I would take to this job because he wanted to go to another, and I said I would supposing his master (that was Mr. Wrigley) wished me to go.

13,706. Did he tell you why he was leaving?—Yes, he was going to Ibbotson Platt's working.

13,707. Did he give no further reason for his leavthan that?—No, he did not any further than that.

13,708. And then you went into Mr. Wrigley's employment?—Yes, Mr. Wrigley agreed that I should go and I did go.

13,709. Were there union men working in the yard when you went there?—There were union men working in the yard.

13,710. Did the union men then leave him?—Yes, but they did not leave him till the damage was done.

13,711. You remember the damage being done to

ELEVENTH DAY.

S. Smith.

17 Sept. 1867.

some sheds?—Yes, there were five men working and three of them were union chaps.

13,712. Do you know why the shed was set on fire?—I cannot say what it was set on fire for unless it was because Mr. Wrigley engaged a brother of mine who was not a union man. I never knew any reason, unless it was that. This brother of mine worked in the next yard to what I did and he engaged him, and he was not a union man.

13,713. Was he a moulder?—Yes.

13,714. Had anything been said to you at all by the union men?—No, they were always very agreeable with me.

13,715. Have you ever heard anything said against Mr. Wrigley?—No, I have heard them say that they had been to his house frequently, and they wanted him to stop me.

13,716. You call that being very agreeable with you; but did you hear them tell Mr. Wrigley that?—No, I did not.

13,717. But you said just now that you believed the union men wanted to stop him from employing you?—I do not know except that he said that they had been to him at times to stop me.

13,718. Did the union men try to stop you from working for him?—No.

13,719. Then who did try to stop his employing you?—I cannot tell who went to him, I do not know.

13,720. You say some one went to him?—Yes, some one went to him.

13,721. Were they members of the union?—Yes.

13,722. And they went to him to endeavour to prevent his employing you?—Yes.

13,723. Did he continue to employ you?—Yes, he never stopped me, he never offered to stop me.

13,724. Your brother you say was also a non-union man?—Yes, he was.

13,725. Did they also try to stop him?—I never heard anything of that kind.

13,726. But did not the union men ever say anything to you about working for him?—No, they never did to me.

13,727. What was the reason of the shed being set on fire?—I cannot tell you.

13,728. Do you not believe that it was because he employed you and your brother, you being non-union men?—I do not think it was so much against me as against my brother.

13,729. Why were they so much against your brother?—I cannot tell. He was working in Oldham long before I was.

13,730. Was it not because he was a non-union man?—I expect that would be it, but I cannot tell.

13,731. There was no other reason, was there?—No, not that I am aware of.

13,732. How long did you work for Mr. Wrigley?—I worked for him two years. I went at the back end of 1857 and I worked for him till the back end of 1859, that was two years.

13,733. How many times was his property damaged?—Three times in all.

13,734. Was not the cause for that the same as before, viz., that he was employing you and your brother who were non-union men?—Well, I cannot tell you, I am sure, about that. As I said before they never were against me, they were more against my brother than they were against me, but I do not know what the reason was.

13,735. Have you ever heard them say anything against your brother?—No, I never heard them say anything about him to me.

13,736. How did you know that they were against your brother?—I heard him say so himself before I went into Oldham.

13,737. You never heard any of the union men themselves say anything about him?—No.

13,738. But still as a fact, I suppose, you knew that at that time the union men did not like the non-union being employed?—No, they did not.

13,739. Do you know of no other reason why the damage should be done to Mr. Wrigley's property except that he employed your brother who was a non-union man, and yourself also a non-union man?—I do not.

13,740. No threats were ever held out to you?—No.

13,741. Have you been asked from time to time to join the union?—Yes, they did ask me from time to time to join the union.

13,742. And you refused for a time?—I did for a time.

13,743. Do I understand you to say that the whole time you worked for Mr. Wrigley you were not in the union?—No, I was not.

13,744. When did you join?—It is about seven years since, and I left Mr. Wrigley and went to Ashton again.

13,745. Why did you join?—Well, you know, because they kept coming to me and I had been a member before; but this was like a third club at Ashton, and they kept coming to me and I went in for quietness.

13,746. You say they induced you to join by constantly coming to you?—Yes.

13,747. If they had not come to you in that way should you have joined?—I might have done.

13,748. If it had been left to your own choice should you have joined the union?—I should not have done so just then.

13,749. (*Chairman.*) Were you fined last week for burning a kiln?—It is a fortnight since last night.

13,750. By whom were you fined?—It was the Ashton union, not the Oldham union.

13,751. For what did they fine you?—I was sitting up for a man that comes from Oldham and I did not charge him money enough. That was what they fined me for.

13,752. Were you sitting up to burn his kiln?—Yes.

13,753. You were doing his work for him?—Yes, that night.

13,754. How much did he pay you for it?—4*s.* and I should have charged him 6*s.*

13,755. And because you took 4*s.* instead of 6*s.* you were fined; how much were you fined?—1*l.*

13,756. By the Ashton union?—Yes.

13,757. Had you to pay the pound?—I have not done so yet.

13,758. But what do you expect will happen to you if you do not?—I cannot tell.

13,759. However they fined you 1*l.* because you did this man's work for 4*s.* instead of 6*s.*?—Yes.

13,760. Was this man a friend of yours?—Yes, he had done a good turn for me in former days and I thought I would do one for him.

13,761. What was the name of the man?—Thomas Jackson.

13,762. Whom does he work for?—He is doing for Mr. Whitaker at Hurst.

13,763. Where did you keep the kiln for him?—At Hurst, at Mr. Whitaker's.

13,764. Who told you of the fine?—A man who goes round gauging mouldings.

13,765. For the union?—Yes.

13,766. What is his name?—Zacharias Smithson.

13,767. Have you known him go round before for things of this sort, to mention to people about the fires?—Yes, he is a man put in for that just as much as he is for gauging the moulds.

13,768. And he came and told you that the union had fined you 1*l.*?—Yes.

13,769. How did they get to know that you had taken 4*s.* instead of 6*s.* from a friend?—If they asked me I told them the truth. He would have paid me more if I had charged him.

13,770. You did not charge him because he had done you a good turn on former occasions, and you thought you would do him a good turn now?—Certainly.

13,771. And for that the union fined you 1*l.*—Yes.

The witness withdrew.

ELEVENTH DAY.

Mr. C. Renshaw.

17 Sept. 1867.

Mr. CHARLES RENSHAW sworn and examined.

13,772. (*Mr. Barstow.*) In June 1862 were you carrying on brickmaking by machinery at Heaton Chapel?—Yes.

13,773. That is in the district of the Stockport brickmakers, is it not?—Yes, it was in the Stockport district.

13,774. Do you happen to know whether there is any rule among the Stockport brickmakers against making bricks by machinery?—I am not aware that there is any rule against it.

13,775. Have any of them ever told you that it was against the rules of their union?—No.

13,776. Do you remember on the 19th of June something happening to your property?—Yes.

13,777. What was that?—There was two canisters of powder placed under a machine which exploded. It did not do the machinery any damage at all, but it lifted the roof off the place and blew the end of the shed out. The roof was blown up but not carried away, and the end of the shed was blown out.

13,778. After the explosion did you examine your premises?—I did. I was called up early in the morning about half-past 5 and I examined the premises.

13,779. What did you find there?—I found the contents of two canisters that were exploded.

13,780. You did not find the contents of the canisters, I expect?—Of course that was gone; but I found the remains of two canisters.

13,781. What was the size of those canisters?—Well, I should suppose the two together would hold something like two gallons when they were put together.

13,782. Did they smell of anything?—Of powder.

13,783. And were there the marks of an explosion of gunpowder?—The machine was all covered with smoke and sulphur from the powder as though it had been blackleaded.

13,784. In short there were the marks of an explosion of powder?—There was.

13,785. What was the value of the damage done in money?—Well, the damage was not very great, I should say from 6*l.* to 8*l.*

13,786. Did you give information to the police?—Yes, I sent for Smith, the police officer, from Reddish.

13,787. Was there any one apprehended?—There was no one apprehended, but we traced the way the six men had come and the way they had gone back. We thought there were six from the footmarks.

13,788. You traced them to your works and from your works?—We traced them through the meadow grass, and we traced them back again through the meadow grass.

13,789. In what direction did they come to your works?—They came from towards Gorton.

13,790. Is Gorton on the road from Stockport to your place?—No, it lies wide of Manchester.

13,791. Is it on the road to Manchester from your place?—No, it lies wide of Manchester.

13,792. But it lies on the Stockport side of Manchester?—Certainly; it is between Stockport and Manchester.

13,793. Did they go back again in the direction of Gorton?—They went back in the direction of Gorton through the same field back again.

13,794. Gorton is in the district of the Manchester brickmakers, is it not?—I believe it is.

13,795. After this you got a watchman, did you not?—Yes.

13,796. Was your property in any way damaged after that?—No, I had never any damage done to my property after that. I kept a watchman and a couple of dogs, and I have a gun or two planted on the place you know.

13,797. I believe you found great difficulties in your trade?—Very much so.

13,798. The bricksetters would not set your bricks?—No.

13,799. And the brickmaker would not return them to you?—No, in two cases I had to return money.

13,800. That was in 1862 was it not?—It was; just a week before Jump was killed.

13,801. Are machine-made bricks better than hand-made bricks?—Well, they were considered so, and parties would have purchased them if they were not annoyed by the union.

13,802. They would have taken them in preference?—Certainly.

13,803. You have given up making them altogether now, have you not?—I have.

13,804. Was that in consequence of the annoyance with which you met?—It was in consequence of the annoyance that I met with.

The witness withdrew.

J. C. Johnson.

JOHN CLAY JOHNSON sworn and examined.

13,805. (*Chairman.*) What are you now?—A wooden shovel maker.

13,806. How long have you been so?—I daresay I have been a shovel maker for some 20 years.

13,807. Where you ever a brickmaker?—Yes.

13,808. When was that?—It would be some 20 years since.

13,809. Are the shovels which you now make shovels which are used in the brick making trade?—For various purposes. I make "tater" shovels for the "tater" walk in the Oldham Road.

13,810. Do you also make shovels which are used in brickmaking?—Yes, to a certain extent.

13,811. Are you now a member of any union?—Yes.

13,812. Which?—I am a member of the Sons of Temperance, and I am a member of the Manchester Brickmakers' Union.

13,813. How long have you been a member of the Manchester Brickmakers' Union?—I might have been very probably 20 odd years.

13,814. Have you ever filled any office in the union?—Not to my recollection.

13,815. You have never been secretary?—No; if I have it was some time back; 16 or 18 years since.

13,816. Not lately, at all events?—No.

13,817. Have you attended their meetings pretty regularly?—No; I do not think that I have attended a meeting for the last 12 or 14 years.

13,818. You send your money down?—I send my money down.

13,819. You have not had much to do with them lately?—No.

13,820. A little, I suppose, off and on?—No.

13,821. Not at all?—No.

13,822. Do you ever go by any other name besides "Johnson?"—Well, they call me "Shovel Jack," that is a well-known fact.

13,823. About five years ago were you an active member of the Manchester union?—No.

13,824. Did you occasionally do some things for them?—No.

13,825. Never anything?—No.

13,826. Are you quite sure?—Yes; I made shovels for them.

13,827. That I understand; but you have never done anything in the way of an outrage for them?—No.

13,828. You have never been concerned in anything of the kind?—No.

13,829. Did you ever hear of the outrage which was done upon Mr. Renshaw, the last witness, in 1862?—No.

13,830. Just think a little. Did you ever hear of an attempt made to blow up Mr. Renshaw's machinery?—No, not to my knowledge.

ELEVENTH DAY.

J. C. Johnson.

17 Sept. 1867.

13,831. You do not remember ever hearing anything of that sort?—No; not to my remembrance.

13,832. It is a sort of thing you cannot forget, you know. I tell you now, as it is my duty to tell you, that if you make a true and full disclosure of anything you may have done (I am not saying that you have done anything wrong) you will be entitled to have from us, and you certainly will have, an indemnity from us, so that you will not be troubled with any proceedings on that score at all; but the promise is only conditional on your telling the whole truth.—I solemnly declare before you the Commissioners and the public of England, whom I am depending on for a living, that I never committed an outrage, never destroyed a brick, nor ever injured a mortal man or any man breathing, to the best of my knowledge and my belief.

13,833. Very well; it was my duty to ask the question, and I did ask you. Did you ever hear of Renshaw's machinery being blown up?—I might have heard of it, but I have no remembrance of it at the present time.

13,834. You may remember that it took place about five years ago?—I cannot say.

13,835. But as far as you can recollect, was that about the time when you heard of it?—I cannot say; I might have heard of it, or read of it in the paper, the same as I have read of other outrages.

13,836. You tell me you never had anything to do with anything of the sort?—No.

13,837. That you swear?—Yes.

13,838. Were you ever in custody?—Yes.

13,839. How long ago was that?—I cannot say; it is a few years back.

13,840. Is that about five years ago?—I believe it is. I can tell you very shortly (*referring to a paper*).

13,841. Is that a memorandum of your own?—No, it is a letter from the Secretary of State to my father. I was in custody on the 12th of December 1862.

13,842. What were you in custody for?—For Burke and Ward being found on my premises.

13,843. Did they charge you with harbouring them, as the expression is?—Yes.

13,844. They were charged with that murder of which we have heard so much?—Yes, unfortunately.

13,845. Were you tried in court for that?—Yes.

13,846. Where were you tried?—In St. George's Hall, Liverpool, before Chief Justice Mellor, I think it was.

13,847. You mean Mr. Justice Mellor, and not Chief Justice Mellor. Were you found guilty?—Yes.

13,848. And what sentence had you?—18 months' imprisonment, with hard labour.

13,849. What prison were you in before you were tried?—Well, I cannot say. They had me in various places. I do not know where they had me scarcely.

13,850. Do you remember a constable of the name of Rogers, one of those who had you in charge?—I cannot say that I do.

13,851. Did they put you in the lock-up at Ashton?—I believe they did.

13,852–3. Before you were tried?—Yes.

13,854. Were you there with Burke and Ward in the same lock-up?—Yes.

13,855. Did you see a constable there of the name of Rogers?—Not to my recollection.

13,856. But you saw some constable there?—Yes, I might have done.

13,857. Did you have any talk with him?—No.

13,858. Let me remind you that you are on your oath, and that you are liable to the consequences of perjury if you do not speak the truth.—Very well.

13,859. Now, did you ask a constable of the name of Rogers, or any constable (you say that you do not remember the name of Rogers) whether he remembered six men passing him in the Hyde Road?—No, on my oath.

13,860. Just distinctly understand, I must ask you these questions, because the probability is that you will hear of it again, and, therefore, I want to ask you quite distinctly. When you were at the lock-up at Ashton did you ask the constable Rogers, or any constable (I will put it in that way that nothing may turn upon his name) whether he remembered six men passing him in the Hyde Road?—Never.

13,861. You never said anything of the kind?—No.

13,862. And did you say that you were one of them, and that you were the third man, or did you say anything of the sort?—Never.

13,863. Was anything of the sort said in your presence by any one?—Never.

13,864. Did you say, speaking of the six men and of yourself as being one of them, that you had been blowing up Renshaw's machinery?—Never.

13,865. Nothing of the sort?—Never to my recollection. This is the first time I ever heard of it.

13,866. Will you swear that you did not say so?—Yes, certainly.

13,867. Do not let it depend upon your recollection, because you cannot forget if you have said such a thing as that. I am obliged to ask you, in most distinct terms, did you ever use expressions of that sort or anything like them to any one?—Never.

13,868. Did you say that you did not get much for that job?—Never.

13,869. That there was not much damage done, and that it did not pay so well?—No.

13,870. You never said anything of the sort?—No.

13,871. Not to constable Rogers or any one?—No, no such conversation ever took place.

13,872. Nor anything like it?—No.

13,873. Did you ever mention your having done a job before that?—No.

13,874. Do you know a place called Cheetham Hill?—I know Cheetham Hill here.

13,875. Did you ever hear of a machine being blown up there?—I have heard reference to it.

13,876. Were you ever concerned in that?—Oh no, never.

13,877. That you swear, do you?—Oh yes, not in the least.

13,878. You had nothing whatever to do with it?—No.

13,879. You have heard of it you say?—Yes, I might have heard of it.

13,880. You remember the time by having heard of it probably?—I might have done.

13,881. And you swear that you never had anything to do with it?—Oh no.

13,882. Did you say on the same occasion to the constable Rogers, or to any one, that you had done a job before, that you had blown up a machine at Cheetham Hill, and had got well paid for it?—No, never.

13,883. Never anything of the kind?—No, never.

13,884. Did you also say that there were eight or more of them engaged, and that you received 25*l.* among you?—No, never such a conversation took place.

13,885. Nothing of the sort took place?—Nothing of the sort took place.

13,886. That you swear?—Oh yes, nothing of the kind.

13,887. There can be no mistake about it. I have pointed your attention distinctly to the statements made or supposed to be made by a constable of the name of Rogers, and you tell me that nothing of the sort ever took place?—Nothing of the sort ever came from my lips.

13,888. Nor in your presence?—Not in the least.

13,889. And you were not at all concerned in the outrage at Renshaw's or in that outrage at Cheetham Hill?—Oh no, not in the least.

13,890. I think you also go further than that, and say that you never were concerned in any outrage whatever?—I make a declaration that I defy all the police and all the brickmakers alive to prove that I was ever concerned in any outrage whatever.

13,891. You say that you made a declaration, what declaration was that?—I declare it here.

13,892. And you say that you have never been concerned in anything of the sort?—Never in my life.

13,893. I have no more to ask you.—I have one word to say, if you allow me, before I go down. If ever such a statement took place as what has been referred to, I have been in Butler Street 30 odd years, and why was not this case brought forward before? I crave no certificate at the present time. If an offence can be brought against me, let me be tried, as I have been before, by the judge of my country, and if my crimes have been as represented, let me suffer in prison, and make my recompence to my country.

The witness withdrew.

THOMAS ROGERS sworn and examined.

13,894. (*Chairman.*) What are you?—I am a constable in the Lancashire county police.

13,895. Have you been in the county police some time?—11 years.

13,896. Do you know the last witness, John Clay Johnson?—Yes.

13,897. He is sometimes called "Shovel Jack," I believe?—Yes.

13,898. We understand that he was apprehended in December 1862 on a charge of having harboured Burke and Ward?—I and another constable apprehended Burke and Ward at his house in a back bedroom.

13,899. Before that had you been on duty in June 1862 in Hyde Road?—Yes, I was stationed at Gorton at that time.

13,900. How far does Renshaw live from that place?—Two and a half, or it may be three, miles on the Stockport Road.

13,901. Do you remember the night when an outrage was said to have been committed and an attempt made to blow up Renshaw's machinery?—I recollect being on duty at about 2 o'clock in the morning, between what they call Jackson's beerhouse and Belle Vue gates on the Hyde Road. I heard footsteps coming, and I stepped on one side, and six men passed me with large sticks, something like cart legs, or something like that.

13,902. Did they come singly or together?—They came in single file. When they were just going past me I said, "Good morning," and the one in front said "Good morning" back. When they got clear away from me, I got through the hedge and crossed a field and got into Nelson Street, and got round by the houses and gave them a meeting opposite the prison gates—that is, the city gaol; and when they got to a house where a brickmaker lives, who I thought was one of them and whom I knew very well, they stopped there all six of them.

13,903. What is the name of that person?—Joseph Hibbert I thought was one, but I could not say that it was him.

13,904. I understand you to say that the house at which they stopped was Joseph Hibbert's house?—They stopped close to it and then they crossed the field, and then I could only see four.

13,905. You saw six go up to Joseph Hibbert's house?—Yes.

13,906. And after that you only saw four?—Yes, I thought that two went into his house.

13,907. And the other four you saw go on?—Yes, and Hibbert I felt confident was one. They went across to Ardwick, and then I lost sight of them.

13,908. When was this?—This was about a week before Jump was shot. The morning following, police constable Smith came from Reddish, and said that they had been blowing up or attempting to blow up a machine at Heaton Chapel. I said to Smith, "Have they left any footprints?" He said, "Not that we "can make out; if they have I can find out who has "done it;" and then I mentioned those names to him and what I had seen.

13,909. What names did you mention?—I mentioned Hibbert's name; I did not know the others; I believed he was one.

13,910. But you did not mention any others?—I did not because I did not know them.

13,911. On the following morning you heard of the attempt at Renshaw's?—Yes, police constable Smith came and told me, so I told him what I had seen.

13,912. After that we understand that this man Johnson was taken into custody for harbouring Burke and Ward?—I received him in custody from Sergeant Needham at Manchester. After we had apprehended Burke and Ward at his house, we left instructions for him to be apprehended if he came home, and he did so, and was brought in custody to me.

13,913. And where did you put him?—I took him to the lock-up at Ashton-under-Lyne.

13,914. Was he in the same lock-up with Burke and Ward?—No.

13,915. Was he alone?—Yes.

13,916. Was this at Ashton?—Yes.

13,917. And when was this?—This was in June.

13,918. Did you go into the lock-up when he was there?—He made a great disturbance at the lock-up, and the superintendent ordered him to be taken up into the chief constable's office, and I was left in charge of him.

13,919. When you were left in charge of him there did he say anything to you?—Yes, he did.

13,920. Will you tell us what he said?—He said that this was the last job which he would have anything to do with, that he had been in two or three jobs, but that this was a finisher. He asked me if I remembered being on Hyde Road that morning when Renshaw's job was, and I said "Yes;" he said, "I was third man in that lot."

13,921. Did he mention the number of men?—Yes, he said there were six men and he was third.

13,922. Did he say what they had been doing?—They had been at Heaton Chapel blowing up a machine.

13,923. That is where Renshaw lived?—Yes, it is. I did not know Mr. Renshaw at that time. He said there had been a dispute about their not having finished the work properly, and that they had not given them what they expected to get. They had been paid better, he said, for a job that they had been at at Cheetham Hill.

13,924. Did he say what sort of a job that was?—Well, I understood him that they had been blowing up a machine there.

13,925. Did he say that he got well paid for that?—He said he got well paid for it.

13,926. Did he say how many of them had been concerned in that?—Eight.

13,927. Eight or more?—About eight he said.

13,928. Did he say how much they had received amongst them?—I cannot remember, it was 20*l.* or 25*l.*, but I believe 25*l.*

13,929. Was it either 20*l.* or 25*l.*?—Yes, it was.

13,930. Have you any doubt at all that this was said to you by this man Johnson?—Not the least doubt. I believe Sergeant Barlow heard the same.

13,931. Was anyone else present at the time when he made this statement?—Not the first time, but he made the same statement either to Serjeant Barlow——

13,932. At the time he made the statement which you have been mentioning no other person was present?—No, not at first.

13,933. Did he afterwards make the statment again to you?—Yes, he did.

13,934. How long after was that?—It would be

ELEVENTH DAY.

T. Rogers.

17 Sept. 1867.

the same day. He said we must not mention it to any of the brickmakers, or else they would never buy any more shovels of him. He said we must tell them he was out of his mind, and then he jumped up and broke the window; he sent his fist through the chief constable's window.

13,935. I do not quite understand the story. Did he say that he was out of his mind?—He said we must tell them that we had been blowing gas into the room and made him stupified. He was not quite as right as he should be, and he jumped up and broke the chief constable's window.

13,936. He told you that you must tell that to the brickmakers?—Yes, if they said anything.

13,937. That you had been blowing gas into the room, which had stupified him, and that then he jumped up and broke the chief constable's window?—Yes.

13,938. Who was present when he said this the second time?—Sergeant Barlow I believe, or Sergeant Anderson.

13,939. You do not know which?—I am not sure. There were two or three of us in.

13,940. Who else?—Sergeant Grimshaw came in, but I am not sure that he was there at the same time, and Dr. Lees was sent for after that.

13,941. But the second time when this was said, you are quite sure that either Sergeant Barlow or Sergeant Anderson heard what you heard?—Yes.

13,942. On the second occasion did he say pretty well word for word what he said on the first?—No, he only referred to this Cheetham Hill job.

13,943. He did not refer to the Renshaw job?—No, I told him in his presence what he had said.

13,944. Then did you in the presence of these men refer to the Renshaw job and the Cheetham Hill job which he said he had done?—Yes.

13,945. Did he say anything to what you said?—He laughed; and said we must tell the brickmakers, if anything came out, that he was not right in his head.

13,946. You say that when Barlow or Anderson was there (one of the two, you do not remember which) Johnson mentioned the Cheetham Hill job?—Yes.

13,947. And then you referred to the Renshaw job, saying that he had admitted that he had been there also?—Yes.

13,948. And that was also said by you in the presence of either Barlow or Anderson, whichever it was?—Yes, it was.

13,949. What did he say upon that; did he say anything one way or the other?—I cannot recollect what he did.

13,950. He did not deny it?—No, he did not.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. R. Wilson.

Mr. ROBERT WILSON sworn and examined.

13,951. (*Chairman.*) Are you an engineer?—Yes.

13,952. Are you the manager of Messrs. Nasmyth's and Co.'s works?—Yes, I am acting partner for them.

13,953. In last summer were the Messrs. Nasmyth building some new smithies at their works?—Yes.

13,954. Did they obtain some bricks from two brickmakers in the neighbourhood?—They did.

13,955. Who were they?—Burton was the name of both.

13,956. Were they bricks of an inferior quality?—The bricks of one of the parties were of a very inferior quality and we could scarcely use them, and we applied to the other.

13,957. Did you make a complaint to the brickmaker whose bricks were inferior?—We did, and I was told that unless we took what they sent I could have none, so I applied to the other.

13,958. Who told you that?—It was the man himself, the maker; he sent me that work.

13,959. Which brickmaker was that?—I forget his Christian name, but Burton is his surname. They were close burnt bricks and they were very rough.

13,960. What did you do upon that?—I applied to the other brickmaker; I think his name is Edward Burton, of Eccles.

13,961. Are they any relation to each other?—I do not know that they are, but his bricks were so very small that we had a difficulty in bringing them in with the others, but of course we had to put up with it.

13,962. You took his bricks?—We took his bricks.

13,963. Was he forbidden to supply them to you?—Oh, no.

13,964. Then why did you not apply to some other brickmaker?—He was not forbidden to supply us. The second lot were not inferior; they were small but they were a very good brick.

13,965. You say they were small for your works?—Yes.

13,966. But could you not have obtained good bricks of a proper size suitable for your work from another brickmaker?—No, not unless I had sent to a distance, which would have made them very expensive. There are brickmakers about Manchester that I could have got them from.

13,967. Would they not have supplied you?—They would have supplied us, but I found such a difficulty in getting a supply that I determined upon making bricks this year; we did get a supply last year.

13,968. That is to say, when you found those bricks that you are speaking of so inferior. But were there not other brickmakers in Manchester who could have supplied you?—We did apply to the second brickmaker and got the bricks that we required, but they were so much smaller than the others that we had a difficulty in working them with the others.

13,969. Was there no other brickmaker in Manchester who could make you good bricks of a proper size?—I daresay there were, but then it would have increased the expense so much.

13,970. Was that the reason you did not apply to any other brickmaker?—That was the only reason.

13,971. This brickmaker was much nearer to you?—Much nearer; the first brickmaker was close at hand.

13,972. What course did you adopt?—We required a number of bricks for this year and determined to make them ourselves, because we had the finest clay on the ground in the country side.

13,973. Did you employ a person of the name of Twigg for the purpose of taking the upper surface off?—We did. He was a man in our own employ, who had made a great many bricks for us before.

13,974. Had he been in your employ some time?—Oh yes, a long time.

13,975. Is he a member of a union or not?—No, he is not a member of a union.

13,976. You say he had been in the habit of making bricks for you before?—For some years previous to this.

13,977. Was he doing anything else in your employ at that time?—He was in our employ as a sort of jobbing brick-setter, and, in fact he was a man who could be set to almost any sort of jobbing work.

13,978. You say you set him to take the surface soil off?—To take the surface soil off and to cast the the clay.

13,979. And did he commence to do it?—Yes.

13,980. What took place upon his commencing to do this work?—I was waited upon by two men who said they were sent by the brickmakers.

13,981. Did they say they came from the union?—They came from the union. They were deputed to

come from the union to see about making the bricks for me; it was early in February.

13,982. When was that?—It was early in February.

13,983. Of this year?—Of this year.

13,984. What did they say?—They said they had come to see me about the bricks, and I told them I had a man in my employ who was a good brickmaker, and that I intended to give him the brickmaking. They said I had better employ them, because if I did not employ them I might meet with annoyance, but that if I did employ them they would make as good bricks as could be made, and that then I should not be annoyed in any way. I said, "Do you mean that I "must look upon that as a threat that the union will "annoy me?" Well, they said, they did not say so, but they thought that if I considered the matter I would find it to my advantage to employ them. I I told them that I did not wish to have anything to do with the club at all, that I should certainly make my bricks independent of them. They then said I had better consider the matter, because if I did not allow them to make the bricks I might ultimately see that I had better have done so. I said I did not intend to have anything to do with them, and that I had made up my mind.

13,985. You in fact refused their application and determined to make your own bricks?—I determined to make my own bricks.

13,986. Upon that did you continue to make the bricks?—Yes.

13,987. During the time that Twigg continued to make the bricks did any of the union men come to him?—I do not know that they came with a distinct object to him.

13,988. Do you know whether they offered him any money if he would leave your work?—I do not know that they did.

13,989. He is here, is he not?—He is here, and he will speak for himself.

13,990. Did any other deputation come to you from the union after the one that you have spoken of?—They did not come from the union; but finding that it would be some time on in the season before I could have my own bricks made by myself, I sent to see if I could purchase bricks, but they also told me at the same time that if I did not allow them to make the bricks I should not get them set. They would not allow the bricksetters to set them. They told me so at that time. I then sent away to see if I could purchase bricks to suit my purpose in order to begin the work earlier than I should have to have done if I had waited for my own bricks being made; and my regular bricksetters that I had at the works constantly employed there went off. I may say that we were refused after that to be supplied with bricks from the district. It seems that the country is divided into districts by the brickmakers, and that our works were in the Manchester brickmakers' district. I was told (I forget who sent me the notice) that I would not be supplied with bricks from any district because I was making my own bricks. I then sent our brickmaker off to Swinton, which I understood was in another district, to see if he could purchase bricks there, and in the event of purchasing, to see if he could find men to set them, as I understood that the bricksetters were not to be allowed to set those bricks that we should purchase anywhere else. He went away and met with such bricks as he recommended me to purchase.

13,991. Out of the district?—Out of the district, in the Swinton district; and he found men also that would set the bricks in that district. I immediately arranged to purchase something like 200,000 bricks, on the understanding that we should have them set when we bought them. I then laid in about 20,000, and sent him off, as soon as they well admitted of being set, to find those men that would come and set them.

13,992. Did you get any men to set them?—No; by the time that he went the second time some of the brickmakers, forming a deputation from the brickmakers' union, had been to those men and persuaded them not to come and set these bricks.

13,993. Do you know what men they were?—From the Manchester union, or from some of the other unions.

13,994. But do you know who the bricksetters were that the men went to?—There is one of them here. I do not know their names.

13,995. Do you know the names of those men that were engaged?—I do not know the names of them.

13,996. You only know that there were some engaged?—I only knew that there were some engaged. I did not inquire about their names because I depended entirely upon our bricksetters to see that that arrangement was carried out. We found then that we could not get bricksetters to set these bricks that had been bought out of the district, and I immediately advertised for bricksetters. Three young men came belonging to the union and offered to set the bricks. I told them that I expected that if they came to set those bricks they would be turned out whenever it was found out that they were setting those bricks. However they continued.

13,997. Who were they?—I did not take down the names, but we have them in our books, and I daresay our bricksetter can give the names, he is here. They continued for about a fortnight, and after they had worked three or four days each week there was a deputation came from their union and turned them out. They were not allowed to set the bricks.

13,998. Did they tell you that this deputation had come from the union and told them they must leave off the work?—Yes, that they must go out.

13,999. Did they come back to you again afterwards?—They came back. They said they had gone to some of their meetings, and that they had fined them as much as they had earned at our works; and they came back stating that they would continue to work for me now on account of the severity of the fine, but whether that was true or a mere story I cannot tell.

14,000. I believe you refused to employ them again?—I refused to employ them. I said they had deceived me once and I should certainly not employ them again. Immediately after two men came who were not union men, who seemed to be very respectable men, and I engaged them, and they said that they could find more, and they brought me other two men.

14,001. Non-union men?—Yes, non-union men.

14,002. And did they do the work for you?—They did the work, and in all I got six men ultimately, and they certainly have been most respectable. They have behaved like men and done their work well, and continued without losing an hour all this whole summer.

14,003. Have they been at all interfered with by union men?—No, I am not aware that they have.

14,004. I believe when you advertised for bricklayers you said that union men would not be preferred?—I did.

14,005. Have you had any damage done to any of your bricks?—Yes, I had some damage.

14,006. When was that?—Just lately.

14,007. Was it in June of this year?—In July, think. I have the date of it here (*referring to a memorandum book*).

14,008. Was it the time that Twigg was working for you?—Yes.

14,009. And how long after he had begun to work for you in the brickfield were the bricks destroyed?—It was just lately that the bricks were destroyed; it was on the 6th of July.

14,010. How many bricks were destroyed then?—About 500.

14,011. How were they destroyed?—By some person walking through and amongst the bricks, those that were soft. Fortunately there was only a very small number that were so soft that they could destroy them; the others were too hard for them. It was evident from the footprints that they had been trying

ELEVENTH DAY.

Mr. R. Wilson.

17 Sept. 1867.

to destroy them also. The weather had been so unfavourable that we had very few very soft ones, and they walked through and destroyed about 500 of them.

14,012. What is your belief as to the cause of that damage being done?—I have no doubt at all that it was in consequence of our making the bricks ourselves. They had drawn stockings over their shoes to prevent our tracing exactly the print, and we found one of the stockings close by afterwards.

14,013. That was the only occasion, I think, upon which actual damage was done?—That was the only time. I expected to have been annoyed much sooner, but I have no doubt that the inquiries which were being made at the time prevented them from annoying us. I should have expected it to have been much worse if it had not been from those inquiries.

14,014. And those are the only occasions?—Yes.

14,015. And those are the only occasions on which you have come into contact with the brickmakers?—Yes; we only make our own bricks; we do not make them for sale.

14,016. (*Mr. Barstow.*) You say that you have no doubt it was done in consequence of your making your own bricks, but you did not mention the names of the parties by whom you have no doubt it was done?—Well, from the circumstance of its having been a concocted scheme, seemingly, by their having drawn stockings on to their boots and shoes, it seemed to me not to be a mere casual thing done by a drunken man.

14,017. But do you think that it was done by the union?—I have no doubt at all from what I have heard, not directly but indirectly, that it was in consequence of that.

The witness withdrew.

J. Twigg.

JOHN TWIGG sworn and examined.

14,018. (*Mr. Chance.*) Have you been in the employment of Messrs. Nasmyth and Company, engineers, for some years?—Yes.

14,019. You have been employed, I think, in different matters for them, have you not?—Yes.

14,020. You remember this year being directed by Mr. Wilson to take off the surface soil of some land belonging to them?—Yes.

14,021. That was for the purpose of making bricks?—Yes.

14,022. After you had been engaged in this work, did any man come to you from the union?—Yes, two men came to me.

14,023. Do you know who they were?—No.

14,024. Had you ever seen them before?—Never, that I know of.

14,025. What did they say to you?—They asked me if I was in the union; I said I was not. They said that I had no right then to be preparing for that job if I was not in the union, I said that I had a right to do anything that my master ordered so far as I could do. One of them offered me 5*l.* to give over and not do any more.

14,026. What did you say to that?—I told him I could not give over.

14,027. Did they say anything more to you?—He said he would find me another job if I would leave that.

14,028. Did you refuse to leave the job?—Yes, I said I could not leave it, I had been employed there a good while and could not leave that job.

14,029. Did they say anything more to you?—No, they said I must take what followed if I did not leave it.

14,030. Did they say that they would do anything to you?—No, they said nothing more.

14,031. Those were the words that they used?—Yes.

14,032. Did they then leave you?—Yes, they left me.

14,033. And you continued on the work?—I continued on the work all the summer.

14,034. Did they come to you at any time afterwards?—I never saw them afterwards.

14,035. Mr. Wilson had some bricks destroyed, had he not?—Yes.

14,036. Was that soon after the visit of those men to you?—No, it was in the middle of the summer.

14,037. Some time afterwards?—Yes.

14,038. Did they ask you to join the union?—They did not ask me to join it; they asked me was I in the union.

14,039. Did they not also ask you to join the union?—No.

14,040. Did not one of them offer to pay your contribution if you joined?—I offered to pay the contribution, but they would not have it.

14,041. Then you were willing to become a member of the union?—I was willing to pay the same as the others paid.

14,042. But they would not take you into the union?—No.

14,043. You were not afterwards interfered with by them at all, were you?—Not afterwards.

14,044. They did nothing more to you?—No, nothing.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. R. Ellerton.

Mr. ROBERT ELLERTON sworn and examined.

14,045. (*Mr. Barstow.*) You are a bricklayer, I believe?—Yes.

14046. In the spring of 1864 were you building some houses in Radnor Street?—In 1863.

14,047. Were you using machine-made bricks or hand-made bricks?—We were using hand-made bricks for the backs, and machine-made bricks for the fronts.

14,048. I believe you also had contracts for other houses in the same street?—Yes.

14,049. With reference to this did you see a man named James Kay?—Yes, he came several times.

14,050. What did he say to you?—He said that if he saw us using machine-made bricks they should not let us use hand-made bricks.

14,051. What did you do upon that; did you continue to use machine-made bricks?—Yes, we continued to use the machine-made bricks. At that time I was a member of the bricklayers' union, and they called a special meeting to know whether I was to use them or not, and they told me to go and use them, and they would back me up in using the machine-made bricks.

14,052. If you were a bricklayer what had Kay to do with you?—It was on account of the bricks. He was a brickmakers' delegate was James Kay, and he said he would stop the hand-made bricks if he saw us using the machine-made bricks.

14,053. Did he in effect stop you from building those houses?—Yes, we had to give up a contract for 12 houses in the same street.

14,054. In the autumn of 1864 were you building some houses in Crowther Street, Salford?—In 1863.

14,055. Did anything happen to them?—Yes, we got them nearly a floor high on the Thursday night, and on the Friday morning we found the biggest part of them pushed down.

14,056. How many men do you suppose it would take to push them down?—I cannot say. The person who saw them said that he should guess there would be 50 or more on the ground.

14,057. At 12 o'clock at night?—Yes.

14,058. Who was the person?—He was a mechanic, but I cannot say where he would be or anything about him. He was coming home from his work—he had been working late.

14,059. Did you inquire at the time where he lived?—I knew the row of houses that he lived in, but I did not inquire his name.

14,060. Could you judge at all, apart from that information, how many men had been up there?—No; there had been such a week of it, and it was such a wet night, that you could scarcely tell.

14,061. But you are a bricklayer—how many men would it take to do mischief of that sort in the time allowed, because they must have begun, I suppose, after dark?—At that time it was dark at 5 o'clock at night, and dark till seven next morning.

14,062. How many men do you suppose that it would take?—A dozen might have done it for that matter.

14,063. What was the damage to you in money?—I considered about 10*l.* at the time.

14,064. Were those houses built with machine-made bricks?—Yes, and at the time that we were building those houses we were building houses for Mr. Cradlin of hand-made bricks.

14,065. Were they pushed down or destroyed?—No; but James Kay went to the master brickmaker and told him that if he did not cease supplying us with bricks they should stop his work, and Mr. Cradlin told me afterwards that he and this Mr. Crowder, the master brickmaker, had given the men 10*s.* to let us go on and finish the job for them—four of the delegates, this Kay and three others.

14,066. But is this pushing down of your housse the only damage to your property which has ever been done?—Yes; that is the only damage.

14,067. You are a bricklayer?—Yes.

14,068. Are machine-made bricks as good as hand-made bricks?—Yes; I have always considered them so.

14,069. Are they better?—There is not so much waste in them.

14,070. Does it suit you as a bricklayer to use them better than hand-made bricks?—Yes, you do not get so much waste and you get them cheaper.

14,071. Do you suppose that if both machine-made bricks and hand-made bricks had fair play in the market, machine-made bricks would supersede hand-made bricks?—Yes; I believe they would.

14,072. And it would be for the benefit of the public that they should be used?—Yes.

14,073. And in your experience have you been prevented from using them by the action of the brick-makers' union?—Yes, and the bricklayers together.

14,074. It cannot matter to a bricklayer whether he sets a machine-made brick or a hand-made brick?—No; but I had a contract with Mr. Butterworth, and they stopped me from using them, and took my men away from me and would not let me finish the job.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. John Ashworth sworn and examined.

14,075. (*Chairman.*) I believe you are a brick-maker, are you not?—Yes.

14,076. How long have you been in business as a brickmaker?—About 20 years.

14,077. Where do you carry on your business?—A little off Regent Road, Salford.

14,078. Do you remember going to your brickcroft one morning in June 1864?—Yes.

14,079. Did you find that anything had happened to your bricks?—There were about 60 odd thousand of bricks destroyed.

14,080. How had they been destroyed; had they been trampled upon?—Yes.

14,081. Were they entirely destroyed?—Those were quite destroyed, or else there were more damaged, but those I took a particular calculation of.

14,082. How many men did you employ at that time?—I should think there were 30 men and boys together.

14,083. Did you notice whether any damage had been done to any other property of yours?—The barrow handles had been sawn off.

14,084. At that time were you employing union men or non-union men?—All union men.

14,085. Could you account for the outrage in any way?—I could not account for it only in one way, and that was having a son in the croft; I had a son there who was not a unionist, and they would not allow him to work; I could only account for it in that way.

14,086. How many sons have you?—I have two sons in the brickyard.

14,087. Was one of them a member of the union?—Yes.

14,088. And the other was not?—No.

14,089. And the other who was not was working in your croft, was he?—He would have worked but they would not let him.

14,090. Had he been working for you?—He had been working sometimes at some works, such as carrying slack to what they call the burner.

14,091. For you or for somebody else?—For me—for the burner.

14,092. But still he was at work in your yard?—Yes.

14,093. And he was a non-union man?—Yes.

14,094. And you have no other mode of accounting for the destruction of your property but the employment of your son, who was a non-union man, in your yard?—No, I have not,

14,095. I believe there were some four men taken up on suspicion, were there not?—Yes.

14,096. I believe that they were afterwards discharged, the evidence not being enough?—Yes.

14,097. Did you afterwards continue your brick-making as usual?—Yes, we started at work again.

14,098. After that was a man named Patrick Cullens taken up?—Yes.

14,099. Was he an operative brickmaker?—They told me at the time that he was a contribution man.

14,100. But he was a man who was either a contribution man or a unionist in some way?—Yes, I did not know him only by what they told me.

14,101. After he had been taken up do you remember some men coming to you from the union about that matter?—Yes, there were two men came to my field.

14,102. Do you remember who they were?—Only what my son told me.

14,103. What were the names which were mentioned to you?—Jonathan Edwards was one, and the other he did not know.

14,104. Did they come as from the union?—They were union men—this Jonathan Edwards was.

14,105. But did they come to make some proposition from the union?—No, they came to draw men away from work.

14,106. Did they draw the men away from the work?—All of them.

14,107. And they all went, did they?—Yes.

14,108. Do you remember any union man coming to make a proposal about this man Cullens, who was taken into custody?—I believe it was the day after those men were drawn away that George Mannering and James Kershaw came to me when I was working; I set to working myself, for the union men would not work.

14,109. Did your sons work with you?—Yes, I took them with me.

14,110. Your two sons whom you have mentioned?—Yes.

14,111. Then you say some of the union men came to you?—Those two men came to me, George Mannering and James Kershaw, and called me off the kiln; we were burning, and I said to them, "If you have anything to say, say it openly, I want no private

ELEVENTH DAY.

Mr. J. Ashworth.

17 Sept. 1867.

conversation." With that they would not say anything without I would come off the kiln.

14,112. If they had said it there at the kiln would others have heard?—Yes.

14,113. And they wanted to be private with you?—Yes.

14,114. Did you come off and go and speak with them?—My sons persuaded me to come off and go to hear what they had to say, and so I did do accordingly. I went on one side away, and they came to tell me that I must pay 50*l.* before I must make any more bricks.

14,115. Did they say why?—I asked them what it was for, and they said it was for the expenses of taking Cullens up.

14,116. And what did you say to that?—I said I should never pay 50 pence.

14,117. Upon that what did they say?—They said I had better not be too hasty about it or I should very likely have to rue that.

14,118. Did they then go away?—Yes; I told them to go away.

14,119. Did you then begin to burn bricks?—I began to burn them and put them all in the kiln, I and my sons.

14,120. Were you able to get any more men?—Yes; I believe we had two that were not union men; we could not get union men.

14,121. And you got two men?—Yes, besides my sons.

14,122. Was that a great hindrance to your business?—Oh, yes, it was a great hindrance to me in my business, because everything was lying wet, and all exposed to the weather.

14,123. And you could get no men but your two sons and those other two men?—That was all.

14,124. After that, as you could not get men, did you attempt to make bricks by machinery?—Yes, they told my sons, and I understood them to tell me, that they should make no more bricks for three years. This was what they told them, and I said they would never stop me from making bricks.

14,125. Then did you attempt to begin to make bricks by machinery?—Yes; after I had called all up, I set to and got a machine.

14,126. After having made bricks by machinery, could you find any market for your bricks?—Well, just a while at first; I did till the brickmakers and the bricklayers had combined together, and then I could find no market.

14,127. The bricklayers, I suppose, were not allowed to set any machine-made bricks?—Oh, no; I lost several customers. They would not have the machine bricks from me.

14,128. For fear of the brickmakers?—Yes.

14,129. Is it a constant practice with them, that they will not allow the bricklayers to set any machine-made bricks?—It is a constant practice. They have amalgamated together.

14,130. What, the bricklayers and brickmakers?—Yes, they have; that is the point of it.

14,131. Does that extend all over the Manchester district?—All over the Manchester district.

14,132. Does it extend, as far as you know, into the other union districts?—I cannot say anything about them.

14,133. Now did you continue attempting to make those machine bricks up to August 1865?—Yes.

14,134. At that time did you receive an anonymous letter?—Yes.

14,135. Have you it with you?—I believe they have it (*a copy of the letter was produced*).

14,136. "To Mr. Ashworth, Friday morning, "August 5th, 1865. Dear sir,—I think it my duty to "inform you that at a meeting of the operative "brickmakers, held in their own hall yesterday, there "was a committee appointed to consider the best "means of shooting you or otherwise putting an end "to your existence. In writing this I put myself in "quite as much danger as yourself if it should come "to the knowledge of this society of ruffians, and so "beg that you will not let my trouble be thrown "away, but put yourself upon your guard at once. "Now considering that I have done my duty I beg "to subscribe myself—A Well-wisher. P.S. If you "should value this communication any, please adver-"tise the receipt of it in to-morrow's *Guardian* in "the following words—'Received Well-wisher's "'letter. J. A.'" Is that the letter?—Yes, that is the letter.

14,137. And the copy is correct?—Yes.

14,138. You received that letter you tell me in August 1865?—Yes.

14,139. Did you advertise the receipt of it in the way suggested?—I did.

14,140. The writer of it I suppose you do not know?—No.

14,141. If you did I ought not to ask you who he was?—No, I should like to know.

14,142. Did you hand the letter to the police?—Yes, I did.

14,143. Having received that letter did you show it or noise it about among the masters?—Well I did not let the masters know much about it, for I had not much dealings with them.

14,144. But was any reward offered for the detection of the offenders?—There was a reward offered about the spoiling of the bricks. The masters came to me to ask me what I would subscribe, and I offered 50*l.* and they added 150*l.* to it. That was 200*l.* offered for the spoiling of the bricks.

14,145. That reward was offered, was it?—It was.

14,146. You mentioned that your bricks had been spoiled in the way you have told us; were there other bricks spoiled about that time?—I lived in Salford; two masters in Manchester had their bricks spoiled, but nothing near the quantity that I had destroyed.

14,147. And was it this destruction of property that lead to the offer of this reward?—Yes.

14,148. There was a bill of this sort, was there not (*showing a bill to the witness*)?—Yes, there were scores of bills put up.

14,149. The offer was one of 200*l.*?—Yes.

14,150. There was a mention in that notice of about 150,000 bricks having been destroyed?—Yes, I believe there was, but I only account for my own.

14,151. The date of this letter you told us was the 5th of August 1865?—Well, I believe it was in August.

14,152. I have taken it from the letter itself; it is the 5th of August 1865?—That will be right.

14,153. Did you at that time know a person of the name of William Parkes?—I did know him.

14,154. Was he a dyer at that time, in the employment of Mr. Worrall?—I believe he was a dyer or something at the works, but I cannot say what.

14,155. In Salford?—Yes.

14,156. Do you remember 10 days after you received that letter something happening to William Parkes somewhat near your house?—Yes.

14,157. Did you know whether William Parkes was at all dressed like your son Thomas?—He was dressed as near like my son as possible in the cap that he wore on his head, but I cannot say for his dress, and he was something like him about the head of him.

14,158. Do you remember about 10 days after you received this letter something happening to William Parkes?—Yes.

14,159. Just tell us what it was?—This was on Sunday night. I did not see it.

14,160. But you can tell us; we will have him afterwards?—I got up on the Monday morning, which I do mostly early, between six and half-past six, and I saw a lot of people, and I went to look at what was to do, and this was the place where they had beat him.

14,161. How far was that from your house?—Hardly 70 yards.

14,162. Was it in the Regent Road?—In the Regent Road; they had dragged him from the Regent Road to the corner of some buildings.

14,163. He had been very much abused, and he was

nearly killed, was he not?—Yes. If you had seen the stuff that came from his head, you would have thought he would never have lived.

14,164. I believe he was picked up by a policeman and taken to the dispensary, was he not?—Yes. I went to see him at the dispensary afterwards before 10 o'clock.

14,165. And was he in a very bad state?—I would not have given a farthing for his life.

14,166. Do you remember how long he was there?—I cannot remember.

14,167. Never mind, he will tell us himself. Now, do you remember whether any bottles were found about that place?—I saw the bottle they had beaten him with.

14,168. They had beaten him with a bottle, had they?—Yes, as far as I could judge.

14,169. Then was the bottle you saw broken?—It was broken I should think in nearly a dozen pieces.

14,170. Had there been anything in the bottle?—Yes, blasting powder.

14,171. Had there been a fuse at the neck of it?—Yes, about that length (*holding up his finger*).

14,172. Was the blasting powder scattered on the ground?—It all lay by the side of the bottle where it had come from, and parts of the bottles.

14,173. In addition to that bottle, was there any other bottle found?—There was another bottle found at the other side of my house, I saw that too; that was what we call a cider bottle, and this other was a porter bottle.

14,174. Had it been broken?—No, it was not broken at that time. It was filled with blasting powder, and the fuse was hanging out.

14,175. Then your house, as I understand, was somewhere between the two places where the bottles were found?—Yes.

14,176. I believe you do not know the man who did this?—No.

14,177. In consequence of this having been done to this man Parkes were you in constant expectation of some outrage being committed upon you?—Quite so.

14,178. Did the thought act upon you so much as to prevent you going out late at night?—Yes, I kept my house pretty well at night.

14,179. Do you know of any other reason for this sort of outrage upon you, or for this attempt at a man's life who seems to have been mistaken for you or your son, except the fact that one of your sons was a non-union man who worked with you?—I cannot say anything different as to spoiling the bricks, but this outrage was because, perhaps, I was making by machine.

14,180. Except those two causes of making bricks by machine, and the fact that you employed your own son who was a non-union man, had you ever given them any offence at all?—No. I can challenge the men to-day whether I have committed any offence against them.

14,181. Do you make bricks by machinery now?—No.

14,182. Have you had deputations calling upon you upon that subject?—A deputation of the masters came to me while I was making by machine.

14,183. Did they make by hand?—Yes, they made by hand; that was after Parkes had left. They came to me and they wanted to go through my works on the Saturday night, and I agreed with them very friendly. I said, "You can go through and see all that can be seen," and they went through with me.

14,184. They were friendly with you?—Yes, they went through with me and talked about the bricks. Then they said they thought that if I would ask a sum for my plant and things they thought I could get it. They thought the men had had enough.

14,185. Did you agree to anything of that sort?—No, I had promised it to the company at the time. I told them so.

14,186. Did you afterwards dispose of it to a company?—Yes, and it was turned into a company.

14,187. Was your reason for giving it up this sort of thing which had taken place?—Quite so; it was no good making by machinery when I could not sell them.

14,188. And with the prospect of having outrages of this sort committed?—Yes.

14,189. Have you sustained a great deal of loss in consequence of this?—I should think I have.

14,190. A good deal?—Yes.

14,191. Do you remember a man of the name of William Street coming to you?—Yes.

14,192. Did any other persons come to you besides the deputation of the masters?—No, when a letter was sent to me I showed it to the station-master at Cross Lane and let him read the letter, and he said, "I have something more to tell you," and I said, "What is that? Let me know all about it," and he says, "To tell you the truth they have prepared a "house for these men to go to after they have taken "your life."

14,193. Did they mention the house?—Yes, he mentioned the house and the man's name; he mentioned John Moseley's house at Eccles. John Moseley was one of the men who was to harbour the men when they had done the deed.

14,194. Do you know John Moseley?—Yes.

14,195. Was he a union man?—Yes.

14,196. Did he live at Eccles?—Yes.

14,197. What is the name of the station-master?—I called him Shepley, but, I believe, there is another name to call him by.

14,198. Has he told you that?—Yes.

14,199. How long was it after you had received the letter and after Parkes had been injured that he told you this?—It was before Parkes was hurt; it was about three days after I received the letter.

14,200. He told you that the house had been prepared to harbour the men after they had killed you, and that the person who kept the house was a man of the name of Moseley?—Yes; and he told me the way the men were to go to this house.

14,201. What did he say?—My house was fronting that road, and after they had done the deed they were to strike off the Regent Road, down the river side to Eccles, that is about four miles, and down the river side to his house; he told me that, so I thought he knowed all about it.

14,202. Do you know a person of the name of Street?—Yes.

14,203. Is he a gauger for the union men?—Yes.

14,204. Did he come to you at all?—He came on the 10th of this last August.

14,205. What did he say to you?—He came to me and told me I must discharge a man who was working for me.

14,206. Which man did he mean?—The man was painting some houses for me.

14,207. What was his name?—Peter Rider.

14,208. Is Rider a union man?—No.

14,209. He told you that you must discharge him?—Yes.

14,210. Did he say why?—No. I asked him if he knew the consequence of getting a man discharged, and he said he had nothing to do with that. He said that Rider had no right to work there or for any other brickmaster.

14,211. Had Rider been employed by you at the time when you had been making machine bricks?—Yes, he had.

14,212. Is he employed by you now?—No.

14,213. He had to go?—Yes; I had to bag him or they would have stopped the work.

14,214. Are you employing union men now, or not?—Yes.

14,215. Are they all union men?—Yes.

14,216. You would not be allowed to employ non-union men?—No, not unless I had to fight them again.

14,217. You told me that one of your sons was a union man, and that the other was not?—Yes; they have taken him in since.

14,218. And now he is allowed to work for you?—Yes.

The witness withdrew.

ELEVENTH DAY.

T. Ashworth.

17 Sept. 1867.

THOMAS ASHWORTH sworn and examined.

14,219. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Are you the son of the last witness?—Yes.

14,220. You are a brickmaker?—Yes.

14,221. And you keep a beerhouse in Regent Road, Salford?—Yes.

14,222. Do you remember a man named Cullens being apprehended on the charge of destroying bricks belonging to your father?—Yes.

14,223. Do you remember on the Sunday, whilst he was in custody, some men coming to your house about it?—Yes.

14,224. Who were they?—John Mulholland, Septimus Walker, and George Green.

14,225. Are they union men?—Yes.

14,226. And brickmakers, I suppose?—Yes.

14,227. Are you a member of the union?—Yes.

14,228. Were you a member of the union at the time when they came to your house?—Yes.

14,229. Did they speak to you about Cullens being apprehended?—They came to me and asked me whether I would intercede with my father and see whether I could not settle matters between him and them, and they should arrange to pay half the damage for the bricks spoiled.

14,230. Did they say anything about getting Cullens out?—Yes; this was the arrangement.

14,231. They proposed the arrangement that he should not appear against Cullens?—Yes; that he should not appear against Cullens, and they would see whether they could not arrange between masters and men, seeing if they could not pay the difference for the bricks being spoiled.

14,232. Did they say anything about the men coming back again?—They would come back again if they could make an arrangement between my father and me.

14,233. If he would not appear against Cullens, his old men would come back again to work?—Yes.

14,234. What did they say with reference to the bricks being spoiled?—They said that they would pay half the damage done, and they thought the masters would pay the other half.

14,235. Whom did you understand by "they" at the time?—The three men that came to my house.

14,236. They said that they would pay?—They were authorized by the body.

14,237. Then you at the time understood that they meant the union?—Yes, that was my understanding.

14,238. And that the masters would pay the other half?—Yes; they thought the masters would, they said.

14,239. Did you see your father?—Yes, I saw my father.

14,240. Did he do anything in the matter?—No; I asked him and he said, No, he would let the thing take the course it was doing.

14,241. After that, what happened at your father's yard?—Nothing, only these two men coming.

14,242. Did the men leave work, or were they out at the time?—They left work after this man got off. He was to pay 50*l.*, or they would withdraw the men.

14,243. Was Cullens prosecuted?—No.

14,244. How was that?—I do not know; he got off; my father tried to prosecute, but the man got off.

14,245. What do you mean by "tried to prosecute"?—He had him up at the Town Hall to prosecute him for destroying the bricks.

14,246. I suppose the magistrates would not commit him?—He got off; he did not get committed.

14,247. Were the men at work at this time?—No; they withdrew the men away.

14,248. At what time?—I do not know the date.

14,249. Were they out at the time that these men came to your house or not?—Yes, they were out at this time.

14,250. Were the men working at the time that these three men came to your house?—They were not working then.

14,251. I believe you were turned out of the union in consequence?—Yes.

14,252. What had you done?—I had done nothing.

14,253. You continued working for your father?—Yes, I continued working for my father, hoping to get the bricks in that were left on the ground. If I had not done that they would have spoiled on the ground as they were.

14,254. Do you remember the circumstance of George Mannering and a man named Kershaw coming to your father?—Yes.

14,255. Did you hear afterwards from your father what they had come about?—He told me what they had come about; he would not have gone off the kiln except that I persuaded him to go.

The witness withdrew.

W. Ashworth.

WILLIAM ASHWORTH sworn and examined.

14,256. (*Mr. Chance.*) You are the brother of the last witness?—Yes.

14,257. Do you remember a large number of bricks belonging to your father being destroyed in the year 1864?—Yes.

14,258. At that time were you working for your father?—Yes.

15,259. And I believe you were not a member of the union?—No.

14,260. Your brother who was last called was a member of the union?—Yes.

14,261. Do you remember a man of the name of Jonathan Edwards, and another brickmaker, coming to your father's yard?—Yes.

14,262. Do you know the name of the other brickmaker?—No, I do not.

14,263. Were the men working at the time?—Yes.

14,264. Did either of these men say anything?—No, Jonathan Edwards said all the men must stop.

14,265. He said that to the men who worked?—Yes.

14,266. Did all the men upon that cease working?—Yes.

14,267. Do you know whether Jonathan Edwards was a union man?—I suppose he must have been.

14,268. You do not know it as a fact?—He must have been when he came and ordered this.

14,269. Did you see two other men, George Mannering and James Kershaw, come to your father's brickyard?—Yes.

14,270. Do you remember how long after that was? I should think a day or two after.

14,271. Did they come to see your father?—Yes.

14,272. Were there any other men present except your father and yourself?—There was only my brother and my father and me.

14,273. What took place upon that occasion?—They asked my father to come off the kiln.

14,274. Did they want to speak to him privately? Yes.

14,275. So that you might not hear what they said?—Yes.

14,276. Did he go?—Yes.

14,277. Did he go at once?—No, he said, "Speak up aloud."

14,278. And when they asked him again he went?—Yes.

14,279. Did he withdraw with them out of your hearing?—He withdrew just a few yards.

14,280. Did you hear what was said?—I heard them say he must give them 50*l.* for law expenses for having apprehended Cullens.

14,281. Did they say what the consequences would be if he did not?—I did not hear them say what it was.

14,282. You did not hear what followed?—No.

14,283. What did your father say to that?—I cannot recollect what he said.

14,284. Did he refuse to pay 50*l.*?—Yes, he said if fifty pence would pay it he would not pay it.

14,285. Do you remember a man named Rider working for your father?—Yes.

14,286. When was that?—Last month, I believe.

14,287. Was he a non-union man?—Yes.

14,288. Had he been working for your father when your father was making machine-made bricks?—Yes.

14,289. Did you know a man of the name of Ward?—Yes.

14,290. Do you remember him coming to your father?—I remember him coming to the yard.

14,291. Did he say anything to Rider?—No, I did not know that he said anything to Rider.

14,292. To whom did he say anything?—He told me to tell my father that he must stop Peter Rider.

14,293. Did he say for what reason Peter Rider must stop?—No, he did not say any reason.

14,294. Do you know the reason why he was to stop?—I expect I know.

14,295. Was it your fault?—It was on account of working while we had the brick machine.

14,296. Had you a brick machine at the time?—No.

14,297. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Do you know what the value of the bricks were which were spoiled at that time?—No.

The witness withdrew.

JOHN PARKES sworn and examined.

14,298. (*Chairman.*) Are you a dyer?—Yes.

14,299. Have you been so for some time?—Yes.

14,300. Where do you work?—I worked for Mr. Worrell.

14,301. Is that at Salford?—Yes.

14,302. Do you remember August 1865?—Yes.

14,303. Were you coming from Eccles on the Sunday night, I think about the 15th of August 1865?—I was coming on the 13th.

14,304. On the 13th of August 1865?—Yes.

14,305. What time of night was it?—About a quarter to 11 when I was leaving the side of the "Swan."

14,306. How far is Regent Road from the place you left at Eccles?—Nearly a mile.

14,307. When you got to Regent Road it was some time about 11, or a little after?—Yes.

14,308. Was it a dark night?—Yes, very dark, and mizzled with rain.

14,309. Do you know Mr. John Ashworth?—Yes.

14,310. How far were you from his house when something happened to you?—About 150 yards.

14,311. That was before you got to it?—Yes.

14,312. Are there plenty of houses about there, or how was it where you were attacked?—It was very dark where I was attacked. There were six houses that were built lower down.

14,313. It was very dark at that place?—Yes.

14,314. Just tell us what happened to you?—I got struck in the head at the first onset.

14,315. From behind?—No, on the top of the head, and I leaned with my head against the wall.

14,316. Was the man in front of you when he attacked you?—He was at the side of me.

14,317. How many men did you see at the time?—There were only three that I could see.

14,318. A man came up at the side and struck you?—Yes.

14,319. Where did he strike you?—On one side.

14,320. What did he strike you with?—I could not tell you what it was.

14,321. Was it a violent blow?—It was a violent blow, and it stunned me, and I did not recover afterwards.

14,322. Do you mean that you do not remember what happened afterwards?—No, they dragged me across the road.

14,323. Did you fall down?—Yes.

14,324. Do you remember what was done to you when you fell down, or were you insensible?—I was insensible.

14,325. When you came to your senses were the men still there?—I did not come to my senses for nine days.

14,326. Then you recollect but one severe blow on the side of your head, to which you have pointed, and you say that you were rendered insensible for nine days?—Yes.

14,327. You do not recollect anything that happened to you afterwards?—I do not recollect anything after.

14,328. When you had then come to your senses did you find that you had received any other injury, besides that on your head?—Yes.

14,329. What other injuries?—All the front of my head was injured, and my left side right down to my foot.

14,330. What happened to your left side?—I was bleeding, and my eye was cut open and knocked lower in my head.

14,331. Is your eye still injured?—Yes.

14,332. You found that your eye was injured, and as you have described the whole of that side of your face?—Yes. I received all my wounds on my left side.

14,333. What other part besides your head was injured?—I was not injured in any other part except down to my leg.

14,334. Do you mean that your whole body from your head to your knee was injured?—Yes.

14,335. Were there bruises upon your body?—I had not any bruises upon my body; it was only on my arm and on my leg.

14,336. Had you severe bruises on your arm?—Yes.

14,337. Any more besides that?—The whole of my arm was bruised.

14,338. And down to your knee you said?—Yes.

14,339. Were your thighs hurt?—My thigh and leg was a whole mass of bruises, it was black.

14,340. Had you bled much, do you know?—I do not know whether I had bled, but a deal was seen next morning.

14,342. Had your face been cut open?—Yes.

14,343. That side of your face?—Yes.

14,344. Was your mouth injured at all?—No.

14,345. But the side of your head and your eye were injured?—Yes.

14,346. Your eye has never been the same since?—No.

14,347. Can you see with it at all?—Yes, a little.

14,348. The whole of the side of your face and your left side down to your knee was injured?—Yes.

14,349. And your arm was full of bruises?—Yes.

14,350. I believe when you came to your senses you were in the infirmary?—Yes.

14,351. How long did you remain in the infirmary?—A fortnight and two days.

14,352. Have you recovered the use of your arm?—Yes.

14,353. Is your head still affected?—I am not affected in any way at present except my eye; that has been the worst.

14,354. Had you done anything at all to give offence to anybody that you know of?—No.

14,355. Are you a member of any union?—No.

14,356. How long were you off your work before you were able to return to it in consequence of these injuries?—13 weeks.

14,357. Did you belong to any club that supports people in sickness at the time?—I belong to a club to

ELEVENTH DAY.

J. Parkes.

17 Sept. 1867.

which I pay 2*d.* a week to support us in sickness; we get 4*s.* 10*d.* a week; it is 5*s.* a week, but there is 2*d.* stopped for contributions.

14,358. Did you receive from them in the time of your trouble?—Yes.

14,359. 5*s.* a week?—Yes.

14,360. You received 5*s.* a week?—Yes.

14,361. But 2*d.* was deducted, and you got the benefit of 4*s.* 10*d.* a week?—Yes.

14,362. Is that the cap which you had on that night?—Yes.

14,362*a*. Do you know whether William or Thomas Ashworth ever wore a similar cap to that?—Thomas did once wear one similar to it.

14,363. And you were at the time going in the direction of Mr. Ashworth's house?—I had to pass both of them.

14,364. You had not got up to the house, but you were going towards it?—Yes.

14,365. Did you know, or had you time to see before you were struck, either of the men so as to know him?—No.

14,366. The two Ashworths, I believe, lived with their father?—Only one lived with his father, the younger son.

14,367. Have you ever stood alongside of either Thomas or William, so as to be able to say whether you are much about the same size?—I was much about the same as Thomas before I was hurt; there was very little difference in stature.

14,368. Was Thomas at that time wearing a cap like yours?—Yes.

14,369. I understand you to say that you never had anything from any other club except the 5*s.* from your own?—No; though it has been rumoured very strongly that the brickmakers allowed me 1*l.* a week.

14,370. Is that true?—No. I never had a sixpence from them. I wish that to be very well known.

14,371. You distinctly say that you never had a farthing from them in any shape or description, and the only money which you had was from your own club, which is for the excellent purpose of supporting its members in case of sickness?—Yes.

14,372. That is all?—Yes.

The witness withdrew.

P. Callinan.

PATRICK CALLINAN sworn and examined.

14,373. (*Mr. Barstow.*) You are a constable of the Salford police force?—Yes.

14,374. Do you remember the night of Sunday the 13th of August 1865?—Yes.

14,375. On the following morning did you find the last witness?—I did.

14,376. How did you come to find him?—I was going along Regent Road, near the gasworks, and I found a cap in a pool of blood.

14,377. That was the first thing you found?—Yes; about 80 yards further on I found the last witness leaning against the wall in the new street, opposite the beer-house, six yards up the street, leaning against the wall.

14,378. Was he sensible?—No; he was not sensible; he could not tell me anything.

14,379. Was he standing or leaning against the wall?—He was standing, leaning against the wall.

14,380. You took him to the dispensary?—Yes.

14,381. Did you search the place where you found him?—Yes.

14,382. You did?—Yes; I found a stone bottle broken in a pool of blood.

14,383. What sort of a stone bottle was it?—It appeared to be a large stone bottle, one of those jar bottles with a narrow neck.

14,384. What do you suppose it had been used for?—I could not say.

14,385. You could not give any opinion?—It was broken in pieces. I found the neck with a cork in.

14,386. Like a stone porter bottle?—Yes. I found the neck with the cork in it tied down.

14,387. There was a cork in the neck of the bottle?—Yes.

14,388. Was there anything else?—Yes; a fuse through the cork tied tightly down with a brass wire.

14,389. That was the neck of the bottle, and you found fragments of the bottle about?—Yes.

14,390. What did you find among the fragments?—There was powder scattered about in the blood.

14,391. Was there any powder adhering to the fragments of the bottle that you found?—Yes, in the bottom of it.

14,392. And another bottle was given to you?—The same morning.

14,393. Who gave it to you?—A young man named Johnson.

14,394. Did he give you an account of where he found it?—He told me he found it at the back of the toll-bar, opposite Cross Lane, at the side of a mill; it was a cider bottle.

14,395. It was broken when it was given to you?—Yes; young Johnson broke it to see what was in it.

14,396. Had it a cork in it?—Yes, and a fuse tied down.

14,397. A fuse similar to the other which you have just described?—Yes.

14,398. You found Parkes leaning against the wall?—Yes.

14,399. In what state was his face when you found him there?—It was in an awful condition, particularly the left side, and his eye was nearly hanging out just above it; I could put my finger in.

14,400. Were there any other wounds on the head?—Yes.

14,401. What wounds were there on the head?—There were several wounds about the middle of the head, particularly the left side.

14,402. Were there any more on the face?—Yes, over the eye.

14,403. (*Chairman.*) Was he bleeding?—Yes.

14,404. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Were there any wounds on the forehead?—I do not remember.

14,405. You did not examine him under his clothes?—No.

14,406. (*Chairman.*) Did you get assistance to take him to the infirmary?—I took him to the dispensary myself.

14,407. And he was insensible all the time?—Yes.

14,408. (*Mr. Barstow.*) With what did you think that the blow had been given?—The wound over the eye might have been done with a broken bottle.

14,409. It was cut?—Yes.

14,410. It was not the sort of blow which a stick would give?—No.

14,411. How were the other wounds given, were any of the other wounds cut, or were they done by a blunt instrument?—They might have been done by the bottle.

14,412. (*Chairman.*) He was not down on the ground as if he had been kicked, he was leaning against the wall?—Yes.

14,413. Those bruises on his arms might have been done by a thick stick?—Yes. I did not see those.

14,414. (*Mr. Chance.*) Were his clothes cut at all?—No.

14,415. Did they appear to be dirty at all?—He appeared to be dirty on the left side.

14,416. Did he appear to have been down at all?—I could not say.

14,417. (*Chairman.*) He was standing against the wall?—Yes.

14,418. Could you form an opinion by the footmarks as to about how many men had been engaged in it?—No, the place was dry and clean at the time.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to to-morrow at 11 o'clock.

TWELFTH DAY.

Assize Courts, Manchester, Wednesday, 18th September 1867.

PRESENT:

PERCIVAL ANDREE PICKERING, Esq. Q.C. | GEORGE CHANCE, Esq.
THOMAS IRWIN BARSTOW, Esq. | JAMES SHEIL, Esq., Secretary.

PERCIVAL ANDREE PICKERING, ESQ., Q.C., IN THE CHAIR.

(*Chairman.*) Before we proceed with the evidence this morning, I wish to state that our attention has, I am glad to say, been very properly called to the question as to what cases we consider to come within the meaning of the word "intimidation" in the Act of Parliament under which we are acting. As it is, I think, most desirable that no misapprehension should exist upon the subject, I will state what we consider to be the meaning of that word in the Act of Parliament, and the sort of cases which we consider to fall within the scope of our inquiry under that particular head. The words of the Act of Parliament under which we sit are to the effect that we are to inquire into any acts of intimidation, outrage, or wrong alleged to have been promoted, encouraged, or connived at by trades unions or associations, and as to the causes of such acts, and the complicity therein of such trades unions or associations. Now, looking at the word "intimidation" there, in connexion with the words to which it is joined in the Act of Parliament, namely, "outrage or wrong," we think that any threats, whether actual or implied, of any violence or injury to the person or property, whether those threats are accompanied by actual violence or injury, come within the meaning of that expression; and we shall feel it our duty to inquire into any cases of that nature which may be brought before our notice.

Mrs. SARAH POTTER sworn and examined.

Mrs. S. Potter.

14,419. (*Chairman.*) Are you the wife of William Potter?—Yes.

14,420. What is he?—He is a roller coverer.

14,421. Where do you live?—In George Street, Barton Lane, Eccles.

14,422. Do you know a man named Mosedale?—Yes.

14,423. What is he?—A brick-burner.

14,424. Does he live in Eccles?—Yes.

14,425. And I believe he is a member of the union?—I believe he is, but I do not know for sure.

14,426. Do you know his wife, Mrs. Mosedale?—Yes.

14,427. Do you remember the assault into which we inquired yesterday, upon a man named Parkes, near Mr. Ashworth's?—Yes, I do remember something about a man being hurt.

14,428. Did Mrs. Mosedale tell you anything that was expected about it before it happened?—No; Mrs. Mosedale came into our house one day, and she said that there was something to do amongst the brickmen, and that they were for killing Ashworth.

14,429. Was that before or after anything that happened to Parkes?—Well, I cannot be certain whether it was before or after.

14,430. Where was she when she said this?—I was in my own house and she came in.

14,431. How far do you live from Mr. Ashworth's?—I do not know where Mr. Ashworth lives.

14,432. However, she came into your house and said there was something to do amongst the brickmen, and that they were for killing Ashworth?—Yes.

14,433. What else did she say; did she at any other time say that she was expecting any one?—Well, she did say once that there was some men to come to their house, but I do not know whether it was at the same time, or before, or after, but she did not tell me what the men's business was, nor anything.

14,434. Did she tell you of this at the same time as she told you what you have just mentioned?—I cannot be certain whether it was at the same time or not.

14,435. How far does she live from you?—She lives next door but one.

14,436. You say that you knew Mosedale?—Yes.

14,437. Did you see him last Saturday?—Yes.

14,438. Where did you see him?—Last Saturday but one I saw him.

14,439. Where did you see him?—I saw him in my house.

14,440. Had he ever been in your house before?—No, he never was in our house before in his life, before last Saturday but one.

14,441. What did he say to you?—His wife had told him that I had had a summons, and he came to ask me if I would let him look at it, and I gave it to him to look at.

14,442. A summons to attend this inquiry?—Yes.

14,443. Did he read it?—Yes.

14,444. What did he say?—He said I could go with him to attorney Roberts.

14,445. Did he take the summons?—He took it with him, but he sent it back again by one of the neighbours on the Friday after.

14,446. He kept it nearly a week?—Yes.

14,447. Then you did not go with him?—Oh, no; I never saw him afterwards till I saw him here.

14,448. He took the summons away from you last Saturday but one?—Yes, the same Saturday that I received it.

14,449. And he kept it till the Friday, and then sent it back to you?—Yes.

14,450. Was that all that he said; did he say why you were to go?—He never said anything more. I did not know then what the summons was for, and he said that he did not know.

14,451. That is all that he said, was it?—Yes.

The witness withdrew.

JOHN MOSEDALE sworn and examined.

J. Mosedale.

14,452. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Are you a brickmaker?—No, I am a brick-burner.

14,453. Are you a member of the brickmakers' union?—Yes.

14,454. Where do you live?—At Eccles.

14,555. But whereabouts in Eccles?—In Barton Lane.

14,456. Is there any number to your house?—No; George's Street they call it.

14,457. Is George's Street another name for Barton Lane, then?—It is George's Street, Barton Lane Eccles.

14,458. Did you go to Mrs. Potter's house last Saturday week?—Yes, I believe I did.

TWELFTH DAY.

J. Mosedale.

18 Sept. 1867.

14,459. What did you go there for?—I heard tell of her being summoned, and I went to see whether she was summoned or not.

14,460. What did you say to her?—I told her to tell all that she knowed.

14,461. I should think she might have done that without being told by you. Why should you go to tell her to tell all that she knew?—I never was in her house before in my life, and I thought I would see what sort of furniture she had.

14,462. That is not the same reason which you gave us just now. You said that you went to see if she was summoned?—Yes, I heard she was summoned.

14,463. So you told us?—And I wanted to know what she was summoned for.

14,464. And you went to see what sort of furniture she had?—Yes.

14,465. You might have done that at any time before. Now what did you go there for?—Why, because we were neighbours, you know.

14,466. But you had never been near her house before?—Well, that was the first time, then.

14,467. What made you go then the first time?—Why, can't I go where I like?

14,468. Do not answer me in that impertinent manner.—I am not answering in an impertinent manner. I do not think I am.

14,469. If you speak so I will have you taken down.—The sooner I am down the better. I have a right to speak as well as you.

14,470. (*Chairman.*) Your duty is to answer questions that you are asked, and if you show contempt or disrespect in that way we will most unquestionably send you to prison. Remember that I caution you. Answer the questions that are put to you properly. You have nothing else to do but that.

14,471. (*Mr. Barstow.*) What did you say to Mrs. Potter with reference to being summoned?—I do not remember saying anything to her except what I have told you.

14,472. You said nothing to her?—Only what I have told you.

14,473. Did you ask her whether she had been summoned?—Yes.

14,474. What took place upon that?—She said she had.

14,475. Anything else?—Not that I know of.

14,476. Did you ask to see her summons?—Yes.

14,477. There was something else, you see, did she show it to you?—Yes.

14,478. What did you do with it?—I put it in my pocket. I asked her whether she would lend it me.

14,479. What did you want it lent for?—I had no reason at all for having it lent me. I sent it her back.

14,480. How long did you keep it?—Three or four days, I should think. It was in my pocket all the time.

14,481. What made you take it away?—I do not know, I am sure. I was drunk.

14,482. Did you ask her to go anywhere with you?—No.

14,483. Did you ask her to go and see anyone?—No.

14,483*a*. Are you quite sure you did not?—Yes.

14,484. Did you ask her to see Mr. Roberts, the attorney?—No.

14,485. Will you swear you did not?—Yes, I said I was going to see him myself.

14,486. Although you say you were drunk, you say you quite distinctly remember that you did not say that?—Yes.

14,487. Do you remember there being some dispute between your union and Mr. Ashworth?—Yes, I heard summat about it; I have seen it in the papers.

14,488. Did you hear anything besides what you saw in the papers?—No.

14,489. Did you ever attend any meeting of the union about that time?—No, I cannot remember any.

14,490. Do you remember a man named Parkes being beaten?—Well, I heard tell of that affair happening; it was published in print that week end, I think.

14,491. Do you remember anything being said among the brickmakers about the dispute between Mr. Ashworth and the union?—No.

14,492. Nothing whatever?—No.

14,493. Did you ever hear it said that it was intended to use any violence towards him?—No.

14,494. You swear that you never heard anything of the sort?—Yes.

14,495. (*Chairman.*) How long have you been a member of the union?—I should think seven or eight years.

14,496. Have you filled any office in it?—No.

14,497. You have never been president, or secretary, or anything of that sort?—No.

14,498. Have you ever been a delegate of the district?—No, not that I can remember; I never was.

14,499. Do you mean to tell me that you could have been a delegate of a district and not remember it; have you or have you not been a delegate of a district?—No.

14,500. Was the first information you had of any injury being done to a man named Parkes contained in the papers?—Yes.

14,501. You never heard of that before?—No.

14,502. Did you ever hear that it was probable that either Mr. Ashworth or his sons would be injured?—No.

14,503. You never heard that he had been threatened?—No.

14,504. Nothing of the sort?—No.

14,505. Is it that you do not recollect, or that you never heard of it?—I never heard of it.

14,506. You never heard of it until the injury was done to Parkes?—No.

14,507. You never heard of his having a threatening letter?—No.

14,508. Do you know where Mr. Ashworth lives?—I know where he used to live, in Regent Road.

14,509. How far is that from your house?—It will be rather over three miles.

14,510. Do you remember now from having heard of it the night when that man Parkes was injured?—Yes.

14,511. It was in 1865 we understand?—I don't know what year of our Lord it was in.

14,512. Did any men come to your house that night?—Yes.

14,513. At what time did they come?—11 o'clock; not men, but one man.

14,514. Who was that man?—William Snape.

14,515. What is he?—A paviour; he paves for Mr. Bradwell.

14,516. What time did he come?—We turned out of Mr. Fisher's at 11 o'clock, and we went straight to our house, him and his wife, to have supper with us.

14,517. And nobody else came?—No.

14,518. You are sure of that?—I am confident of it.

14,519. Did you not expect anybody else that night?—No.

14,520. You never told anybody that you were expecting people?—No.

14,521. And that was the only person who came to your house that night?—Yes.

14,522. Did you ever hear that Mrs. Potter said that some communication had been made to her about people going to your house that night?—No.

14,523. How came you to go and ask for Mrs. Potter's summons; because you have told us one story about your going to her house to see her furniture. How came you to go and ask to see her summons, what was the reason?—Well, I do not know, to tell you the truth, to give you the reason. I was drunk, I tell you.

14,524. But you were not so drunk as not to remember what you said, so you were not so very drunk?—Well, you know a chap can think of some things when he is drunk and not of others.

14,525. You say you remember some things which you said when you were drunk, but that you do not remember others. Now I ask you what was the reason

that you wanted to see her summons. Do you remember asking for it?—I wanted to see whether she would be summoned the same day as me or not. That was what I wanted to look at her summons for.

14,526. Why did it interest you whether she was summoned the same day or not?—Why I do not know why it interested me. I know nothing about it.

14,527. And there was no reason in the world but what you have just stated why you went and asked to see her summons?—No.

14,528. What made you keep the summons five days?—Well, I sent it her back.

14,529. But why did you keep it for five days before you sent it her back?—Because I thought nothing about it. I did not know that I had it.

14,530. You remember asking for it?—Yes, I remember asking for it, but I forgot all about it till my missus told me.

14,531. And although you remember asking her for it, you have not the slightest notion why you asked her for it?—No.

14,532. Then how did you happen to remember just now that the reason for your going was that you wanted to go and see her furniture, and that there was no other reason in the world?—Well, you know a chap remembers some things when he is tipsy and not others.

14,533. But you are not tipsy now. I want to know why you remember that the reason of your going there was to see her furniture, and for no other reason whatever, that you can remember?—I can tell no reason, only I did not know where I was going, or something of that sort.

14,534. Was your reason for going there then to see her summons?—Yes, that was the only reason that I know on.

14,535. Had you any notion that she was going to say something about you?—I knew she could not do. I defy any man in England to say anything against me.

14,536. So you say. But are you aware that she mentioned something about you, about your going there that night?—I do not know what she has said.

14,537. Did you ever go to any other persons to see their summonses?—No.

The witness withdrew.

John Collins sworn and examined.

J. Collins.

14,538. (*Mr. Chance.*) Are you a brickmaker?—Yes.

14,539. Are you a member of the Manchester brickmakers' union?—Yes.

14,540. How long have you been a member of that union?—Between 30 and 40 years.

14,541. Have you ever held any office in the union?—Never.

14,542. No office of any kind?—Not whatsomever.

14,543. Have you attended the meetings?—Very seldom, I have at odd times.

14,544. Do you know Thomas Ashworth, the son of John Ashworth?—I do.

14,545. He is also a member of your union, is he not?—Yes, he is.

14,546. And he has been so for some years?—Yes.

14,547. Does he keep a beer-house?—Yes.

14,548. Was he keeping a beer-house in 1865?—Yes.

14,549. Do you remember a dispute between your union and Mr. Ashworth?—I am not aware that there was any dispute whatsomever.

14,550. Do you not know that Mr. Ashworth was making bricks by machinery?—He was.

14,551. Was not that brought before the meeting of your union?—It was brought before the members, but I was not there at the time that it was brought forward.

14,552. But you heard of it?—I did.

14,553. Had you been in the habit of going to Mr. Ashworth's beer-house?—Yes.

14,554. And had other members of the union also been in the habit of going there?—Yes.

14,555. It was frequented in fact by the union men?—Yes.

15,556. Do you remember hearing of a resolution passed by the meeting that members of the union should not frequent Ashworth's beer-house?—I was not there at the time.

14,557. But did you hear of such a resolution being passed?—I did.

14,558. Do you remember when it was that that resolution was passed?—I cannot say.

14,559. Do you remember an attack which was made upon Parkes in August 1865?—I remember it of course, I have reason to remember it, I saw the state he was in the next morning.

14,560. Can you tell me whether this resolution of which you had heard was passed before the attack upon Parkes or afterwards?—That resolution I know nothing at all about.

14,561. When did you hear of it?—I heard of it afterwards.

14,562. Who was the person that told you?—I cannot say. It was talked of among the operative brickmakers generally.

14,563. Do you know from what you heard whether the resolution was passed before the attack upon Parkes or after?—I cannot say.

14,564. Was it about the same time?—I cannot say.

14,565. Do you remember the time when Mr. Ashworth was making bricks by machinery?—I do.

14,566. Was it after he had been making bricks by machinery that you heard that the resolution had been passed?—It was after.

14,567. Then the resolution was passed, I suppose, in consequence of Mr. Ashworth making machine bricks?—I cannot say.

14,568. Do you not believe that it was so?—I cannot say. It is not for me to tell a story in front of you.

14,569. But do you not believe that that was the reason?—I cannot say.

14,570. But have you not heard it discussed?—I had heard it afterwards, but not previously.

14,571. Was it not stated by those with whom you conversed about this matter that that was the reason?—What, after the affair was done?

14,572. Yes.—I cannot say, I am sure.

14,573. You say that you heard it talked about amongst the men?—Afterwards I say.

14,574. You must have heard some reason given why that resolution was passed?—There was no particular reason given to me.

14,575. But surely you must have heard some of the members say why they did not go into Ashworth's beer-house. They must have given some reason for it, and you must have heard it?—Yes, I heard it afterwards.

14,576. Well, what was the reason given?—Because he was a son of Mr. Ashworth's.

14,577. And it was also said, I suppose, that Mr. Ashworth was in disfavour with the union because he was making machine bricks?—I dare say that that would be the foundation of it.

14,578. You went to the house, did you not, after you heard that this resolution was passed?—I was in the habit of going there many times, being a neighbour.

14,579. And you continued to go there?—I did.

14,580. Were you fined by the union for going to the beer-house?—I was.

14,581. What were you fined?—A sovereign.

14,582. Had you known of the resolution before you went?—I had not.

14,583. And you were ignorant of the resolution which was passed at the time?—I was not there at the time the law was made.

TWELFTH DAY.

J. Collins.

18 Sept. 1867.

14,584. And you were ignorant of the resolution having been passed until you were fined?—Yes.

14,585. (*Chairman.*) You paid the fine, I suppose?—I did.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. GEORGE TAUNTON sworn and examined.

Mr. G. Taunton.

14,586. (*Chairman.*) I believe you are a master brickmaker, are you not?—Yes.

14,587. Do you live at Cheetham?—Yes.

14,588. I believe there is a master brickmakers' association, is there not?—Yes.

14,589. And I think you are chairman of it?—Yes.

14,590. How long has that association existed?—I think nearly 20 years.

14,591. Have you been a member all that time?—No.

14,592. How long have you been a member?—About 10 or 11 years I think.

14,593. Can you give me any notion how many members it has?—There are about 70 members I think.

14,594. You are the chairman, as you say; what other officers have you?—We have a committee consisting of 12, a treasurer, and a secretary.

14,595. How often do you meet?—Well, there are general meetings the first Wednesday in every month, and there are committee meetings in the interval if we have any bad debts out. It is called every week, perhaps, if it is requisite.

14,596. What are the principal objects of your association, to protect your own trade?—To protect our own trade and our interests. Formerly I believe the fundamental principle of it, and what it was formed for, was this: it was owing to a great deal of swindlers, and what we call speculative builders, being in Manchester and Salford, and particularly in Hulme, and they used to get bricks, and get a floor high from one master brickmaker, and then perhaps they would go to another brickmaker and get another floor, and leave the first maker unpaid for that, and they would perhaps finish with another brickmaker, and then they went to Lancaster. As the phrase at that time of the day was they went to Lancaster to get "whitewashed." That was the speculative builders, what we call "jerry men." That was the phrase that we used.

14,597. And they came and put a floor up and then went away, and got another person to put up another floor?—Yes.

14,598. What was the reason of their going about in that way?—Well, it was swindling. I cannot think of any other word to apply to it.

14,599. How was it swindling?—They would get the bricks and not pay for them.

14,600. That I understand.—Then they would get another floor and not pay for that perhaps. It is generally understood that we receive it by floors.

14,601. Without paying, off they went?—Without paying off they went. Then when we took any law proceedings against them then they used to go to Lancaster.

14,602. They did not always go to the same place, otherwise you would have known where to find them?—At that time of the day 20 or 25 years ago I think they used to go to Lancaster chiefly from here.

14,603. Your object was to protect yourselves against things of that sort?—Yes. If they do not pay now our association has been the means of driving a lot of those people out of the town; they have gone to some place or other. Latterly I believe they have got to Southport, and Crewe, and other localities.

14,604. Against what sort of injuries was this association to protect you? Was there anything with the bricklayers, or anything of that kind?—Well, we never had anything to do with them. We have had cases here and there where one of those swindling parties, those jerry builders, has been using bricks, and just latterly we could ask the bricklayers through the operative brickmakers to assist us in those difficult cases. I think we have only resorted once to that, because it has been an expensive thing to withdraw the men. I believe we have only done it in one case, and that was only half a day, I believe, and that was a very extreme instance. I will furnish you with a defaulters' list.

14,605. Do you belong to the operative brickmakers' union in Manchester?—Yes; if you take an active part in working they compel you to subscribe to their union; that is, they do not allow you to attend any meetings, of course, but if you take any active part as a workman you have of course to be a subscriber.

14,606. You have told me of your masters' association, but you say that you are obliged to belong to the Manchester operative brickmakers' union?—I am obliged to belong to it if I work.

14,607. Do you mean if you employ hands to work?—No; if you work yourself, supposing you set bricks or burn them. Many of the masters take an active part and work in it, and if they do that then they have to pay a contribution.

14,608. Otherwise you are not allowed, as masters, to do any work unless you belong to the operative union?—You must subscribe to it.

14,609. But you are not allowed to attend a meeting?—No.

14,610. Are you at all bound with reference to the price at which you have to sell your bricks?—Yes, we have fixed our prices generally on an understanding amongst us that we sell our bricks at a certain price.

14,611. Is that an agreement amongst the masters' association by yourselves?—Yes.

14,612. That you shall all sell at a given price?—Yes.

14,613. Do you come to any agreement between yourselves or with the operative brickmakers' union as to the price of labour?—No, they do all the dictation in that matter.

14,614. Who do?—The operatives.

14,615. But do they dictate to you?—Yes, they tell what we are to pay them.

14,616. That is what I wanted to understand?—Yes, they charge us so much per 1,000.

14,617. Then you have, if I may so call it, your directions from the operative union as to the price which you are to pay for labour?—Just so.

14,618. And if you do not pay them what happens?—We should have a strike.

14,619. And sometimes a little more?—Yes, very likely, perhaps.

14,620. Of course that comes into part of the question of labour, and the time of working comes into the same consideration, I suppose?—Yes, the hours are fixed, that has been latterly done.

14,621. Had you ever any bricks spoiled yourself?—Yes.

14,622. When?—On the evening of the 24th of June 1864, I believe it was.

14,623. Where were your works then?—In Bank Street, Cheetham.

14,624. That is in the Manchester district, is it not?—It is in the Manchester district.

14,625. Have you any notion why your bricks were spoiled?—I have no notion at all.

14,626. After three years' reflection upon it you cannot give any reason why your bricks were spoiled?—I cannot, unless it was that I strongly advocated machinery; I had spoken pretty freely, perhaps, upon machinery amongst our association at different times.

14,627. That we understand is a deadly offence?—That is obnoxious to the brickmakers; it is the means of lowering wages, and it will naturally be obnoxious, no doubt.

14,628. But you exercised your freedom of opinion, and you can give no other reason why your bricks

were spoiled but that?—I cannot, and I only surmise that.

14,629. It has been said that the invention or employment of machinery tends in the end to increase the labour and the number of hands employed, although it may not at the moment have that effect; has that been your experience?—I believe it would increase hands, perhaps, but then they would not get so much wages as they do.

14,630. They may or they may not; but you know that it is said among political economists that the result of the employment of machinery has been of a considerable benefit to the operative classes, and that they have gained by it, not only in wages but in the number of hands employed. You have heard that, I daresay?—That point is very right.

14,631. But it may be attended with immediate loss at the moment to the person who may be employed in making whatever may be the article in question without machinery?—Yes; you see there is a great difference between clay being worked in machinery and cotton and silk and all those matters, because it is a heavy rough material, and there is a great deal of wear and tear on the machinery for little value.

14,632. What is your experience with regard to machine-made bricks and bricks made by hand? In your judgment, as far as that particular trade is concerned, would fewer hands be employed throughout the country if bricks were made by machinery?—In my experience in machinery I have not seen any machines that could compete with hand labour. I say that from the experience that I have had amongst it. Those machines which have been commenced here have all of them failed; the owners have all of them I think been insolvent.

14,633-4. But have there not been certain causes at work which might account for the insolvency besides the business?—Well, the frustration no doubt would have a tendency; but I can speak for other counties. I have a cousin that makes bricks by machinery in Nottinghamshire, where there were no unionists existing, and he was only telling me as he was looking at this machine up here, about a month ago, "I lost 500*l.* or 600*l.* by machine; it is in its infancy yet."

14,635. Then in your judgment are hand-made bricks better than machine-made bricks, or is it the other way?—Hand-made bricks are the best, with the exception of those made by Ibbotson and Platt's machine. I believe that would pay and make as good a brick and as cheap a brick if they could be mixed. It makes a class of bricks which we call stock and second bricks which are used for frontages; but that machine, and no other machine that I have seen, I think could compete with what we call the common bricks, which are mostly used, and of which there is the greatest consumption.

14,636. Have you changed your opinion then since your bricks were spoiled?—Well, I have rather changed my opinion since then, because all the companies are gone down, and I have thought they had not got the machine yet up to the mark.

14,637. Then I suppose there would be great difficulty in this district in making bricks by machinery for fear of damage?—There would be great difficulty. There is a very strong combination between brickmakers and bricklayers.

14,638. Against machine-made bricks?—Yes, it would take a great deal of capital to break through that combination.

14,639. And perhaps some physical force?—I cannot speak to that.

14,640. Have you an insurance company among yourselves to pay for damage?—We have.

14,641. Is that in case of any wilful damage being done by anybody?—That is the nature of the insurance.

14,642. It is against wilful damage and not accidental damage?—No, it does not come under accidental damage. We could not have much accidental damage in our business; it is not a combustible article.

14,643. Did you after your bricks were spoiled get any per-centage of the damage from the insurance company?—75 per cent.

14,644. Is that insurance company part of the masters' association, or is it a different company?—It is apart from the general association; it is voluntary. There are some members in and some are not.

14,645. Is it a distinct company?—It is distinct from the general funds.

14,646. We understand that Mr. Ashworth began to make machine bricks?—Yes.

14,647. That as you have told me was an offence to the unionists?—Yes.

14,648. Did any deputation wait upon you with reference to Mr. Ashworth making bricks by machinery?—Yes.

14,649. Who came?—John Holland and George Mannering.

14,650. Two of the union men?—Yes.

14,651. The object was I suppose to get you to interfere or intercede (call it what you like) with Mr. Ashworth to induce him to give up his machine?—Yes; I have heard that he was inclined to give up, but then he had been agait a good while then.

14,652. And was it mentioned to you by them that they had imposed a fine of 50*l.* upon him?—Yes.

14,653. Did they offer to remit that fine of 50*l.* if he would give up making bricks by machinery?—They told me that they had not come officially, but they had no doubt but what the 50*l.* would be rescinded, and byegones should be byegones, if I and my friend, Mr. Miller, would only be the conciliating parties to induce him to give it up, and then the fine would be rescinded.

14,654. Did you see Mr. Ashworth on the subject?—Yes, I saw him along with the parties that I am speaking of.

14,655. You mentioned something about defaulters. Was your association originally formed for the purpose of meeting your debts in the way you have described?—Just so.

14,656. That was the original and primary object of your association?—Yes, that was the original object.

14,657. I suppose there is an understanding among you that if a man be a defaulter in that way none of you employ him while he continues to be a defaulter?—We do not sell him any bricks until he has paid his accounts; although he may be an insolvent and go through the Bankruptcy Court, we do not sell him any bricks until he has made an arrangement with us of 20*s.* in the pound.

14,658. Did you know a man of the name of James Kay?—Yes.

14,659. Did your association employ him?—Our association employed him.

14,660. Was that for the purpose of getting at those defaulters, or for any other purpose?—No.

14,661. Was it for any other purpose?—No, not for any other purpose.

14,662. Did he stop bricks?—Yes, he had to inform our makers that no bricks must go to so and so.

14,663. Supposing there was a defaulter, would the men be called off from working with him?—We should stop the supply, and then consequently he would not have any bricks to go on with.

14,664. But did you not also call the men off from working with him?—Never but once I think.

14,665. You did so once?—Yes, once I believe. I cannot recollect any more than once.

14,666. Did you employ Kay for that purpose?—We employed Kay for that.

14,667. There was some defaulter, and the men were working for the defaulter, and you employed Kay to draw them off?—Yes, this man was a great swindler, and since that I believe he has gone to New Zealand. You will see his name on the defaulters' list, his name was Coleman. He was building, but now he has "skedaddled" off again. We put rather more pressure there than we do generally.

TWELFTH DAY.

Mr. G. Taunton.

18 Sept. 1867.

14,668. There was no other occasion on which you remember that Kay or anybody else was employed to draw the men off, but it was done in the case of this man?—Yes, to inform us where these parties were.

14,669. Are there any machine-made bricks now in Manchester?—Yes, there is one going on with Johnson, the wire worker in Bradford, I believe. He has put one down lately, but with the exception of that I think there are none.

14,670. I suppose from what we have heard of the sort of things that have been done, and the outrages that have been committed, the machine-made bricks have never had what you call fair play in this district?—Not since the combination came with the brick-makers, but previous to that of course they had a better opportunity.

14,671. When was that combination formed?—I should think it is two or three years ago perhaps. It would be the time that Kettle's affair was on here, the goal job. It would be the time that Mr. Bramall's affair was on.

14,672. They have never had fair play or fair competition since that time at all events?—No, but previous to that of course they had pretty fair play.

14,673. I think you explained to me that you considered that machine-made bricks for certain purposes are better than the hand-made bricks, but that the hand-made bricks for certain other purposes are better than the machine-made bricks?—Yes, they are of different classes.

14,674. Can a machine-made brick be made cheaper than a hand-made brick?—I question it very much; I never had a machine, and I only speak from what men I have seen employed about it. I have taken an estimate about it sometimes. I have had notions about it. When there is anything fresh you must go on with the times. When you are in a business you must keep with the times, and of course I have looked into it, and I have taken a calculation both of Mr. Atken's machine and this of Marsland's in Ardwick, and I thought really they were costing more than hand-made bricks, rating men at 3*s.* 6*d.* a day, or something like that.

14,675. You include of course the labour as well as the expense of the machine?—The labour as well as the expense of machinery.

14,676. Do they cost less in labour?—They would cost less I think by hand.

14,677. Then actually according to you the machine-made bricks would cost more in labour?—Taking labour and wear and tear both together, I believe they would, with the exception of Platt's; I do not know whether that would.

14,678. Then in your judgment a machine-made brick would actually cost more in labour than the hand-made brick?—Labour and wear and tear, taking all together, I believe it would with those machines that I have seen working, there is such a great stress on the machinery.

14,679. But independently of the wear and tear of the machinery, you told me that in point of labour there would be as much in the machine-made brick as in the other?—I do not think there would.

14,680. But taking the labour altogether of those who are employed in whatever requires manipulation with regard to the formation of the brick, and also of those who are employed about the machinery, would there be as much labour in making the machine-made brick as in making the hand-made brick?—I think you mean the labour, leaving out the wear and tear?

14,681. I do.—Well, I should question that very much. I do not think they would, because the wear and tear is so much, and they break down, and so on.

14,682. That is as to cost. I am speaking of labour. Taking labour before you get the profit, you must look at the capital employed, the interest of the money, and the wage. Now, as a matter of fact, do you imagine that in point of labour, taking only the operative view of the question, there would be as much labour and as many hands employed in the one case as in the other?—There would be more hands employed to work a machine than are employed to work a stove by hand.

14,683. Then, taking the two together, the hands employed in hand work, with regard to making the bricks, and the hands employed when the bricks are made by machinery, would there be more operative work and manual labour in the one case than in the other?—I think there would be more hands employed by machinery, I have no doubt of it, but at less wages.

14,684. The rate of wages would depend upon a variety of causes, but there would be more hands employed?—There would be more hands employed, I have no doubt.

14,685. And it might be true in these cases, as in other cases which political economists have written about, that the operatives in the end would gain by the employment of machinery. That would follow from what you have said, supposing you are right?—Yes, I daresay, but still it would have a tendency to lower wages.

14,686. That you know entirely depends upon other causes; it depends upon the price of food, and the demand, and other things, which I need not go into now?—Yes; you see we pay about 13*s.* a day for operatives, while the machine pays only 3*s.*, or perhaps 2*s.* 10*d.*, or so forth. We pay from 10*s.* to 20*s.* A burner gets from 20*s.*, and it is all piecework of course.

14,687. Individuals might suffer, but it would follow that more hands would be employed, subject only to what you mention about the question of wages, which is another question altogether?—Yes.

14,688. It might be in the end the greater benefit to these men, who are mistaken altogether in their objects?—Well, there would be a great deal of laborious work saved no doubt by machinery.

14,689. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Even in a machinery yard you would have to employ a burner, would you not?—Yes.

14,690. In that case what you put as to wages would not apply. What is there in the fact of bricks being made by machine which should lessen the wages of a burner?—There is more skill wanted in burning bricks than in any other part belonging to it.

14,691. But I suppose he would have to burn machine-made bricks just the same as he has now to burn hand-made bricks?—Yes, I suppose he would.

14,692. Can you have anything to alter the condition of a burner with machine-made bricks from what it is now with hand-made bricks?—No.

14,693. Then that instance which you have given of the reduction of wages fails, does it not?—Yes, but I say the union charges that machine, where perhaps if there was no union existing the wages might come down.

14,694. Why should not the union exist if bricks are made by machine, why should that alter any union regulation?—I do not know why it should, but I have no doubt it would alter it.

14,695. That is not the fault of the machinery, that is the fault of the members of the union?—No doubt, but it would have a tendency to lower wages.

14,696. That is your opinion?—Yes, you could get worse men to work at the machine, and besides you do not want the skill in working the machine that you do in the other departments.

14,697. (*Chairman.*) In some parts of the machinery surely you want more skill?—The engineer of course would want skill.

14,698. Would not his wages be higher even than a burner's?—Well, I question that very much.

14,699. Of course I do not know, but surely in the case of a first-class man who was employed at machinery more skill would be required than in the case of a mere burner?—You want a good deal of skill to burn; to get the heat to the right pitch you must have a good deal of experience.

14,700. So you must have a good deal of skill to manage some parts of the machinery?—Yes, but as far as the labour of brickmaking by machinery goes any sort of amateur hand would do for that.

14,701. (*Mr. Chance.*) If you applied to other

trades which you are now advocating with regard to machine-made bricks, you would have no machinery at all ?—I suppose not.

14,702. I suppose that the immediate effect of introducing machinery in all cases is to lower wages ?—It has had that effect, I believe, generally.

14,703. And ultimately the effect has been to increase the wages ?—Yes, very likely.

14,704. But the labour is diffused among different branches ?—It is.

14,705. Your opinion is singular, is it not, as to machine-made bricks being inferior to hand-made bricks ?—I think I gave you a description in my previous evidence that there is one class of goods which are made which are an exception, namely, Ibbotson and Platt's machine-made bricks.

14,706. If that is a good machine, by whomsoever it is made, why should not that machine be used ?—Well, it is a large complicated affair, and it takes a many hands to work it. It turned out good bricks, and you see the consequence is that it makes them dearer. They cannot sell them at the price of common bricks. We have bricks which are worth from 38*s.* and 50*s.* a thousand, down to 19*s.* a thousand.

14,707. If that is the case surely it would work its own cure. Why should the brickmakers combine together if the machine-made bricks do not answer ?—Do you mean the operatives ?

14,708. Why should the brickmakers combine together against machine-made bricks if machine-made bricks are not so good as hand-made bricks ?—You mean the bricklayers.

14,709. The brickmakers ?—Of course the brickmakers naturally think that it will have a tendency to lower wages, there is no doubt.

14,710. You say that if the masters work they are compelled to subscribe to the union ; but supposing the masters do not work themselves, do they then subscribe to the union also ?—No.

14,711. It is only in those cases where a master works that he subscribes to the union ?—He can please himself whether he subscribes or not. I believe if you are not a member and still subscribe you have your funeral expenses ; I believe they allow 10*l.* out of the burial fund ; but then you must die first of course.

14,712. Is a master brickmaker who works compelled to subscribe to the union ?—Yes.

14,713. Is anything done to him if he does not subscribe ?—I think there has been no objection to paying.

14,714. But supposing he did not pay ?—I do not know what the result would be. There might be a little "blind-horsing" as it is called.

14,715. You mean to say trampling bricks ?—I mean trampling bricks.

14,716. So that in fact the master brickmakers who work are compelled to subscribe ?—Yes ; it is optional, most likely, if you do not work.

14,717. (*Mr. Barstow.*) As a matter of fact, do you admit a man who makes bricks by machinery to be a member of your masters' union ?—No, we do not ; with the contention that we should have we have thought it better not. We should have a great deal of contention, no doubt.

14,718. (*Chairman.*) You would get into a quarrel with the operative brickmakers immediately ?—Yes.

14,719. (*Mr. Chance.*) In fact, brickmaking by machinery has never had a fair chance ?—Well, it has not since the combination came on. Previous to that of course it had a better chance.

The witness withdrew.

JOHN LOMAS sworn and examined.

J. Lomas.

14,720. (*Mr. Barstow.*) You are a clog maker, are you not ?—Yes.

14,721. And you carry on business at No. 78 Oldham Road ?—Yes.

14,722. In April 1863 were you building two houses near the Queen's Park, Cheetham ?—Yes, right opposite the entrance.

14,723. Were you building them with machine-made bricks ?—I began them with hand-made bricks up to the 1st of April, and then the party with whom I had made a contract for hand-made bricks could not supply me in consequence of not having them ready for me. I had five bricklayers at the time standing, and they declared they would have their wages whether I got them bricks or not. I applied to a brickmaker not far from the place, and he wanted 6*s.* a thousand more. I offered him 4*s.*, but he would not take it. I offered him 4*s.*, and to cart them off the premises, and he would not take it, and so I declared that I would not give any more, and that the men should not stand, and I went to the machine brickyard in Cheetham and made a contract with them for a quantity of bricks. On the 2nd of April, about half-past 8, Mr. Wogden delivered the first load of machine-made bricks, and at about 25 minutes to 9 I went to see how the men were going on, and when I got there one of the foremen said, "There has been a bother about those bricks going on." I said, "Never mind "them ; they will not sell me hand-made bricks, and "I shall have machine-made bricks." A man of the name of Kay came. I did not know him ; he was a stiff man. I had seen him on a picket job in the Oldham Road, not far from me. He asked me what I was going to do ? I said, "I am going to build two houses." He said, "That is not what I mean." I said, "That is an answer to your question." He said, "That is not what I mean." So I said, "What do you mean ?" He said, "You know me ; you saw me on "that job picketing in the Oldham Road. I may as "well tell you straight out. You are going to use "machine-made bricks, are you ?" I said, "I am ; I "cannot get hand-made bricks unless I pay an extra-"vagant price for them, and I am not willing to do "so." He said, "Well, then, cart them back." I said, "Yes, if you will furnish me with hand-made bricks "and pay me for what I have paid for the machine-"made bricks." He said, "We shall not do anything "of that sort ; if you will cart them back we will "forgive you." I said, "Forgive me for what ?" He said, "Why, for having those bricks on the pre-"mises, and I will furnish you with as many as you "want." I said, "I shall not do anything of the sort "unless you pay me the money which I have paid at "the machine yard." I have the receipts here.

14,724. (*Chairman.*) How much was that altogether ?—The first is 23*l.* 1*s.*

14,725. But how much was it altogether that you paid for the machine bricks ?—What I paid for the machine bricks at that time was 27*l.* So he refused to refund the money, and I said, "Then I will use them." We were standing in the middle of the field opposite the buildings, and he said, "If you do not "send them back you may mark the consequences ; I "will shift your head."

14,726. (*Mr. Barstow.*) What did he mean by saying that he would "shift your head ?"—I suppose he meant that he would blow my head off. I said, "You can blow away if you have a mind ; that will make no difference to me." I said, "I shall not take "them back for my right hand unless you refund the "money ;" and I said, "I will tell you what I will do "with you ; I will make a report at the police station "as I go down," and I did so ; and the superintendent came almost every day to see how things were going on, and on the 9th of May he called on the Saturday morning and said, "How are you going on, Mr. Lomas ?" I said, "All right, we have not been interrupted yet." He said, "Have you seen any of those brickmen about ?" I said, "I have seen several," and then about half-past 11 on the same Saturday evening a girl came running down and said the buildings were on fire. So when I got up I found there had

TWELFTH DAY.

J. Lomas.

18 Sept. 1867.

been three canisters of powder gone off, with 12 lbs. of powder in each canister. It shifted all the flooring boards, set some of the benches on fire, and some of the window casings, and several of the other fittings.

14,727. Did you examine the damage which had been done ?—On the following Sunday morning and Monday.

14,728. What did you find on the Sunday morning ?—We found that three canisters of powder had been discharged with something like a gallon can of oil with a large fuse.

14,729. Just describe what you saw ; you say there were three canisters of gunpowder ; had they all gone off ?—It had all gone off in the building.

14,730. Then you found only the remains of those canisters ?—We found only the remains of the canisters, but the lamplighter found another near the building full of powder, with a large fuse to it. It was supposed that they had been disturbed at the time of placing them, and the lamplighter took it to the station at 4 o'clock on the Sunday morning.

14,731. The building was set on fire, was it ?—Yes.

14,732. Was any damage done besides what you tell us, namely, the flooring boards being blown out, and so on ?—The flooring boards were blown up, and the benches were set on fire, and some of the window casings were burnt, and the boards over the windows were shaken, and I had to take them out and put fresh ones in.

14,733. What was the amount of damage which it did ?—About 60*l.*

14,734. Did it cost you that to replace it ?—Yes, with the expenses of having to pay the officers for watching afterwards.

14,735. Did you weigh the powder which was in the other canisters ?—Yes, one of the officers opened it.

14,736. And it weighed 12 lbs. ?—Yes, it weighed 12 lbs.

14,737. Was it fine powder or blasting-powder ?—It was blasting-powder—coarse powder.

14,738. What was the name of the brickmaker who wished to charge you 6*s.* a thousand for bricks ?—His name was Rowbotham, out of Lamb Lane. This (*producing a paper*) is what I received from Captain Peel for the services of the officers for 477 hours. It was on the 9th of May that it was blown up, and from the 10th of May I paid for 477 hours for the services of night policemen. I had my own men in the daytime.

The witness withdrew.

G. Goodir.

GEORGE GOODIR sworn and examined.

14,739. (*Mr. Chance.*) You are a self-acting spinner ?—Yes.

14,740. Do you remember in 1864 being employed as a watchman in Mr. Armitage's new mill, Pendleton ?—Yes.

14,741. Do you remember one day when you were watching being attacked by four men ?—Yes.

14,742. Do you remember what day it was ?—Yes, on the 22nd of May 1864.

14,743. Could you judge from the appearance of the men what they were ?—Brickmakers.

14,744. Did you see whether they were armed with anything ?—Some of them had sticks or bludgeons ; two of them were as if they had bricks in their hands.

14,745. What time of the night was it ?—Between a quarter and half-past 12 o'clock.

14,746. Were you by yourself ?—Missing a dog, I was.

14,747. Was it a large or a small dog ?—A small dog ; it was a valuable dog, but they killed it.

14,748. Did they do anything to you ?—Yes.

14,749. What did they do ?—They hit me all four on the top of the head at once, two with sticks and two with bricks, and they laid out on me one on each side. The other two set to throwing bricks at the dog because he was making a noise till they killed him. These two took me a few yards away from there, and as soon as they did that a vast many men came down off the top of the wall from the canal bank. The wall was level with the canal bank, so they jumped down into the yard.

14,750. Before they came, were there any expressions used by any of the men who attacked you ?—No, I never heard anything at all.

14,751. Was there any noise or scuffle ?—No, not before they came ; I had been through five minutes before, and everything was very calm and quiet.

14,752. How many men do you suppose came ?—Between 20 and 30 men, as near as I could guess. I was bleeding very fast then.

14,753. Tell us what took place after these men joined ?—They set to pushing the new-built walls down.

14,754. How much of the walls did they push down ?—A very great length. I daresay all put together it would be something above 100 yards.

14,755. How high were the walls ?—Some of them were nearly 10 feet high, some not so high, and some higher ; there was a blank shade wall and the other was a mill wall.

14,756. After this were you attacked by the men ?—I was kept by two men out of the four, and one of them stated to me that they were brickmakers and that these were machine bricks which they came to destroy. They said, "We are determined to put down this building."

14,757. Had you any idea who the men were who kept you there ?—Not by name, but I could have told them if I had seen them.

14,758. You have never seen them since ?—No.

14,759. Do you know any of the men who were present upon that occasion ?—No. I have been called up a time or two to see people whom they caught on suspicion. They were some that they thought had something to do with it, but I could not recognize them.

14,760. What else took place ?—While they were knocking them down one of the men who held me on one side said, "Now, my lads, go at it as hard as you can ;" they kept knocking it down ; there was one end left and they said, "Come on, knock it down," but some said, "No." They started dragging me away from there up towards the cabin which was made for us, and first one kept thumping me and then another, as they were going away, with bricks and one thing and another that they had in their hands.

14,761. Did they strike you with the bricks ?—Yes ; the last blow that hit me down was with something that caught me across my back, and I feel the effect of it yet many a time.

14,762. All this time were they dragging you along the ground ?—They dragged me down something like 10 yards twice.

14,763. While they were dragging you were they pushing against you ?—When they were dragging me the second time and were coming away from doing a mischief they took me more towards the cabin, and when they were very nearly all gone away, first one hitting me and then another, one hit me across the back, and one man said, "Die thee, the b——r," and sent me with my head against the wall. They said, "Kill the b——r," many a time over, while they were agait of me and thumping me as they were coming past.

14,764. Then did they drag you as far as the cabin ?—Yes, they sent me with my head against the cabin door.

14,765. Then they left you ?—Yes ; it was this way : while they were agait of me with my face to the wall so that I could not see where they were all the time.

14,766. You were very much injured ?—Yes, and a very bad job for me, I assure you.

14,767. Were you in the infirmary ?—Yes, I was in the infirmary under Dr. Haywood.

14,768. For what length of time were you in the

doctor's hands?—I was under the doctor about six weeks; I did not earn anything for 16 weeks.

14,769. You were out of work the whole of that time?—Yes, I could not do anything; I could scarcely walk about.

14,770. Do you work now?—I work at it, but it affects me very much.

14,771. And you feel the effects of working in consequence of the injuries you received?—Yes; the first thing of a morning when I get up I feel quite hazy.

14,772. Did they attack you suddenly?—Yes.

14,773. They came upon you quite suddenly?—Yes. I had been in not five minutes before, and everything was right and straight and nobody about.

14,774. Did the dog give you an alarm?—It made a great alarm, but they killed it.

14,775. Before the men came did the dog give any alarm?—It started back; it had not a chance of seeing them; they were at the back of the building, just turning the corner of this building; they sprung at me.

14,776. They came on you too quickly for the dog?—Yes, the dog had not the chance of knowing they were there; the dog was a yard or two yards behind me when they attacked me at first.

14,777. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Had you done anything to these men before?—I do not know that I ever saw them in my life.

14,778. Had you informed against anybody?—No; there were two that I gave descriptions about as well as I could. I could have told them again if I had seen them, but I had never seen them.

14,779. Can you attribute this attack to anything but the watching of the property?—It was done to me for watching.

14,780. (*Chairman.*) Mr. Armitage, by whom you were employed, made machine-made bricks?—No, he was building a mill with them.

The witness withdrew.

JOHN WARBURTON sworn and examined. *J. Warburton.*

14,781. (*Chairman.*) Are you a contractor?—Yes.

14,782. Do you know Mr. Benjamin Armitage?—Yes.

14,783. He was a cotton manufacturer at Pendleton?—Yes.

14,784. In 1864 did he begin to build a new mill there?—He did.

14,785. Were you the contractor for the brickwork?—Yes.

14,786. Did you use for that purpose machine-made bricks?—Yes.

14,787. Where did you get them from?—We got some of them from this machine here, and off Ashton New Road.

14,788. In May 1864 do you remember something happening?—Yes.

14,789. What happened, do you remember?—The walls of the weaving shed were thrown down.

14,790. How much walling was knocked down?—I should think from 200 to 300 yards; about 250 yards.

14,791. Could it have been knocked down simply by men pushing against it?—Yes.

14,792. Would it have required many men to have joined in doing it?—I should think it would take from 20 to 30 men.

14,793. It would take from 20 to 30 men pushing against it to knock it down?—Yes.

14,794. Were you ever threatened about this?—No.

14,795. Were you able to proceed with the work so far as you had gone without interruption or threats?—Yes.

14,796. Had nothing been said or done to you before the walls were knocked down?—Not to me.

14,797. Nor to anybody?—Not that I am aware of.

14,798. You never heard anybody say it?—No.

14,799. Not in your presence?—No.

14,800. Were you able to go on with the job after this?—Yes.

14,801. Do I understand that you built the walls up again?—Yes.

14,802. The walls which had been knocked down?—Yes.

14,803. Did you build them up with machine-made bricks or hand-made bricks?—Machine-made bricks.

14,804. Did anything happen afterwards?—No.

14,805. It was only on this one occasion?—Yes.

14,806. You remember the watchman being injured, do you not?—Yes.

14,807. As far as you were concerned, you had no threats nor anything said to you?—No.

14,808. You received no letter or anything of that sort?—No.

14,809. Nor any of your men?—No, not that I am aware of.

14,810. Do you remember whether Mr. Armitage had to employ men at day work after this?—Yes.

14,811. Was that to do the job which you had contracted to do?—Yes.

14,812. You having contracted to do the job, how came he to employ men at day work?—It was through the clerk of the works, because we could not agree.

14,813. You contracted to do the work, did you not?—Yes.

14,814. What I ask you is, whether, although you contracted to do the work, Mr. Armitage employed men to do the day work?—He employed men after I left the job.

14,815. But while you were at the job?—No.

14,816. Did you do the whole of your job?—No.

14,817. How much of your job did you do?—I should think about half of it.

14,818. What made you leave off?—Because the clerk of the works and me could not agree.

14,819. And because the clerk of the works and you could not agree, was that the reason for breaking your contract?—Yes.

14,820. How so; I want to understand how it was; explain it?—I left the job and would not stop any longer with him.

14,821. Was that the only reason why you left the job?—Yes.

14,822. Or was it because you could not get the bricks as you wanted?—Benjamin Armitage bought the bricks, I had nothing to do with it.

14,823. What was the nature of the dispute between you and the clerk of the works?—It was thought that he wanted this other man to come and finish the job.

14,824. What other man?—Henry Martin.

14,825. What does it signify what was thought; what happened between you and the clerk of the works to make you leave off the job, and not finish your contract?—We had words; he said that the work was not good enough.

14,826. There was nothing said about the bricks?—Yes.

14,827. He said that your work was not good enough?—Yes.

14,928. And upon that you went away?—Yes.

14,829. When you had only half done it?—Yes.

14,830. And then Mr. Armitage employed men to do the day work?—Yes.

14,831. Do you know who it was?—No.

14,832. Are you quite sure that you were never threatened?—I am certain of it.

14,833. Nor your men?—I never heard of anything of the sort.

14,834. And you never said you were?—No.

14,835. And you never gave that as the reason for giving up your work?—No, I did not.

14,836. Nothing of the sort?—No.

14,837. (*Mr. Chance.*) Did you contract for a certain sum?—I was the bricklayer; I only had the brickwork.

TWELFTH DAY.

J. Warburton.

18 Sept. 1867.

14,838. You entered into a contract to find the labour for the mill?—Yes.

14,839. Did you enter into that contract for a certain specified sum?—No, for so much per yard, to be measured when done.

14,840. And you were paid for as much as you had done?—Not exactly. I have not been paid yet for what I did.

14,841. (*Chairman.*) Did they say that you ought to have finished your job, and that you had improperly left it?—Who?

14,842. Mr. Armitage.—No.

14,843. How is it that you have not been paid, because this was in 1864?—The job has never been measured.

14,844. How is that; has there been any dispute going on all this time?—There was no dispute.

14,845. There was no dispute at all?—No.

14,846. Did your brother employ men?—Yes.

14,847. Is he in partnership with you?—At that time he was.

14,848. Where is he now?—He is in Pendleton.

14,849. In consequence of your using machine-made bricks did your brother's men refuse to work for him?—The brickmakers refused to let me have bricks.

14,850. Did they stop the supply of bricks to your brother?—Yes.

14,851. And because you could not get any more bricks did you dissolve partnership with your brother?—Yes.

14,852. Do you remember working for Mr. Cotterell?—Yes.

14,853. How long ago is that, 12 months?—Yes, 12 months since. We work for him regularly when he has anything.

14,854. What is he?—A cotton manufacturer.

14,855. Did you upon an occasion when working for him want some hand-made bricks?—Yes.

14,856. Did you see Jamas Kay?—Yes.

14,857. Did he come to you upon that occasion?—Yes, he did.

14,858. What did he tell you?—That we should have to stop.

14,859. Did he say why?—Yes; because I had been using machine bricks.

14,860. Did he say anything more?—No.

14,861. Did he say nothing about a fine?—Yes.

14,862. Do you not call that something more. You have not told us that yet, you seem to think nothing of it. He said that you were to pay a fine, did he?—Yes.

14,863. How much?—*5l.*

14,864. What was it for; just tell me what he said. What was the fine of *5l.* for?—What he said was, that if I paid *5l.* I could have hand-made bricks.

14,865. What was the fine to be paid for, for using machine bricks?—Yes, for using machine bricks.

14,866. He told you that you were to pay a fine of *5l.* for having used machine-made bricks?—Yes.

14,867. Did he say that he came from the union men for that purpose?—Yes.

14,868. Did you pay the fine?—Yes.

14,869. Was your reason for paying it that you might get the hand-made bricks?—Yes.

14,870. And you got them after?—I got them after, and I am using them now.

14,871. (*Mr. Chance.*) Are machine-made bricks better than hand-made bricks?—For that I cannot say exactly.

14,872. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Can you tell me whether these brickmakers who stopped your having hand-made bricks were the masters or the men?—I cannot.

14,873. I should think you could. Who stopped you?—Thomas Kay stopped me.

14,874. Did he tell you from whom he came?—Yes, he had come from the operatives.

14,875. He told you that he had come from the operatives?—Yes.

14,876. I should have thought that you could have said before that Kay was the man who stopped you?—It was so.

The witness withdrew.

J. Tinsley.

James Tinsley sworn and examined.

14,877. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Are you an excavator?—Yes.

14,878. Do you live at Pendleton?—Yes.

14,879. Do you remember an assault upon Mr. Armitage's watchman?—I remember a job being done, but I know nought about it.

14,880. Do you remember, on the Sunday morning after the job was done, meeting an excavator, an acquaintance of yours?—It was on Sunday night.

14,881. What was his name?—He goes by several names. He went by the name of Smith when he was with me.

14,882. Did he come to lodge with you?—He had nowhere else to go to. I took him, and he laid on the squab at night.

14,883. Did he tell you anything about the assault upon Mr. Armitage's watchman?—He said that he had killed the b——y dog, that is all.

14,884. That is all he said?—Yes.

14,885. Did he say who was with him?—He said old Sawyer, Thomas Pepper, Bob Rigby, and somebody else.

14,886. Did he mention Larry?—Yes, and Larry, and I have never seen him since.

14,887. Is that all he told you?—Yes.

14,888. You did not ask him anything else?—No; I did not want to be bothered with him.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. B. Armitage.

Mr. Benjamin Armitage sworn and examined.

14,889. (*Mr. Chance.*) You are a cotton manufacturer at Pendleton?—Yes.

14,890. In the year 1864 did you commence building a new mill there?—Yes.

14,891. Did you contract with John Warburton to build it?—To do the brickwork.

14,892. And you were to find the bricks?—Yes.

14,893. Did you provide him with machine-made bricks for the purpose?—Yes.

14,894. Do you remember in May finding that a portion of the building had been pushed down?—Yes.

14,895. How much of the wall had been pushed down?—Altogether there would be 300 or 400 square yards of 9-inch brickwork knocked down.

14,896. Do you know why that was done?—For using machine-made bricks.

14,897. Had anything ever been said to you by anyone about using machine-made bricks?—Not directly.

14,898. I suppose you mean that it had been done indirectly?—Yes.

14,899. Will you tell us what occurred?—I was told that I should get into trouble with it.

14,900. Who told you so?—I cannot say particularly, but at that time there was a great feeling against machine-made bricks. Mine was the second mill which had been erected in Pendleton. When the first mill was erected there were a good number of brickmakers knocking about, and if they had had the chance of doing damage no doubt they would have done it. I was cognizant of that, but I had no idea when I started to use machine-made bricks that there would have been any attempt to interfere with my using them, because I was not a maker. The opposition was more against the makers than the users of them.

14,901. You bought them from some person in

Manchester who made them?—I made my contract with the makers adjoining the lands for supplying me a portion, and for the other portion I contracted with the Ardwick Brick Company.

14,902. Have both those makers ceased making machine-made bricks?—Yes.

14,903. Had you carters in your employ who carted those bricks?—I could not get anyone belonging to me or anyone in the neighbourhood to cart them, because anyone carting machine-made bricks would be interfered with and not allowed to cart any hand-made bricks. The consequence was I had to make arrangements with a coal carter, who brings coal through Pendleton, to load with machine-made bricks as back carriage; by that means I was able to get the bricks supplied.

14,904. Had you applied to the brick carters?—It was of no use. I had not applied, but I was told it was no use, because previous to that men who had carted machine-made bricks in Pendleton were not allowed to cart any other kind of bricks, and for that reason it was no use my applying.

14,905. And you did not apply?—No.

14,906. And you applied to the coal carters?—Yes.

14,907. Do you know whether those men whom you employed to cart the machine-made bricks were at any time threatened or abused in any way?—Yes, the bars were drawn out so as to throw the carts up in the streets; it is the bar that let the cart down.

14,908. That has the effect of turning the cart over the axle?—Yes.

14,909. You know that that has been done when these men were carting your bricks?—Yes.

14,910. After your wall was pushed down, did you have to employ other labour?—Yes.

14,911. How was that?—The first thing I had to do was to employ somebody to protect the place, and I employed two armed men night and day till the whole job was completed, which cost us about 100*l.*, and whenever I went about the job myself I was regularly armed, because I was threatened with my life if I proceeded with them.

14,912. Who threatened you?—It was indirectly; Mr. Agnew, a neighbour of mine, intended building a mill with machine-made bricks, and he had a threatening letter, that if he proceeded he might have some outrage committed upon him, and regularly after that I went about armed.

14,913. From what you heard of others you expected your life to be in danger?—Yes.

14,914. There were no direct threats made towards you?—No, they would never face me; they were always sneaking about, these hand-made brickmakers, but they never faced me directly in daylight.

14,915. You had to rebuild the walls?—Yes.

14,916. And in consequence of what occurred Warburton failed to carry out the contract?—From the annoyances of one kind and another the man was a good deal agitated; and from the damage done, and through being advised to employ another brick setter, to finish the day work out, I took it out of Warburton's hands; I was wrongly advised, there is no question about that, because I believe it was a collusion between the man whom I employed as clerk of the works and the man he had in view. Warburton was discharged through that. I believe that Warburton fully intended finishing the job, and had he been allowed to go on with the job in a quiet and peaceable manner, I believe he would have finished it.

14,917. You discharged him in consequence of being misinformed?—Yes.

14,918. Did it entail upon you an additional expense?—It cost me three times as much to finish the job as what I agreed with Warburton to finish the whole job for.

14,919. Supposing Warburton had finished the job as he intended, it would not have cost you so much?—No.

14,920. Therefore this additional cost was in consequence of your being misinformed?—Not only that; when I commenced this mill I had contracted for my machinery, and a large portion of that machinery was already completed and ready to put in the mill, and I was obliged to go on with the job, and the consequence was I had to employ other people in day work to finish the job out.

14,921. That arose from the walls being pushed down?—There is no question about that.

14,922. What was the amount of the damage you suffered in consequence of the walls being pushed down?—With that and the cost of watching, and a great many other expenses incidental to this outrage, I consider that my loss was between 300*l.* and 400*l.*

14,923. You had no fault to find with Warburton for the way in which he did his work?—None at all; he did his work in a workmanlike manner.

14,924. Did you after this finish your work with machine-made bricks?—Decidedly; I was determined to do it.

14,925. In your opinion are machine-made bricks better than hand-made bricks?—There is no question about it, and any honest man will say so.

14,926. You have had a good deal of experience in building these two mills, as to the respective quality of the two bricks?—Yes.

14,927. Are machine-made bricks good for more than one purpose?—They are generally good; they are good for any purpose that bricks are used for, not only because you can make machine-made bricks all the year round, and you can employ a larger amount of labour, but you have a better brick.

14,928. And were the bricks that you used made by the Lancashire Brick and Tile Company's machine?—Yes; and the others were made by Marsden, of Bolton.

14,929. Are those better than hand-made bricks?—There is no question about machine-made bricks being better than hand-made bricks; they weigh considerably more; they are straighter and smoother, and you can set them leveller, and they are cheaper.

14,930. Cheaper?—Yes, they are cheaper and better.

14,931. And they can be made all the year round?—Yes, and they employ a larger amount of labour.

14,932. The immediate effect would be to lower the wages?—I do not think that machinery directly lowers the wages.

The witness withdrew.

J. Clifford.

JOHN CLIFFORD sworn and examined.

14,933. (*Chairman.*) What are you?—I am a labourer at present.

14,934. In 1864 what were you?—A brick master.

14,935. Where did you carry on your trade?—At Ridgy Lane, Staleybridge.

14,936. How many hands did you employ at that time?—I had nine men and two boys and two women.

14,937. And you made bricks there?—Yes.

14,938. In 1864 did anything happen to your bricks?—Yes.

14,939. What time in 1864 was it?—It was on Whitsun Friday night, in May.

14,940. In May 1864 something happened to your bricks?—Somebody walked on 11,000 bricks.

14,941. Had that been done in the night?—Yes, between Friday night and Saturday morning.

14,942. Could you at all form an opinion as to how many men it took to do it?—It would take four or five.

14,943. In what union was that district of yours?—In the Ashton union.

14,944. What men were you employing, union men or non-union men?—Non-union men.

14,945. Have you any mode of accounting for that injury to your bricks, except that you were employing

TWELFTH DAY.

J. Clifford.

18 Sept. 1867.

non-union men?—It was at the time they asked me, and I would not have them.

14,946. Which of them?—Thomas Barrett and several more that I do not know.

14,947. How long before your bricks were spoiled did they come to you?—A few days before.

14,948. Were they members of the Ashton union?—Yes, I know they were.

14,949. They came to you from the union?—Yes, they brought me a list.

14,950. A list of what?—A list of their prices.

14,951. Did they complain that you were employing non-union men, and also the wages that you were paying?—Yes, they did.

14,952. What were you paying?—I was paying a little less than the club price. I was paying the price I had always paid for 20 years.

14,953. You were paying the price you had always paid for the last 20 years?—Yes.

14,954. It was somewhat less than the union price?—Yes.

14,955. Do you remember how much less it was?—No, I cannot exactly say.

14,956. But it was less?—Yes.

14,957. And they complained of it?—Yes.

14,958. Did they also complain of your employing non-union men?—Yes; they wanted me to send my men off and take a gang of their men.

14,959. Did you refuse?—Yes.

14,960. Did they say what would happen to you?—No.

14,961. Did they threaten you at all in any way?—No, they did not threaten me, but they said it would be better for me if I did take their men.

14,962. Was this only a few days before this affair happened?—Only a few days.

14,963. And they spoiled somewhere about 11,000 bricks?—Yes.

14,964. Were there any walls knocked down?—There were one or two bits knocked down, but they were not much.

14,965. The bricks were mainly trampled upon?—Yes.

14,966. Did they put anything in your clay?—No.

14,967. At any other time have you had anything done to your property?—In the beginning of November in the same year they came at night and burned two parts out of three of my shed. Then they killed a dog that I would not have taken any money for.

14,968. They destroyed two-thirds of the shed?—Yes.

14,969. How was it destroyed?—They set fire to it.

14,970. Could you tell how it was set a light; was it done with naphtha or anything of that sort?—It must have been done with something of that sort.

14,971. Did they collect any of your wheelbarrows?—No, they collected a few hurdles together.

14,972. They collected them together?—They took them into the middle of the shed and set fire to them there, because I saw the remains of them lying there.

14,973. And two-thirds of the shed were destroyed?—Yes.

14,974. And they also killed a dog which you valued very much?—Yes.

14,975. Was that dog shot, or how was it killed?—They drove a pick into the back of its neck, and with a clay hack, which had a sharp point, they cut it under the jaw.

14,976. That was the way it was killed?—Yes.

14,977. This was done the same night?—Yes.

14,978. Was the dog on the premises at night?—It was in the shed.

14,979. It was locked up in the shed?—Yes.

14,980. You had no watchman on the premises?—I had not at that time.

17,981. The dog was locked up in the shed, and they killed the dog, and set fire to the shed in the way you have described?—Yes.

14,982. Did they destroy any bricks at night in November?—Yes.

14,983. How many?—2,500.

14,984. Were they destroyed by walking upon them?—Yes,

14,985. Did they use any needles?—No.

14,986. When were you informed that your shed was set on fire?—The next morning. I was the first man in the yard, which I always was.

14,987. And then you saw what had been done?—Yes.

14,989. In order to destroy the 2,000 bricks could you form an opinion of how many men had been employed?—No.

14,990. Upon any other occasion were your bricks injured?—In the latter end of November.

14,991. The same month, and the same year?—Yes, they came to the house and threw a bottle of combustibles into the chamber window, and it caught a chair back, and bounced back and broke the neck off, and it fell back into the street.

14,992. In the same month of November this occurred; at what time in the evening?—Two minutes to 12.

14,993. Was it the window of the chamber in which you slept?—Yes.

14,994. Are you a married man?—Yes.

14,995. Was anybody else in the room?—My wife and four children.

14,996. Then you say they threw a bottle in through the window?—Yes.

14,997. So that the bottle went through the window and hit the back of the chair?—Yes.

14,998. And that blow sent it out again?—Yes, and it went off in the street.

14,999. You heard it go off?—I saw it go off.

15,000. Did you notice afterwards whether there was anything else in the bottle that went off besides gunpowder? Were there any slugs or nails in it?—We could not see anything. I had a whistle and I whistled the police, and six came directly and examined it, and the bottle had been wrapped in a bit of rag steeped in gas tar to keep it from breaking when it went in the chamber.

15,001. Was there a bit of rag round it;—Yes, they gas-tarred the rag, and wrapped it round the bottle to keep it from breaking.

15,002. The rag was wrapped round it so that if it went in the bottle itself would not break until the fire had reached the gunpowder and it had blown up; that is what you mean?—Yes.

15,003. It was somewhere about 12 at night?—Two minutes to 12.

15,004. Had you done anything at all to offend them in any way whatever beyond what you have told us, namely, employing non-union men, and employing them at less than the price they said they ought to have?—Yes.

15,005. That is what you had done?—Yes.

15,006. At that time was your place, where this occurred, near the brickyard?—About 300 yards from it.

15,007. Do you remember anything else being done to either yourself or your bricks besides on these two occasions?—No; but there was one bottle found the next morning.

15,008. Where was it found?—At Cockbrook.

15,009. Is that near your house?—Yes.

15,010. How far from it?—About a quarter of a mile off. It was buried in a heap of ashes.

15,011. Was that bottle filled with anything?—It was filled with powder and had a fuse to it.

15,012. It had not been lighted?—No; the deputy constable of Staleybridge has it now for anything I know.

15,013. It had a fuse to it and it was filled with powder?—Yes.

15,014. The moment that this bottle hit the back of the chair and went back and exploded, you whistled?—Yes.

15,015. In a moment — directly?—Under two minutes. I was awake at the time it was done.

15,016. Of course that would give the alarm and

they would not stop to throw the second bottle?—They would be off. After it was done I employed a watchman while I stopped.

15,017. After that you employed a watchman?—Yes.

15,018. Was the watchman kept always armed?—I bought him a revolver and two big dogs. I bought them both. He told me he would not go unless he had two.

15,019. How much longer did you remain there continuing your business?—Till August after.

15,020. August of the next year?—Yes.

15,021. Did anything else happen to you?—No.

15,022. Had you any threats or intimidations; were you called anything?—Yes, and I dared not go near the district where they were at night.

15,023. What was the sort of thing they called after you?—"Knobstick."

15,024. Wherever you went?—When I went into that district they always minded what they said for fear I should have the law on them for it.

15,025. You were called that repeatedly?—Yes.

15,026. You said you dare not go; where was that?—Not to Ashton; not after dark.

15,027. In consequence of your fear of them?—Yes.

15,028. It continued all the time you were there, did it not?—Yes.

15,029. Up to August?—Yes.

15,030. And then you gave it up?—I gave it up. I thought it was better to give it up than lose my life.

15,031. It was considering that your life was in danger as well as your property which made you give up the business?—Yes.

15,032. That was the reason why you gave it up?—Yes.

15,033. Are you making bricks now?—No.

15,034. You gave up brickmaking altogether?—Yes.

15,035. In consequence of this?—Yes.

15,036. What are you doing now?—I am a labourer.

15,037. What do you labour at?—I do any job; getting a bit of cellaring out for cottages.

15,038. Laying the foundations of cottages?—Yes.

15,039. It has injured your business?—Yes; I lost above 100*l.* upon it.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to to-morrow at 11 o'clock.

THIRTEENTH DAY.

Assize Courts, Manchester, Thursday, 19th September 1867.

PRESENT:

PERCIVAL ANDREE PICKERING, ESQ., Q.C. | GEORGE CHANCE, ESQ.
THOMAS IRWIN BARSTOW, ESQ. | JAMES SHEIL, ESQ., Secretary.

PERCIVAL ANDREE PICKERING, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. EDWARD HINDLEY sworn and examined.

15,040. (*Chairman.*) Are you a builder?—Yes.

15,041. Where do you live?—At Prestwich.

15,042. Had you a contract for constructing the Prestwich reservoir?—Yes.

15,043. When was that?—It lasted better than 12 months the work that was going on.

15,044. But in what year was the contract?—We ended in March 1866, that was when I stopped.

15,045. With whom did you make the contract?—With Colline; he had the contract.

15,046. For what did you make the contract?—For the bricklayers' work under him.

15,047. Had you a boy named William Stevenson?—Yes.

15,048. What were the bricks which you used there?—The bricks were Manchester common bricks; we had them from Broughton.

15,049. Prestwich is in the Manchester district, is it not?—Yes.

15,050. In March 1866 did any people come to you from the bricklayers' union?—Yes, there was a dispute. I will tell you how it was. This lad I had had for seven or eight months, and one Monday morning I was going round to look at my men (I had five men working at this job and this boy), and just as I was going away George Ramsbotham said to me, "Here, I want you." I said, "What is it?" He said "There was a meeting at the club house on Saturday "night concerning this lad."

15,051. Is Ramsbotham a member of the bricklayers' union?—Yes. He said, "I was not there, but Ryle was, and Ryle told me this." This George Ramsbotham was my foreman that I left on my work, and so of course they told him things, and he had to communicate with me, I not being there regularly. He said, that the conclusion of this meeting was that this lad must either be legally bound apprentice or shift altogether, or the union would take my men off the work. So I said, "If that is all we can soon put that right." So I mentioned it to this lad. This lad said he did not want to go away; he said rather than go away he would do anything, and he would be bound if it was agreeable to me. So the day following, the Tuesday, I ordered indentures to be written out and I paid for them and this lad was to pay me back at half-a-crown a week till he had paid me, which of course he did do. Then on the Thursday following I told them what I had done, and Peter Yates, one of the men, said at once, "We have "had another meeting, and he is not to be bound at "all, you are not to have him. We will have no "more bricklayers made; if you want any more men "you may get them from the club-house." I said, "Why did not you tell me that on Monday morning?" I said "The lad is bound now." Then they said, "Then we shall stop working." Then I said, "Stop, then, I cannot help it;" and they did stop.

15,052. And they never worked afterwards?—No. I had to give up that job in consequence. It was too big for me. I could not manage it with this lad and me, but I went on with the other jobs that I had at gentlemen's places in the neighbourhood.

15,053. Did they threaten to injure any of the non-union men who were working with you?—There were no violent threatenings that ever I heard of. They came sometimes and persuaded some of them to come away, and said that I was employing non-union men, and they advised them not to stop, and some went away and some stopped with me.

15,054. Do you remember a man of the name of George Ashton?—Yes.

THIRTEENTH DAY.

Mr. E. Hindley.

19 Sept. 1867.

15,055. Was he a union man?—Yes. There was a fellow called "Berry Bill;" he threatened he would "rump" him if he did not go about his business.

15,056. Did that mean that he would kick him?—Something of that sort I suppose, or beat him in some way or other.

15,057. They threatened that if he did not leave his work they would do it to him?—Yes.

15,058. Do you know a person of the name of James Kay?—That was when I was going on with my other work, when those men would not work for me. They stopped me from buying bricks then. They would not let me have any bricks; but they were a good while before they could manage to do it on their own bottom, for those bricklayers belonged to the Whitefield bricklayers' union and not to Manchester.

15,059. Where is Whitefield?—It is the next township to the Manchester district.

15,060. Is it in the Manchester district?—No, it is out of the Manchester district. Those were Whitefield bricklayers with the exception of one.

15,061. Were you doing any job in the Whitefield district?—No, the job was in the Manchester district, and we were using the Manchester bricks.

15,062. Then how came the Whitefield bricklayers to interfere with you, you being in another district?—It was concerning this lad.

15,063. Were your men Whitefield men?—One man came out of Salford, and Peter Yates was a Whitefield one, and another. Then George Ramsbotham was a man from Prestwich; Joseph Luff was out of Salford.

15,064. Were those Whitefield men union men?—Yes, they were all union men at that time.

15,065. Now you say that the Whitefield men got assistance from the Manchester men?—They came to the Manchester brickmakers and wanted them to stop me from having bricks for my other jobs, and the brickmakers would not take any notice of them at the time. Then after that they went to the Manchester bricklayers' union, and I suppose that they got at the soft side of them, for the union ordered Charles Lester, the delegate, to go and tell James Kay to warn them that they must let me have no bricks.

15,066. Was Lester the bricklayers' delegate?—Yes.

15,067. And Kay was the brickmakers' delegate?—Yes. So Lester tells Kay to do this, and of course Kay did it; and the first time the carts went down they were at George Hollier's brickyard loading bricks, and "Old Nick," as they called him, came and said, "Hindley must not have any; tip them down." He made them tip them up again and would not let them go.

15,068. Then Kay made them do that?—Yes.

15,069. Where do you get your bricks from now?—Well, I bought after that from men named Thorpe and Briggs.

15,070. Is that in the Manchester district?—It is out of the Manchester district. They did not belong to the Manchester union.

15,071. In what district is that?—It is in what they call the Whitefield district.

15,072. I suppose you are obliged to get them as you can?—Yes, you are right there; I am obliged to get them as I can. Sometimes I had to give parties I was working for money and let them come down and buy them in their name and then turn them over to me. I did it in that way in an instance or two.

15,073. Have you ever had bricks spoiled?—No, I have never had anything of that; I am not a brickmaker, you know.

15,074. Have you ever had any injury done to any of your property?—No; I cannot say I have had anything of that sort. There has been nothing of that sort. The greatest annoyance has been that I could not get any stuff for money to go on with my work.

15,075. (*Mr. Barstow.*) But you think that was done by the interference of the bricklayers' union?—Yes. Those Whitefield bricklayers got at the soft side of the Manchester bricklayers, that was it.

15,076. Had you any quarrel with any union whatever except what you have told us about the boy Stephenson?—No; I have never had a quarrel with a union man in my life. I always got on as comfortable as possible.

15,077. (*Chairman.*) Then it was all about this lad?—It was all about this lad.

15,078. And there was no other cause that you are aware of at all?—No, not at all.

15,079. (*Mr. Barstow.*) How did you come in the first instance to have him bound to you?—They ordered me to do that.

15,080. (*Chairman.*) George Ramsbottom was your foreman, was he not?—Yes.

15,081. And he said he had been told by Ryle?—Yes; Ryle was at this meeting.

15,082. He was a union man?—They were both union men.

15,083. (*Mr. Chance.*) Was the having this boy in your employ in the first instance against their rules?—When this boy came to me he said he had been a couple of years with a man at Bury, and I said "I "will try thee, and see how thou shapest, and if thou "suitest me thou cans't be bound." And those union men worked with him for seven or eight months without anything being said.

15,084. But was the employment of this boy against the union rules?—At first they said nothing about the boy's age. The boy was 17 years of age then, and the second time they communicated this to me they said they would not have him on any occasion whatever. I said, "What is the reason for that?" They said he was too old then, but before they said they would not have any under 15.

15,085. That is he was beyond the age at which they allow an apprentice to be bound?—Yes, but they did not tell me that at first.

15,086. Is it a fact that the bricklayers do not allow a working labourer ever to become a bricklayer?—Yes, they will not allow it. They will not allow anyone to become a bricklayer now that starts after he is 15 years of age. If they see a labourer getting out the trowel or setting a brick, or anything of that sort, they will stop him directly.

15,087. Do you mean to say that after a man has once passed the age of 15, and is a labourer, he can never become a bricklayer?—No, he must not, according to the bricklayers' rules.

15,087*a*. Then if he remains in that district he has no chance of ever becoming anything better?—No, not in that trade.

15,088. Does that rule apply to the brickmakers?—No, it is a bricklayers' rule; I cannot speak as to the brickmakers.

15,089. Then if you take an apprentice he ought not to be over 15 years of age?—No, that is the rule now; it did not use to be so.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. J. Thorpe.

Mr. James Thorpe sworn and examined.

15,090. (*Mr. Barstow.*) What are you now?—A farmer. I was a brickmaker, but I sold out in consequence of bad usage.

15,091. Do you live at Thatchleech near Prestwich?—Yes.

15,092. When did you leave off making bricks?—About last July.

15,093. July of this year?—July of the last year but this, 1866.

15,094. How long had you been a brickmaker up to that time?—A couple of years.

15,095. Were you a member of the brickmakers' union?—No.

15,096. Did you yourself work at the brick-

making? No, I employed men, but not union men, non-union men.

15,097. Had you a contract to supply a Mr. Robinson with bricks?—Not a written agreement, but we had a verbal one; and we served him with something like 100,000 bricks at the national schools, Prestwich, but the last April but one they turned out against our bricks, because they said it was in the Manchester district.

15,098. Who turned out against them?—My carter delivered those bricks, and they were taking the last lot of bricks that ever we sent, and the men that were working dragged their trowels ——

15,099. But I asked you who turned out against them?—The men that were working at this national school.

15,100. What men?—The bricklayers; they were Manchester bricklayers I think.

15,101. What reason did they give for turning out?—That the bricks were being carted into the Manchester district.

15,102. Then your brickyard was out of the Manchester district?—Yes.

15,103. And you carted your bricks into the Manchester district?—Yes.

15,104. And therefore the bricklayers turned out?—That is it.

15,105. That is because the bricklayers and brickmakers had amalgamated, is it not?—I think so.

15,106. Do you know the last witness, Edward Hindley?—Yes. The same week we made a contract with Hindley for 50,000 bricks, and the Whitefield union men came to us and asked us if we were not serving Hindley with bricks. We told him we were, and they told us we must not sell him any more. We told them that we had a written agreement for 50,000, so they said we might serve him those, if we had a written agreement, but we must not sell them any more till we had settled with the union and the neighbourhood. I gave over fetching bricks knowing there was a bother, except a man named Wilson, and the union men would not start setting them.

The witness withdrew.

CHARLES JOHNSON sworn and examined.

15,107. (*Chairman.*) How old are you?—18 next October.

15,108. What are you?—I work in the Manchester union. I am not in the union, but I work in the brickyard.

15,109. In what brickyard?—In Regent Road.

15,110. Whose is it?—Mr. Traunter's.

15,111. Where do you live?—At No. 4 Dalton Street.

15,112. Do you know a person of the name of James Kay?—No, I do not know him when I see him.

15,113. Have you never said that you know him?—No, not that I know James Kay.

15,114. Do you know a person of the name of Kay?—No.

15,115. Have you never said that you know him?—No, I have never said that I knew James Kay.

15,116. Do you know him by sight?—No.

15,117. Did you never say so. Now be careful, because you are very young, and you ought to know the importance of telling the truth, and you are upon your oath. Do you know a person of the name of Manning or Mannering?—I know him when I see him.

15,118. But have you worked in the same yard with him?—No.

15,119. Do you live in the same street with Mannering?—No.

15,120. Do you know him?—Yes, I know him when I see him.

15,121. Have you seen him lately?—I do not know when I saw him last.

15,122. Did you see him on Monday, the 2nd of September?—No.

15,123. Have you never said that you did?—No.

15,124. Did you see him on Thursday the 5th of September?—Not that I remember.

15,125. Have you seen him within the last fortnight?—No, not that I can remember.

15,126. Will you swear that you have not?—Yes.

15,127. Have you never said that you have?—No.

15,128. Now do not be alarmed. Remember that it is your duty to tell the truth. Do you know Tatton Street?—Yes.

15,129. Has anybody been speaking to you about this. Who has been speaking to you?—There was a man speaking to me one day.

15,130. But last night, did you never speak to anybody?—No, I have never spoken to anybody.

15,131. You came after the court was adjourned yesterday, did you not?—Yes.

15,132. Did anybody speak to you afterwards?—No.

15,133. Now just think, because it is a very serious thing that you should say what is not true. I ask you again, have you never said anything to anybody about this?—I have never said anything to anyone nor anybody to me.

15,134. Have you never said that you saw Kay and Mannering walking together?—I do not know Kay.

15,135. Do you know any of the brickmakers' delegates?—No, I am not in the union, and I do not know anything about them.

15,136. I ask you again, have you never said that you saw Kay and Mannering walking together in Tatton Street, on Thursday the 5th of September last?—No, because I cannot tell Kay if I see him.

15,137. But have you never said so?—No.

15,138. Do you know Williams the police superintendent?—No.

(*George Williams was pointed out to the witness.*)

15,139. Do you know that man?—Yes, I know him.

15,140. Did you never say to him that you had seen Kay and Mannering together in Tatton Street on Thursday the 5th of September?—No; I do not know Kay, so I cannot say it. I have seen plenty of men, but I could not tell who they were, going to their work and coming away.

15,141. Did you ever tell him anything of the kind?—No.

15,142. Did you ever mention the name of any person you had seen at all?—No.

15,143. Did you never mention Mannering's name to him. You understand whom I mean by Mannering; it is spelt Mannering, but it is pronounced Manning. You have worked with him, have you not?—No, I never worked with Mannering.

15,144. But you know him?—I know him.

15,145. Have you never said that you had seen Mannering at all?—No.

15,146. Not to Williams, nor to anybody?—No, because I was not near anybody that morning.

15,147. But you can see a person who is not near. Is it fear which is operating upon your mind and preventing your telling us the truth?—No.

15,148. Have you ever been spoken to or threatened by anyone if you spoke out here?—No.

15,149. You never said then to anyone that you had at any time seen Mannering; is that what you say?—No, I have not seen him.

15,150. Have you ever said that you have seen him?—No.

15,151. I ask you once more, have you ever pronounced the name of Kay at any time to anyone?—No.

THIRTEENTH DAY.

C. Johnson.

19 Sept. 1867.

15,152. Did you describe the dress of anybody whom you saw to this man Williams whom I have pointed out?—No.

15,153. You never did?—I could not tell the dress.

15,154. But did you describe the dress?—No.

15,155. Has anybody ever spoken to you, not last night, but at any time, about your giving evidence here?—No.

15,156. Nobody at all?—No.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. G. Williams

Mr. George Williams sworn and examined.

15,157. (*Chairman.*) You are superintendent of the detective police at Salford, are you not?—Yes.

(*The last witness, Charles Johnson, was brought up.*)

15,158. Do you know that boy?—I do.

15,159. We understand that his name is Charles Johnson?—It is.

15,160. When did you see him last?—To the best of my knowledge, it would be a week last Tuesday. It was about a week after the boy alluded to having seen those parties.

15,161. Where did you see him?—On a brickcroft behind the Regent Road barracks. From information I had got I went there to him.

15,162. What did you ask him?—I asked him whether he was Johnson who was called the "counter out" at the brickcroft behind the Regent Road Barracks. He said, "My name is Johnson."

15,163. That is the same boy?—Yes. In order to see whether it tallied with the information I had, I did this.

15,164. Did you make any note at the time?—I did. The boy would see me sitting down on a bank at the time to write this down, and I said, "Do you know George Mannering?" and he said, "Yes." I said, "Do you know a man named Kay?" and he said, "Yes;" and I said, "Do you know what I have come about?" he said, "No." I said, "Well, I know what information you can give. Did you not on Thursday morning, the 5th instant, see Kay and Mannering together?" He looked round to his mates. I said, "You need not look at them." My note is this:—"Between seven and eight o'clock, on "the 5th instant, a young man, named Johnson, saw "Kay and Mannering walking along together in "Tatton Street, in the direction of Regent Road. "Kay was first in dark clothes and black cap. Man- "nering had light corduroy trousers, dark coat, and "a hat on. Mannering is a man of about 40 years "of age, fresh complexion, rather sandy, about five "feet six inches high, a short stiff man, droops his "head when looked at in the face. Kay is a man "of about five feet eight inches high, 55 years of "age, brown and sunburnt, glides very much with "one eye, supposed to have two fingers off one hand." I said, "Did you hear what the men said?" He said, "No, they were speaking together as if they were meeting." The expression the boy used was that they were dressed up as if they were going away on a cheap trip. He saw them going, and he said they walked quickly.

15,165. At what time was it that he saw them together?—Between 7 and 8 in the morning on the 5th instant.

15,166. You have no doubt of the accuracy of your note?—No doubt whatever.

15,167. Was anybody with you?—They would not hear it, but there was a gentleman, Mr. Ashworth, who was some 200 yards off. But then I was going to tell you that I sent for this boy post-haste yesterday, and did not let him know the reason why. When he came here I said, "Do you know the reason why you have come?" He said, "No, except it is to say what I told you on Thursday last on the brickcroft." The boy knew me quite well. I said, "Do you know what you have been sent for here about?" He said, "No." I said, "It is about your seeing Kay and Mannering together." I said, "I have it here in my pocket-book." He said, "And what time had I better be here in the morning?" I said, "You had better be here at half-past 10," and I gave him 5*s.* for his day's expenses.

15,168. After you had written the note, and you saw him on that day, did you read him out the note you had made then?—No, I did not, because there was a reason, there were the men surrounding us.

15,169. Just so. Then did you yesterday evening, when he came here after the court was adjourned, read him the note, or merely state what you have said?—I merely stated the purport, and showed it him in my book.

15,170. Could he have seen it?—He could have seen it. It was at this table.

15,171. Did he then say, "I recollect it?"—Yes, the boy never denied it.

15,172. Just repeat again what you said to him yesterday when he was here?—I said, "Do you know what you have come here for?" He said, "No, sir, not except it is what you saw me about when I saw you last." I said, "Yes, it is about that; you know what it is." "Well," he says, "I forget now exactly what it was I told you." I said, "Did you not tell "me that on the morning of the 5th instant you saw "Kay and Mannering together near your brickcroft, "speaking and walking quickly?" He said, "Yes."

15,173. You wrote it out at the time the boy made the statement to you?—I did. The boy would see me sitting on the bank about 120 yards away from the men.

The witness withdrew.

C. Johnson.

Charles Johnson recalled and further examined.

15,174. (*Chairman.*) You have heard what Williams has said?—Yes.

15,175. Do you recollect it?—No, it is not at all true.

15,176. Nothing of the sort took place?—No.

15,177. Nothing of the sort took place at the time he mentions?—He was talking to me, but I never said anything of the sort to him.

15,178. Did he sit down on the bank and write?—I never saw him. I was under a shed, so that I could not see him.

15,179. You have heard what he said as to what happened yesterday, when you came here, have you not?—Yes, I heard what he said.

15,180. Is that true?—It is not all true. He asked me what I came here for, and I said, "No;" and he said, "It is about what you told me that day," and I said "I do not know anything about it."

15,181. What had you told him on that day?—I do not recollect what I told him.

15,182. But you recollect it sufficiently to know that he told you something?—He said, "It is about what you told me that day.

15,182*a*. What did you say in answer to that?—I did not say anything.

15,183. Do you mean to tell me that you do not recollect anything at all that you told him on that day?—No.

15,184. Do you not recollect whether it was about your having seen anybody? You must recollect that?—No.

15,185. What did he talk to you about?—He was

asking me different questions about them, but I did not know.

15,186. About whom ?—About Kay and Mannering, but I did not know Kay.

15,187. He asked you different question about Kay and Mannering ?—Yes.

15,188. Did you tell him anything ?—No, nothing of the kind.

15,189. What did you say when he asked you different questions about Kay and Mannering ?—Well, I cannot recollect.

15,190. Did you say nothing at all about anybody ?—No.

15,191. Do you remember his sitting down and writing ?—No, I never saw him at all. I never saw him afterwards.

15,192. Do you mean to tell me that you do not recollect anything that you said to him ?—No.

15,193. And nothing that he said to you ?—No.

15,194. Will you swear that you do not ?—Yes.

15,195. You had better hear the question. Will you swear that you did not tell him anything of the sort that he has said, namely, as to having seen either Kay or Mannering at that time ?—Yes.

15,196. You will swear it ?—Yes.

15,197. What did you say to him yesterday ?—To whom ?

15,198. To Williams when he spoke to you ?—I never said anything to him, only he asked me what I came here for, and I said, "I do not know." That was all.

15,199. And you said nothing more ?—No.

15,200. Are you quite sure ?—Yes.

12,201. Do you remember saying that you had come here with regard to that which you had told him before ? Did he say that, whatever it was ?—No, not that I can remember he did not.

15,202. Do you remember nothing at all ?—No.

15,203. And you said nothing ?—No.

15,204. It is not in my province to give an opinion ; I have no right to do that. You can stand down.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. Frederick Bagulay sworn and examined.

Mr. F. Bagulay.

15,205. (*Mr. Chance.*) Are you manager to Messrs. Bates and Company ?—I am one of the partners.

15,206. What are they ?—Builders and brickmakers.

15,207. Have you a brickyard upon the bank of the canal at Droylsden ?—Yes.

15,208. Is the canal the boundary line between the Manchester district and the Ashton-under-Lyne district ?—Yes.

15,209. On which side of the line is your brickyard ?—On the Ashton side.

15,210. Have you a large plant there ?—Yes.

15,211. What is the value of the plant which you have there ?—The value of the plant is about 800*l.*

15,212. Have you a large number of bricke there ?—About 500,000.

15,213. Are you able to dispose of those bricks ?—No.

15,214. Why not ?—We are not allowed to cart them over the canal. The Manchester brickmakers will not allow us to use them over the canal.

15,215. Does that prevent your selling them ?—Yes. We have a large and populous district between Manchester and our place and Droylsden, but not between our place and Ashton-under-Lyne.

15,216. Then you make them for the purpose of sending them to the Manchester District ?—Yes.

15,217. By whom were those bricks made, were they made by the Ashton union men ?—Yes.

15,218. Were the prices which you paid the brickmakers' the union prices ?—Yes.

15,219. Are the union prices settled by the Ashton under-Lyne union the same as those which are settled by the Manchester union ?—There is not much difference, though there may be some little difference in the prices. I think it is rather more for the burning of the bricks in Manchester perhaps than it in is in Ashton, but the other parts of the trade are much the same.

15,220. The prices paid to the burner are the only difference ?—I believe so.

15,221. Have you received a notice from the Ashton-under-Lyne brickmakers, telling you that they would take possession of your yard ?—Of the other two yards.

15,222. You have two other yards besides this yard ?—Yes, which are now in the Manchester district.

15,223. How far is the boundary line from those other two yards ?—About a mile.

15,224. Then it would be some distance into the Manchester district ?—A mile into the Manchester district.

15,225. Have you received any notice from the Ashton union that they intend to take possession of your yards ?—Yes, to work them.

15,226. To work them with their men ?—Yes.

15,227. What would be the effect of that upon your brickyard, supposing the Ashton men were to carry out their notice ?—We should then have a plant altogether of about 1,000*l.*, and about 3,000,000 bricks, for which we should have a very limited market.

15,228. For the same reason that you gave with regard to your other brickyards ?—Yes.

15,229. But will the Manchester union allow the Ashton men to carry out that notice ?—No ; not without some trouble, I daresay.

15,230. Then at present it is simply a notice ?—At present it is simply a notice.

15,231. For what time is the notice given ?—October is the time.

15,232. Next October ?—Yes.

15,233. Do you remember in the year 1865 cutting the main sewer in Gorton ?—Yes.

15,234. How far is that from Manchester ?—About a mile and a half or two miles perhaps.

15,235. Were you able to get the bricks for that work in the Manchester district ?—No.

15,236. Then what did you do in consequence ?—We went to Ashton for them ; to Guide Bridge, about a mile from Ashton.

15,237. Did you order any bricks there ?—We had ordered the bricks to be made in Manchester, but we did not want to wait for them, so we got some ready made in Ashton, or Guide Bridge.

15,238. You had already ordered some bricks ?—Yes.

15,239. And then not being able to get those you went to Guide Bridge ?—Yes.

15,240. Was that to Mr. Harrison ?—Yes.

15,241. Do you remember upon that whether any of the Manchester union men came to you ?—Yes, when we had got 5,000 bricks upon the ground.

15,242. When you had got 5,000 bricks from Mr. Harrison on the ground one of the Manchester union men came to you ?—Yes.

15,243. Who was that ?—One was a man of the name of May Holland.

15,244. Did he come by himself ?—I believe there was another man with him.

15,245. Did you see them ?—I did not see them myself.

15,246. Who did see them ?—My partner saw them.

15,247. Do you know from your partner what it was that was said ?—He said we must not use these bricks.

15,248. What did you do upon that ?—We had to stop the job till the new bricks were made in Manchester.

15,249. Did he tell you that you must order some more bricks from Manchester ?—We had ordered the bricks, and then we should have had to wait about

THIRTEENTH DAY.

Mr. F. Bagulay.

19 Sept. 1867.

five weeks for them, and we got them in order to commence. He told us that we must not use those bricks at all.

15,250. Did he tell you what would be the consequence if you did use the bricks?—I do not know that there was any threat at all.

15,251. After waiting some time did you get the Manchester bricks?—Yes, we did.

15,252. Were you then allowed to use those bricks?—They would not let us use those bricks which we got in Manchester till we carted the others away.

15,253. Had you to cart them back again to the Ashton-under-Lyne district?—Yes.

15,254. Out of the Manchester district altogether?—Yes.

15,255. Do you remember in 1866 having in your employ a brickburner of the name of John Lonsdale?—Yes.

15,256. Was he a good workman and a trustworthy man?—Very good.

15,257. What was his duty?—His duty was to burn the bricks, and to look after the yard in our absence; to count out and sell the bricks.

15,258. In which of your yards was he working?—In the one in Manchester.

15,259. Is he a member of the Ashton union?—He is a member of the Ashton union and of the Manchester union as well.

15,260. He is a member of both unions?—Yes, I believe so.

15,261. Had you any communication with the Manchester union in respect of that man?—No.

15,262. They went to the workman, to Lonsdale?—Yes.

15,263. Do you know what they said to him?—They said that he must not have that job.

15,264. Did they tell him why?—Well, I cannot say, I am sure.

15,265. Did he leave?—He did leave.

15,266. Of his own accord?—He left because he knew he must leave.

15,267. Did you discharge him?—We kept him on at other work.

15,268. Did they send any man in his place?—We got another man in his place, a stranger to us.

15,269. Was he sent by the union?—Yes.

15,270. Is his name Job Eccleston?—No; Job Eccleston was moulding the bricks that this man was to burn, and he was the man sent by the union to tell him he must not work.

15,271. In August this year had you a letter from the secretary of the Ashton-under-Lyne Operative Brickmakers' Union?—Yes.

15,272. Was his name Charles Smith?—Yes.

15,273. I believe the object of that letter was to tell you that the two yards which you have mentioned would be put in the Ashton-under-Lyne District?—Yes.

15,274. Did you send an answer to that letter?—Yes.

15,275. I think you said that you did not see by what means they could prevent the Manchester brickmakers from monopolising the trade of Manchester?—Yes.

15,276. I believe the result of what has taken place has been a very heavy loss to you?—Yes.

15,277. And if this notice is carried out I think you have told me that the loss will be still heavier?—It will be a very great loss indeed if we have to keep all those bricks in stock.

15,278. Have you ever had any damage done to your property?—Yes, we had about 40,000 bricks spoiled in 1863, I believe.

15,279. In which of your yard was that?—In one of the yards in Manchester.

15,280. Were they spoiled by being trampled upon?—No, it was very wet weather, and all the walls were thrown down; they were all in walls.

15,281. How many men do you suppose would be engaged in such a work as that?—Two or three men might have done it in the course of a couple of hours.

15,282. Had you any watchman on the premises?—No.

15,283. Have you any reason to know who has done it?—No.

15,284. Do you know of any cause why that damage should have been done to you?—Only that we had been carting bricks out of the Ashton union. The best bricks which we only made then in Ashton we had been carting into the Manchester union.

15,285. Is that the only reason which you can assign for this damage having been done to you?—It is.

15,286. Carting bricks against the rules of the Manchester union?—Yes.

15,287. You always employed union men?—Always.

15,288. Is it your belief then that the damage was done by union men belonging to Manchester?—Well, we cannot see any other party that should do it for we have never had any dispute with anyone except this boundary dispute.

15,289. You had no private quarrel with any of your workmen, or with anybody else?—None at all.

15,290. Is there any other occasion on which any damage has been done to your property?—I believe not.

15,291. I think you stated before that no threat had been used to you?—No.

15,292. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Did you say that the union sent you another man in the place of John Lonsdale?—We got one recommended. They could not employ the man, but they recommended a man.

15,293. And I suppose that if you had not taken their recommendation something disagreeable would have happened?—Well, I do not know that it would. If we could have found a man in their union it would have been agreeable for them no doubt.

15,294. You might have taken any union man I suppose;—Yes, any Manchester union man.

15,295. You tell me you have never, so to say, fought the union at all?—Not at all.

15,296. And yet you have suffered all this loss of which you have told us?—Yes.

15,297. You seem to have been quite as badly off as if you had fought with them?—Well, I do not think quite as bad.

15,298. In what respect would you have been worse off if you had fought with them?—Well, we might perhaps have been in some personal danger if we had had a fight with them.

15,299. You really think your would have been in some personal danger?—Well, we might have been if we had a fight.

15,300. Was that an apprehension on your mind that you would suffer some personal injury?—We have always tried to be conciliatory with them and to do as they told us.

15,301. But was it for your own interest or for fear of the consequences?—Well, the consequences as much as anything.

15,302. (*Chairman.*) Can you mention the names of anybody who came—was George Knight one of the men who came to your partner?—I am not aware that he was.

The witness withdrew.

Captain William Charles Sylvester sworn and examined.

15,303. (*Chairman.*) Are you in any employment?—I am chief constable of the borough of Salford.

15,304. Were you in court yesterday when the boy Charles Johnson came?—I was.

15,305. Were you present when Williams the detective spoke to him?—I was present when superintendent Williams spoke to him.

15,306. Will you be kind enough to tell us, if you recollect, what passed?—Mr. Williams asked him if he knew what he had come for. He said "No." Williams then said, "Do you not remember seeing me on the brickcroft?" In reply the boy said, "Yes." Williams asked him if he remembered what he had told him, and in reply the boy said, "Yes." Williams said, "Is that so?" The boy said, "Yes." Mr. Williams then took out a pocket-book, and said, "See, it is written down here, you may look at it if you like." I then asked the boy if he had seen Mannering and Kay together. I said, "You saw Mannering and Kay together I think?" Those were the words I used, and he said, "Yes." Mr. Williams then served him with a summons to appear here to-day, at the same time telling him that he would be required.

15,307. That took place in this court yesterday afternoon after the Court was adjourned?—In this court immediately after the adjournment of the Court.

15,308. That was pretty well all that passed?—That was all I heard.

The witness withdrew.

John Kettle sworn and examined.

J. Kettle.

15,309. (*Chairman.*) I believe you were foreman to the late Mr. Bramall?—Yes.

15,310. He was the contractor for these courts, was he not?—Yes, and the county gaol also.

15,311. We understand that there was a strike there?—Yes.

15,312. In what year was that?—The 11th of April 1864.

15,313. Just mention shortly the circumstances connected with that strike—did the bricklayers' labourers first strike?—They did.

15,314. And after that did the bricklayers themselves strike?—Yes, the bricklayers were knocked idle through the labourers striking.

15,315. Did the joiners also go with them soon after?—In a while after they did.

15,316. The labourers of the bricklayers first struck, then the bricklayers were idle and they struck, and afterwards the joiners struck. Was that so?—Yes.

15,317. That you say was in the year 1864?—Yes.

15,318. Were the places of those men filled up with any other persons?—They were filled up with non-society men.

15,319. Were those men who struck all union men?—Yes.

15,320. Then what happened? You employed, you say, other hands who were non-union men?—Yes, with the exception of three. There were three that were on the work before the strike, the society objected to give them turn-out pay, and because they would not give them turn out pay, they came back to work against the society.

15,321. What were the names of those three?—Thomas Wilfred, William Ratcliffe, and Samuel Upton.

15,322. After that were your works picketed at all?—Yes, they were picketed by the joiners and the bricklayers and the labourers.

15,323. Did those men who picketed the works belong to any union or to more than one union?—There were three separate unions; the joiners' union, the bricklayers' union, and the labourers' union.

15,324. Those three unions joined together in sending men to picket your men at work?—Yes.

15,325. Are all those three unions in Manchester?—Yes.

15,326. Were the men who were at work exposed to any insult or outrage, or anything of the kind, while they were at work?—On the 23rd of May, about 10 minutes past 8, on their road home from their work, those three bricklayers whose names I have mentioned, along with some others, were going along the road and they were waylaid.

15,327. Do you remember where it was?—It was this side of the railway arch in Ducie Street.

15,328. What happened?—The labourers, I believe the chief of them were bricklayers' labourers——

15,329. The men who were attacking, or the men who received the attack?—The labourers who attacked those men. They were armed with soda-water bottles and sticks, and one of them was armed with an iron bar about 14 or 15 inches long, with a screw or knob at the end.

15,330. Of how many did the attacking party consist?—There were about six or eight of them I should think, and they ill-used one of the men of the name of Wilfred very badly. They had to get an adjournment before the magistrates on account that he was not fit to be brought into court.

15,331. Then I gather from that that somebody was taken up for this assault?—Yes.

15,332. Who was taken up?—John Nolan and Thomas Daly.

15,333. Was it as they were going home from their work in the evening that they were attacked?—Yes.

15,334. Then you say Nolan and Daly were apprehended?—Yes.

15,335. Were they committed for trial?—They were committed for the sessions.

15,336. And when it came on were the witnesses forthcoming?—No.

15,337. The witnesses were out of the way, were they?—The main witness, that was Wilfred, was taken up to London by the society belonging to the bricklayers.

15,338. He was got out of the way, was he?—He was got out of the way; he was taken up to London.

15,339. From whom did you get information as to that, because I suppose you do not know it of your own knowledge?—I had it no longer since than yesterday from the man that took one of them.

15,340. What was the name of that man?—Richard Coppock.

15,341. Is he a bricklayers' unionist?—Yes.

15,342. Then he told you that he had taken Wilfred up to London?—I saw him and I asked him what he was summoned for. He told me he was summoned on account of taking Wilfred out of the way from prosecuting Nolan. He said, "Of course I acknowledge "I did take him, and I will speak the truth when I "am brought up."

15,343. Had you a bricklayer of the name of Benjamin Bradburn working with you?—Yes.

15,344. He was a bricklayer, was he?—Yes.

15,345. Was he assaulted?—He was assaulted in Deansgate.

15,346. Do you remember when that was?—It was about February 1865.

15,347. The other was in May 1864, I think?—The other was in May 1864.

15,348. Was anybody taken up for that?—Yes, there were three taken up.

15,349. Was anyone convicted for it?—I think they all three got two months each.

15,350. Do you know the names of the three?—I do not.

15,351. Do you know a joiner of the name of Mills?—Yes.

15,352. Was he assaulted?—He was, I believe, but I did not take any interest in that, as he was not working under me.

THIRTEENTH DAY.

J. Kettle.

19 Sept. 1867.

15,353. As he was not working under you, your attention was not so much called to it?—No.

15,354. Have you ever received any threats of violence to yourself?—Yes.

15,355. Who communicated the threats to you?—One of the society of bricklayers.

15,356. What is his name?—Gomer Roberts.

15,357. Is he a member of the bricklayers' society?—Yes.

15,358. When was this?—I have not got the dates.

15,359. But was it in 1864 or 1865 when he told you?—It is not above six months since.

15,360. About six months ago Gomer Roberts told you of some threats of violence towards yourself, is that so?—Yes.

15,361. Who is Gomer Roberts?—He is a bricklayer.

15,362. He is a member of the bricklayers' union?—Yes.

15,363. But what is it that he told you?—He told me that a certain party when he was on the committee proposed to go and shoot me, or to blow the house up, or something to that effect.

15,364. At the bricklayers' committee?—Yes, at the bricklayers' committee or the executive; I cannot say which of them.

15,365. He told you that when he was on the bricklayers' committee, a certain party proposed to shoot you?—Yes, or to blow the house up.

15,366. Do I understand you to say that he told you that as having been proposed at the committee?—Yes, and one of the bricklayers I believe, left the chair. They said if anything of that kind was proposed they would not sit there.

15,367. What was the name of the chairman?—I could not tell, but perhaps he is summoned. I did not make any mention of that when I was called up to London, but the Sunday after I came back I happened to light on Gomer Roberts again. He was rather fresh in drink the first day, so I asked him if he remembered telling me. He said "Did I tell you?" I said "Yes." "Well," he said, "if I told you it "was truth," and he acknowledged to it yesterday when I was speaking to him outside.

15,368. Did he mention the name of the chairman?—No, he did not mention the name of the chairman, but he mentioned the name of another that was there as well as he.

15,369. Who was that?—James Toole.

15,370. Do you know from your brother whether any threats of violence have been offered to him?—My brother was working at Northwich and one went over there and made it his business to see him, and told him, as private information, that he had it on good authority that they intended to shoot me.

15,371. Do you know the name of the man who is said to have told your brother that?—Yes.

15,372. What is his name?—John Hamlett.

15,373. Do you know a person of the name of Zachariah Evans?—Yes.

15,374. Do you know a person of the name of Richard Wright?—Yes.

15,375. Are they union men?—Yes.

15,376. To what union do they belong?—The bricklayers'.

15,377. Have they told you anything at all about the minute books of that society?—Yes.

15,378. What did they tell you?—That they were destroyed.

15,379. That the minute books of the bricklayers society were destroyed?—Yes.

15,380. When did they tell you that?—It will be about a month or five weeks ago.

15,381. Did they say by whom the books had been destroyed?—Yes.

15,382. By whom did they say they had been destroyed?—George Barton and Henry Davies.

15,383. Are they bricklayers?—Yes.

15,384. Are you using machine-made bricks at the gaol?—Yes.

15,385. Have attempts been made by anybody to prevent you getting any bricks?—Yes, I have connexion with nine houses with another man separate from the gaol for which we purchased 220,000 bricks from Mr. Pimlet.

15,386. That other person with whom you are a partner is a person of the name of Brady, is he not?—Yes, John Brady.

15,387. You are engaged with him in building some houses in Stock Street?—Yes.

15,388. Is that in Cheetham?—Yes.

15,389, Did you then together buy these 220,000 bricks?—Mr. Brady attended and bought them.

15,390. It is a partnership concern?—Yes.

15,391. Did you pay any deposit?—Yes, 50*l.*

15,392. And how many of those 220,000 bricks were delivered?—They delivered about 11,000.

13,393. After having delivered 11,000 what happened?—James Kay went to the job and asked the man that had charge of excavating the houses if that was the job that I was connected with. He said, "No, I think it is Brady." So he knew by that that of course they were the right houses. He went straight back to Pimlet's croft. The cart was part loaded, and he made them empty the bricks out of the cart.

15,394. And have you been able to get any more than 11,000 out of the 220,000?—We had to serve them with an attorney's letter. Mr. Pimlet then put himself in communication to see if they would allow him to deliver the bricks according to contract. They would not allow him, and he had to send the bricks in opposition to the brickmakers. Last Friday morning he started to deliver again. He has delivered up to the day before yesterday altogether about 29,500 bricks.

15,395. When was this contract made to deliver those bricks?—On the 13th of July last.

15,396. And you have had 29,500 out of the 220,000?—Yes.

15,397. If there had not been this sort of obstacle in the way, how many ought to have been delivered by this time?—He was to deliver them on the ground so that we could use them in three months.

15,398. At stated intervals and in stated quantities?—As we required.

15,399. Should you have got more by this time if it had not been for these obstacles?—Yes, we should have had at least 150,000 on the ground by this time.

15,400. You would have had them if it had not been for what has happened?—But for the brickmakers stopping Mr. Pimlet from delivering the bricks.

15,401. Whereas you have only had 29,500?—Yes. We have had about 50,000 from different places to keep us going.

15,402. Have Pimlet's men struck work in consequence?—Yes, last Friday when he began to deliver the bricks again they all struck work.

15,403. Had they tried any other means to get you out of this place before they had recourse to threats and things of this description that you have mentioned?—Yes, they sent a deputation to Mr. Bramall.

15,404. You were his foreman?—Yes, I was his foreman. They sent word to him to say that he must discharge me, otherwise he would have no men belonging to the Manchester society.

15,405. Do you mean that the brickmakers' union men did that?—Yes.

15,406. They sent to Mr. Bramall the contractor to say that he must discharge you or else he should have no men from that society?—Yes.

15,407. The ground of your offence (though I think that is not so very much a question for us now) is appointing somebody to be leader of the gang?—Appointing a man to go before the rest.

15,408. The usual rule, I suppose, being that the senior man becomes the head man, and you appointed a man in whom you had confidence to be a leader of the gang?—They have no law, but it is only a custom.

15,409. But is that the practice which I have mentioned?—In some cases, but not in all.

15,410. You appointed a man to be a leader of the gang in whom you had confidence, and that was the ground of complaint?—That was the practice with the society.

15,411. Did they also go to the architect?—Yes, to Mr. Waterhouse.

15,412. The same union men?—I believe George Burton went to Mr. Waterhouse.

15,413. And they insisted that you should be removed?—Yes, and he lodged about seven or eight different complaints that I had given offence to the society, so that I had to go Mr. Waterhouse and to clear up to his satisfaction that they were a lot of falsehoods that they had told me.

15,414. And you did clear them up?—Yes, to his satisfaction.

15,415. You have mentioned different cases of assaults upon men and so on, and refusing to let you have your bricks. Is there any other means to which they have had recourse for the purpose of carrying out their objects?—Knowing that the dispute with me was with the bricklayers, two or three weeks ago I made an application to the bricklayers to know if they would allow their men to come and build, and to say that I would employ their men. The bricklayers had two or three meetings and they decided by a majority of two to one to open all the jobs in the town, and to allow all the men in the town to join if they thought proper. But then the brickmakers stepped in and they said that if they allowed those men to come in that had been using machine-made bricks, they would not let them have bricks. They must either throw me over or throw the brickmakers over.

15,416. The bricklayers had the choice of throwing you over or the brickmakers?—Yes.

15,417. And I suppose they threw you over?—Yes, they threw me over instead of the brickmakers.

15,418. Is Pimlet a brickmaker?—He is a contractor.

15,419. (*Mr. Chance.*) When your works were picketed by the joiners and bricklayers' labourers how many men were employed in picketing?—On some occasions there would be about four or five labourers, and there would be about 16 bricklayers, and about six or seven joiners.

15,420. So that there would be about 27 men altogether?—Yes.

15,421. Were they employed simply for the purpose of watching?—For the purpose of watching and preventing us from getting men.

15,422. Did they use any means of coercion or threats or annoyance in any way to prevent the men coming?—They went to the railway station, and if they saw anyone that was like a bricklayer they popped him into a cab and took him down to the club-house and offered him bribes not to work.

15,423. It was not merely to persuade people not to come?—No, they bribed them not to come.

15,424. The bricklayers work in gangs, do they not?—Yes.

15,425. Do they work one man after another?—That is the labourers. The man that goes forward is the principal man. He has to look round and see what the bricklayers require next, and whatever he tells them to bring they bring.

15,426. Is there any rule as to who is to be the first man?—No.

15,427. Have you ever heard of a rule amongst the labourers that the slowest man shall be the leader of the gang?—Well, it is to their advantage to have the slowest, because the slower he works the less they will have to work.

15,428. No doubt, but is that the fact?—No, it is generally the first man. It is left to him. If he is not competent it is left to the labourers to decide whether they will allow another. It is left to themselves.

15,429. It is an advantage of course to have a slow man, inasmuch as they do not do so much work?—They do not do so much work.

15,430. Is that a reason why they should choose the slowest man to be their leader?—They do not choose at all. It is the man who is generally first, if he works well they do not object to him, but if he goes too fast it is ten to one but they will shift him.

15,431. If he goes beyond what they consider to be the proper rate of work they will change him for somebody else?—Yes, if he goes too fast they will drive him away.

The witness withdrew.

BENJAMIN BRADBURN sworn and examined.

B. Bradburn.

15,432. (*Mr. Barstow.*) You are a bricklayer, I believe?—Yes.

15,433. Are you a member of any union?—No.

15,434. In February 1865, were you working at the new gaol here?—Yes.

15,435. Do you remember on the 22nd of February being in Deansgate?—Yes.

15,436. Was any one with you?—Yes.

15,437. Who were with you?—William Bradburn and Edward Dignam.

15,438. Were you assaulted there?—Yes.

15,439. Just tell us what happened?—It was on the 22nd of February. The weather was bad, and we could not work, and we went down Deansgate for a walk, me and William Bradburn, and Dignam. As we were going down three chaps met us, and called us knobsticks, and struck us and kicked us.

15,440. Did they knock you down?—Yes.

15,441. With what did they strike you?—With their hands and feet.

15,442. Were you knocked down?—No, not in Deansgate.

15,443. Did they use anything besides their hands and feet?—Yes, one drawed a knife.

15,444. What did he do with it?—He ran at me with the knife, and struck me, and I knocked his hand away, and got inside the house.

15,445. Were you hurt at all?—Not badly.

15,446. You had a few bruises?—Yes.

15,447. Whereabouts?—On my face.

15,448. Do you know whether the other men were hurt?—No, neither of them was hurt badly. They had just a knock or two.

15,449. Then those men were apprehended?—Yes.

15,450. Do you remember what their names were?—No, I do not know their names.

15,451. Should you know if you were to hear them?—Yes.

15,452. Was John Hughes one?—Yes, John Hughes was one.

15,453. Was Patrick Cooley one?—Patrick Cooley was another, and Sharn.

15,454. Where were they taken to, was it to the police court?—Yes.

15,455. Were they sentenced there, or were they sent to the sessions?—They were sentenced there.

15,456. Do you remember to what they were sentenced?—Two months each.

The witness withdrew.

THIRTEENTH DAY.

D. Callaghan.

19 Sept. 1867.

DANIEL CALLAGHAN sworn and examined.

15,457. (*Mr. Chance.*) Are you a bricklayer's labourer?—Yes.

15,458. Are you working on the new gaol now?—Yes.

15,459. In the year 1864 were you working for Mr. Bramall?—I had been; that was when I started with him.

15,460. Have you worked with him since?—I have been working there since.

15,461. Do you remember in August 1864 being attacked by any men?—Well, I cannot give you a proper account as to the date of the time, because I never expected that there would be such like inquiries made after that as what there has been.

15,462. But was it in the year 1864?—Yes.

15,463. Was that after the union men had gone out on strike?—Yes.

15,464. And you had taken the place of one of them?—No, they stopped me at my work.

15,465. Did you go to work?—They stopped me at the work that I had been at. I had been a union man myself belonging to this town. They stopped me at my work where I had been working.

15,466. Why did they stop you?—On account of the levy that had been put on. I refused paying the levy, and for that they stopped me at my work.

15,467. When was that?—In 1864.

15,468. That was before you engaged with Mr. Bramall?—Yes.

15,469. Then when you had engaged with Mr. Bramall you were no longer a member of the union?—No, they would not let me.

15,470. Do you remember at any time after you commenced working being attacked by any men?—I had been attaked at my work where I had been working when they stopped me.

15,471. Where was that?—I had been working for Mr. Griffiths and Mr. Johnston, in Rumford Street, out of Oxford Road, when the delegate belonging to the labourers, Johnny Nolan, came to me.

15,472. At this time you were a member of the union, you say?—I was a union man at the time.

15,473. Now tell us what took place?—Johnny Nolan came to me at the job where I was. There were five labourers besides me, and he inquired of every man for to show him the ticket. This ticket means that any man that has not it must not work; that is a ticket belonging to the union. It is like a token that a man is clear on the books, and that he can work anywhere where he can get work. So I had none. He inquired of every one before he came to me. I was slushing a load of lime about three yards off where they had been filling their hods, and this lime had been boiling in the hole the same as if it had been boiling on a fire. Every man passed on comfortable till he came to me. "Dan," he says, "where is your ticket?" I says, "I have none." "How is that?" he says. "Because I cannot afford to pay 2*s.* 3*d.* every Saturday night," says I. "What do you mean by the 2*s.* 3*d.*" says he. "I mean 1*s.* for the levy, and 1*s.* 3*d.* for a ticket," says I. "I cannot afford to pay that, and I will not pay it." Through that means he and me got into words over this levy, and he told me that he would put me into the boiling lime, where I suppose the hole would be 10 or 12 feet every way, and the lime boiled up, every lump as big as a little barrel. He ran at me to put me into it, but his father-in-law, who was a labourer working on the premises, and who stood there, got hold of him and took him away.

15,474. What was the name of the man who took him away?—That was his father-in-law. He was a labourer on the premises.

15,475. Did he do anything more to you on that occasion?—No, he did not, because his father-in-law took him away, and the week following he and some other men came and met the men that were working at this prison where I am working now, and through that means he got locked up, he and another man, and then he could not be delegate any longer, because he had been locked up. I had been turned over I expect to the bricklayers because of refusing to pay this levy, and the bricklayers' delegate had taken his place and his own. That was to answer for doing labourer's business and bricklayer's business at the same time.

15,476. What was he locked up for?—He was locked up for striking the men that worked at the gaol.

15,477. Did you see him do that?—No, I did not. I was at my work where I tell you. I had been at my work at the same place where I tell you, and he wanted to stop me.

15,478. You did not see that?—No, I did not.

15,479. I want to know what you can tell me?—I am just going to tell you if you will let me. I had been turned over to the bricklayers because he was locked up and could not get to stop me. So the bricklayers' delegate answered instead of him, and in a week after the bricklayers' delegate came to me.

15,480. Who was that?—Why Bill Arkwright. Bill Arkwright is a bricklayer and was a delegate for the bricklayers at the time he met me on the Monday on the Stockport road; we had not been working. He says "Dan, I have just been to your job." I said, "What did you go there for?" He said "I am going "to stop you. I got orders from the committee on Wednesday night to stop you." I said, "They are "not working. I expect they will be there to-mor-"row. You can come to-morrow, I will be there." Accordingly he did come on the Tuesday morning at breakfast time and stopped me, and so I told him I would not be stopped by him. He says, "You must stop." I says, "What will you stop me for?" and he said, "Because you have not paid the levy."

15,481. I think you are making rather too long a story. You have told us of one occasion when Nolan threatened to put you amongst the lime. Did he at at any time assault you or beat you?—Not at any other time; he has had no chance since.

15,482. Were you once attacked in the union club-house?—Yes, I was.

15,483. When was that?—That was afterwards when I was working here.

15,484. Who were the men who attacked you in the union club-house?—There was one man, I cannot think of his name now, though I know his name very well, and he got two months for it.

15,485. How many men were there?—There were five or six.

15,486. Why did they attack you?—For just going on.

15,487. That was after you had been working here?—That was when I had been working here.

15,488. Then did you go to get summonses for those men?—Yes.

15,489. When you went to get summonses were you attacked then?—Yes, I have been attacked after that.

15,490. Who attacked you when you went to get the summonses?—The picket that was on here watched me when I went to get the summons. I had been late the morning before, and so I went time enough and they watched me into Bridge Street.

15,491. Who were they?—One man was named Johnny Riley who was on picket here.

15,492. Was John Murray one?—Murray was the man that I was going to get a summons for. He was in the club room and came downstairs hearing that I was downstairs standing at the bar the same as I stand here. He never spoke to me while he called for a glass of ale and paid the halfpence for it, and so soon as he took it off the counter he throwed the ale in my face and said, "You damned knobstick, what do you come here at all for?"

15,493. Did anybody else do anything to you?—Yes, while I wiped this off my face everybody had a clout and a thump at me. I could not see them because my eyes got filled with it, and I got shoved out by my wife.

15,494. Did Patrick Toolan do anything to you?—That was the week following. They nearly killed me five of them, they nearly kicked the teeth out of my head.

15,495. You say that Murray and some others assaulted you in the club-house?—Yes.

15,496. Did you then go and get summonses for that assault?—Yes I did.

15,497. Against whom did you get summonses?—I got one for one man that did not belong to the club at all. He was a factory man.

15,498. Who was he?—I cannot call his name into my mind now.

15,499. Who else was there?—This man got two months that I am telling you about, but I cannot tell you his name, and Murray was bound over to keep the peace.

15,500. Did anybody else go up with Murray?—There was a man named Riley that went up with him.

15,501. You got summonses against them?—Yes, Riley got off. I asked the magistrates as much as I could for him because he was a man with a very heavy young family, and I did not want to do anything to him.

15,502. Murray was bound over?—Murray was bound over to keep the peace.

15,503. When you went to get those summonses for those men were you again assaulted?—This was the second attack which was made upon me.

15,504. But you told us just now that you got a summons for him when he attacked you in this club-house, when he threw the beer in your face?—Yes.

15,505. Was that the occasion when you got a summons against him?—That was the occasion when I got a summons against him.

15,506. Were you attacked afterwards when you went to get the summonses for that?—Not by that party.

15,507. By any party?—After that I have been attacked by a man named Brennan.

15,508. How long was that afterwards?—That was twelve months afterwards.

15,509. What did you do?—I was going to the market with my wife and the man that used to lodge with me, and I stood facing the "Gate and Goose," at the Cross——

15,510. Never mind all the particulars, but did Brennan on that occasion assault you?—Brennan comes up to me and another man, and he gets hold of me by the handkerchief, and he said, "You damned "knobstick, why do you stand before a man on the "causeway? Shift off the causeway, and do not stand "before a man on the causeway. If it was not that "the policeman stands so near you I would have your "life." A policeman stood about ten yards off at the time, and I do not think I was above 100 yards from the police station.

15,511. Was Brennan a union man?—Yes, he was.

15,512. Have there been any other occasions when you have been beaten or assaulted by union men in any way?—No, there have not.

15,513. Only on those occasions of which you have told me?—Yes.

15,514. Have you been called names and abused?—Yes, I cannot walk the streets for them at the present day no more than then. I dare not go anywhere where they are.

15,515. Then you said just now that your teeth had been knocked out?—Yes, they had.

15,516. When was it that that was done to you?—At the time that I got those men fined. They paid one of their passages to America, and the other went down to the county of Durham.

15,517. When you went to get those warrants they did attack you then?—They did.

15,518. Who were the men who attacked you then?—Well, one man is of the name of John Kelly. They paid his passage to America.

15,519. Tell us first the names of the men who attacked you?—Kelly was one, and another man of the name of Toolin and this Riley that I begged of the magistrates to do nothing to on account of his family. That was three and how many more I cannot tell, because they knocked me out of sense and reason altogether on the floor.

15,520. You got warrants against those men?—I did.

15,521. What was done to them?—They paid one of the passages to America and the other went from here to the county of Durham, and was never seen till about two months ago I saw Toolin in this town.

15,522. Who went to America?—John Kelly.

15,523. What became of Toolin?—He has not been seen in the town to my knowledge till within about these last two or three months.

15,524. And Riley you say you begged off?—Yes.

15,525. How did you know that this man went to America?—I was told by their parents. Their parents did not live above 400 or 500 yards off where Kay lived. They told me that their passage was paid to America the very same week, not above three days after I got the warrant for them.

15,526. And Riley, you say, you begged off?—Yes.

15,527. Are these the only occasions on which you have been beaten?—Those are the occasions on which I have been beaten.

15,528. (*Chairman.*) Where was it that this assault was committed in which your teeth were knocked out and your eye injured?—At the end of the street where I lived.

15,529. What is the name of the street?—Agnes Street.

15,530. Was it in the street?—No, it was in a beer-shop.

15,531. At what time of the day was it?—About 12 o'clock, as near as I can tell.

15,532. You went into the beershop. Had you then applied for warrants or were you going to apply for them?—I had been going for a summons for this Murray.

15,533. You had been going for a summons for Murray, and then as you came back did you go into the beershop?—No; I had been going for the summons for Murray, and those men met me and seduced me not to get a summons for him. They begged me to get none for him because of his being a widow's son.

15,534. You were going for a summons against Murray?—Yes.

15,535. Then which of them came up to you and begged you not to do so?—This man that was on picket here, Johnny Riley.

15,536. Who else?—Nobody else.

15,537. Then Riley came up to you and persuaded you in the beerhouse?—He persuaded me in Bridge Street.

15,538. He persuaded you in Bridge Street, and then you went to the beerhouse in Agnes Street?—Yes, we stopped about an hour, him and me, and then I said, "It is too late to go to work now, I will go home to dinner."

15,539. You stopped with him in Bridge Street and then you went to Agnes Street?—Yes.

15,540. To a beerhouse there?—Yes, and we met those other men.

15,541. How many men went in together?—I dare say about five.

15,542. Did you know the other four?—I knew every one of them that was in the house.

15,543. Did you know the other men who went into the beerhouse with you?—Yes.

15,544. Can you tell me the names of those four men who went into the beerhouse with you?—Riley was one.

15,545. Was Kelly another?—Kelly was another.

15,546. Was Toolin another?—Toolin was another.

15,547. There is only one more?—I cannot think of the other man's name.

THIRTEENTH DAY.

D. Callaghan.

19 Sept. 1867.

15,548. Do you know the name of the public-house?—I know the man's name that keeps it.

15,549. What is it?—Johnny McCaul.

15,550. Were there any people in the room besides you?—There was a man and his wife at the time we went in; it was in the kitchen we sat.

15,551. How long was it before they began this assault upon you?—Well, we played cards for two quarts of ale, and after that they started.

15,552. What did they do; where were you seized first?—The landlord and me had not been good friends because I did not go there two years before then, and this was the start of it. He and I started arguing, so I got up to go out because I judged something was going wrong, and as soon as I stood upon the floor I was struck with a quart jug on the head by Kelly, just here (*describing the same*).

15,553. Did that knock you down?—No, that did not.

15,554. Upon that what else was done?—He struck me a bit higher up with a glass.

15,555. Who did that?—The same man.

15,556. Did it break the glass?—Yes.

15,557. Did that cause blood to come?—Yes, it did, it covered me all over with blood.

15,558. What was the next thing which happened?—It knocked me down on the floor.

15,559. That blow knocked you down?—That glass knocked me down.

15,560. You being on the floor what happened when you were on the floor?—Well, I got hold of Kelly by the leg as quick as I could because I was doubtful of his kicking my face and I stuck to him until they nearly broke my fingers to get them loose.

15,561. Did they seize your fingers?—They seized my fingers and bent them back to get them loose from Kelly's legs and during that time I could not tell who they were that were kicking me, because they were kicking me everywhere.

15,562. Were you kicked on the head?—Yes; you can see the mark from there right into my eye (*pointing out the same.*) They kicked my teeth out of my mouth.

15,563. And they were all at you in this way?—Yes, they were.

15,564. And did they beat you with any stick, or was it simply kicking?—Kicking. They struck me with nothing only the gill glass and the jug.

15,565. Then did you manage to get up after a bit?—The landlord of the house and his wife went out altogether from the house and left them and me to it. My wife came in and I was sitting on the floor and I do not know which way I got up.

15,566. Had they gone?—They had gone everyone.

15,567. Then I suppose your wife took you home?—Yes, my wife and another man took me home. That was Riley, the man that I went with from Deansgate.

15,568. Did you suffer a great deal of pain?—I did suffer a great deal of pain. I was about a month off my work, and when I came to work I could not stop; when I did stop I would be ready to fall upon my face.

15,569. Did you lay any information against them?—I did, I got warrants for them for that lot.

15,570. Then before Kelly could be apprehended I understood you to say that he was taken off to America?—Yes, he was.

15,571. So that he was never apprehended?—No, he was not.

15,572. Toolin you say went away?—Yes.

15,573. And you have never seen him until very lately?—I have never seen him until very lately.

15,574. Did you ever do anything against Riley?—No, he and his brother came to the house at different times to make a settlement with me and I told him that I wanted to do nothing against him any further than this, that I settle with him till the case was heard because I said it might be a bit of a hindrance in the other men's cases if I settled with him.

15,575. Are you sure that Riley had been one of those who kicked you?—I am confident sure that Riley kicked me as well as the others.

15,576. Did you then, having come to no settlement with him, take out a warrant against him?—I got one warrant for the three.

15,577. Then you could not serve it upon Kelly because he made off, as also did Toolin; but was the warrant served on Riley, and was he apprehended?—No.

15,578. What became of him?—When I would not settle with him, Riley went and got an attorney, and and he was there on the court day; he gave himself up; he was not apprehended.

15,579. Being in court, and having given himself up, what became of him?—As I told you, I told the magistrate I did not want to hurt Riley at all, because his family were very young, and he had nobody to give any assistance except himself, and by that means I expect they let him off.

15,580. How many children had Riley?—I cannot say.

15,581. But he had a young family?—He had a young family.

15,582. Then there is no other reason that you know of for their having made this violent assault upon you, except that you were a non-union man?—There was no other reason in the world, except that I came to work at the gaol.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. G. H. Carr.

Mr. George Henry Carr sworn and examined.

15,583. (*Chairman.*) Are you a railway clerk?—No.

15,584. What are you now?—At the present moment I am out of a situation.

15,585. Have you been a railway clerk?—I have.

15,586. Where were you last?—I was last with the Detroit and Milwaukie Railway Company, in the United States of America.

15,587. How long is it since you came back from America?—I left there on the 6th of April.

15,588. Have you been a railway clerk in this country?—Yes.

15,589. With what railway?—I have been with the Lancashire and Yorkshire, I have been with the Great Western, and I have been with the Manchester South Junction and Altrincham Railway.

15,590. Do you remember, in May 1864, seeing an assault committed?—I cannot tell you as to the dates, but I recollect seeing an assault committed in Strangeways.

15,591. Do you remember who committed it; was Nolan one?—Yes.

15,592. And was Toolin another?—He was another.

15,593. Were there others committing an assault? There were others there.

15,594. Do you remember upon whom the assault was committed?—Of course I heard the name afterwards; I did not know the man at the time; his name was Wilfred.

15,595. Were they Wilfred, Ashton, and Ratcliffe?—I cannot say who the three men were, but I saw one man attacked.

15,596. But can you say whether three men were assaulted?—I cannot.

15,597. Was there more than one assaulted?—I cannot say, because my attention was taken by the man who was worst hurt. I saw the parties attack this Wilfred; I was on the opposite side of the street.

15,598. Where was it that the assault took place?—It was opposite what was Birch's beerhouse at that time.

15,599. In what street?—In this street here—in Great Ducie Street you may call it. It was close to the railway arch.

15,600. Then you saw Nolan and Daly and some others attack somebody else?—Yes.

15,601. And this man whom they attacked was a man named Wilfred?—Yes, I found out that afterwards.

15,602. Did you notice whether there was more than one man attacked or not?—I did not.

15,603. What did you see them do to Wilfred?—I saw them strike him. One man pulled out a sort of life-preserver, as I thought, out of his pocket and struck Wilfred on the head with it.

15,604. Was it a wooden thing with a knob at the end?—No, it was just in the form of a life-preserver.

15,605. Do you remember which of those men whose names you have mentioned pulled it out?—Well, I believe it was Nolan.

15,606. And he struck Wilfred on the head?—Yes.

15,607. What was the effect of the blow—did it knock him down?—Yes, it knocked him down.

15,608. Did you see anything else done to Wilfred at the time?—I saw him kicked and abused by several parties whom I could not recognize.

15,609. You saw him kicked and abused by several parties?—Yes.

15,610. Was this in the evening?—This was in the evening. I had finished my work at night.

15,610*a*. Was it dark?—No, I should think it would be about a quarter past six, or something like that. I was going down smoking my pipe after I had had my tea.

15,611. You saw several persons kicking him on the ground?—Yes, they came out of the small street there previous to coming to the railway arch, and they seemed to attack him just at the point where this public-house is, and they seemed to spring upon him there. I was walking down on the other side of the street, the fishmarket side of the street, and of course, naturally seeing the man abused by a great many I rushed as I thought to his rescue, and got knocked down. I caught hold of one man.

15,612. Did you get knocked down?—Yes.

15,613. With a stick?—No, it was a sort of trip. I caught hold of one of the men that had got hold of Wilfred at the time, as I thought, to apprehend him, and he tripped me in some way and got away.

15,614. You do not know the name of the man that you got hold of?—No, I have not the slightest idea of who he was.

15,615. Did they get away then?—Yes.

15,616. I believe you were examined before the magistrates, were you not?—Yes, I was examined in the first place before, I did not know who it was, it was at the Salford New Bailey.

15,617. And I believe at that time you were able to swear to Nolan?—Yes I was.

15,618. Could you swear to Daly too?—No.

15,619. Was he in custody at that time?—Yes, but I swore to Nolan and not to Daly.

15,620. After you had given that evidence before the magistrate were you dogged about by anybody?—I was.

15,621. By whom?—I cannot tell you, but I fancied there were certain parties watching me. I never could go out at night, and I did not consider myself safe. Whether it was imagination or not I cannot say, but that was my impression, because Nolan being as one might term it the head centre of the bricklayers.

15,622. He was one of the delegates, I believe?—I do not know what position he had, but I found out afterwards that he was as we may take it the head centre of the body and the union of bricklayers, so that I felt frightened of going out, and I thought I might have imagined it. Of course when I was walking along the road I turned round and I saw some one dogging me, though I might think they were doing so when they were not.

15,623. But you did think so?—I did.

15,624. How long did you consider this went on?—I considered it went on as I imagined until the time that I went to sign my depositions.

15,625. But how long was that?—I cannot say; I suppose it was about seven days from the first time that I went down to the court in Salford.

15,626. After that did you receive some information that you were to meet some one at the station?—I did.

15,627. Some friend, I believe, told you to meet two men in Strangeways?—Not a friend of mine; it was a friend of my brother. I had told my brother; my brother was then a railway clerk as he is now, and this was a friend of my brother. He is only a young man, and you must imagine, I being 10 or 11 years older, did not, as it were, recognize him. I spoke to him, and all that sort of thing, but he was not a companion of mine.

15,628. You mean this friend of your brother's?—Yes; my brother is about 10 years younger than I am.

15,629. What is his name?—His name is William Greenwood.

15,630. Did he tell you to meet two men in Strangeways?—He told me to meet two men in Strangeways.

15,631. Where is Strangeways?—That is Strangeways there in front of the assize courts.

15,632. When were you to meet them?—I was to meet them in the evening.

15,633. At what place?—At the shop just before you get to the "Ducie Arms."

15,634. What sort of a shop was it?—Well, it is a newspaper shop. Prince is the name of the man that keeps it now.

15,635. Did you go at the time appointed to meet them?—I did.

15,636. About what was the time appointed to meet them?—Just as you say; it was about——

15,637. But about what?—To the best of my recollection, I cannot tell exactly, but it might be between seven and eight, or somewhere about that time.

15,638. Did you meet two men there?—Of course I did.

15,639. Do you know who the men were?—I did not know them by name, because I had never met the men before.

15,640. But you might have learned the men's names afterwards as you did Wilfred's?—I did not.

15,641. You do not know their names now?—I do not. I believe one of the names was Ken, or some such name.

15,642. Some name like Ken or Kelly?—Yes; as I said the other day.

15,643. Never mind that; what passed between you and these two men?—In the first place we went in, and I believe it was the "Ducie Arms," that was adjacent in fact, the next place; we went in there and they put before me the true case about this man being assaulted. Of course, I being a non-union man, I did not understand at all about the union. They put it before me and told me to swerve in my evidence if I possibly could.

15,644. What did they put before you; did they say anything about the unionists doing you an injury if you did not?—No, not at all, they just put the facts of the matter before me.

15,645. What were the facts of the matter which they put before you?—I will tell you the facts that they put before me. The facts that they put before me were these: "This man Wilfred that had been "assaulted, we have tried to entice away from the "gaol, and we gave him 2*l.* to go away from the gaol, "and not work there, and he in spite of our teeth "after receiving the 2*l.*, goes and works there again. "We go there again and offer him more money, of an "amount I cannot tell you, and he goes there and "works again." Well, then, as a final affair they go in and offer him, I do not know the amount. They say, "We will pay your railway fare to Leamington "or anywhere you like to go to, and give you a card

THIRTEENTH DAY.

Mr. G. H. Carr.

19 Sept. 1867.

"so that you can go and commence work, if you will "only leave this job." He agreed to those terms and received the money, and then went and started at work here. They told me that that was the reason that they had assaulted him, or at least that he had been assaulted; of course not that they had assaulted him.

15,646. And then?—And then what?

15,647. What did they propose that you should do. You said just now that they proposed that you should swerve in your evidence?—Yes.

15,648. Did they propose that?—Well, one of them said that I ought to swerve in my evidence on that account.

15,649. Did you agree with them to swerve in your evidence?—I did not.

15,650. What did you say in answer to that proposition?—Well, the answer I gave them was that I wished I was out of the mess.

15,651. But did you say nothing at all as to whether you would or would not comply with their request?—I did not.

15,652. Did they say that they were afraid that some of the union men might do you an injury if you came forward and gave evidence?—No.

15,653. Nothing of the sort?—Nothing of the sort, there was no intimidation used to me at all.

15,654. But was there persuasion?—Most decidedly there was persuasion.

15,655. To do what?—For me to swerve in my evidence.

15,656. Did it persuade you?—No, it did not.

15,657. Did you say what you would do in any way whatever?—I did not say what I would do at all, though I felt in my own mind afterwards. This was after the first time that I had been up before the magistrates, this case that you mentioned about my meeting those two men there. I think I was up there four times; three times before I signed my depositions.

15,658. This took place before you signed your depositions?—Yes, of course that took place before I signed my depositions. But then I was up there four days, three days before I signed my depositions, and this took place before then.

15,659. What did you agree to do?—I did not agree to do anything at all.

15,660. Did you leave them under the impression that you were going to say the same thing as you said before, or that there was to be any difference?—The time that you mentioned just now when I went into the "Ducie Arms" and had a glass of something to drink, I did not leave them with any impression that I was going to swerve at all in my evidence.

15,661. Having finished that, tell me what day did you afterwards go to sign your deposition?—Well, I cannot tell you the day.

15,662. Did you after this go to sign your deposition?—Most decidedly. I went two days after the first meeting with those two men.

15,663. Did you go with your father?—I did. I went on the day that I had to sign my deposition.

15,664. As you were going with your father did you meet one of those men that you had met before, Ken or Kelly, or whatever his name was?—Yes.

15,665. And anybody else with him?—Well, I forget. I think there was some one with him, but I cannot say positively.

15,666. Did you go with him into any public-house?—I did.

15,667. And your father too?—Yes.

15,668. What public-house was it?—Well, I cannot tell you the name of it.

15,669. Where was it?—I can tell you where it was.

15,670. Where was it?—It was in Salford, right opposite the end of New Bailey Street; I believe it is the "Blue Bull" or the "Brown Bull," or something of that sort.

15,671. Did either of the men give your father any money; I believe they did.

15,672. How much?—10*l.*

15,673. Did he give you any out of it?—He did not give me a farthing.

15,674. Did you receive any money at all out of it?—I did not receive any money myself. I did not get any money myself, but of course it was tantamount to getting it myself.

15,675. After your father had got this 10*l.* did you go into court?—I did.

15,676. Were you sworn to give evidence?—I was sworn to give evidence.

15,677. Then in your evidence I believe you would not swear that Nolan was the man?—I would not swear that Nolan was the man. I said (as you will be able to tell if you have the depositions) that I believed he was the man, but I would not swear to him.

15,678. Although before you had sworn to him?—I had.

The witness withdrew.

W. Mills.

WILLIAM MILLS sworn and examined.

15,679. (*Mr. Barstow.*) You are a joiner, are you not?—Yes.

15,680. Are you a member of any union?—No.

15,681. In 1864 you were working as a joiner at these assize courts?—Yes.

15,682. Did you come here in consequence of the strike among the joiners who were previously employed?—No, I was working at Nottingham at the time, and saw an advertisement in the papers of men wanted in Manchester. I came here and engaged for six weeks. I got there in June 1864; on the Sunday I went out to get a glass of beer ——

15,683. You got there in June 1864?—Yes.

15,684. Were you employed on that day?—I was employed before I came here. I was engaged to come here.

15,685. Had you been at work in June 1864?—Yes.

15,686. How long had you been at work that day?—Before I came here I had been at work.

15,687. Had you been at work doing joiner's work at these assize courts before the day you speak of in June 1864?—No, not a minute.

15,688. How long had you been in the town?—As near as I can judge, about a fortnight.

15,689. Were you a fortnight in Manchester without doing any work here?—No, I was working at these courts.

15,690. You do not understand me; what time did you come to Manchester?—In the beginning of June.

15,691. Do you know now that there had been a strike with the joiners previous to your being engaged at the work here?—Yes, I know now. I did not know then.

15,692. Do you know a man named Elijah Stanton?—Yes.

15,693. How long have you known him?—Close on 15 years.

15,694. Of what trade is he?—A joiner.

15,695. Is he a Nottingham man?—Yes.

15,696. Do you know whether he is a member of any union?—I do not know.

15,697. Did he ask you some day in June to go and see his brother?—Yes.

15,698. Was his brother an old acquaintance of yours?—I worked with him.

15,699. Is he a member of the union?—Yes.

15,700. Is he a member of the joiners' union?—Yes.

15,701. Did you go with him?—Yes, I went with Elijah to see his brother.

15,702. Where did you go?—To Nightingale

Street. I went with the intention of going to his brother's house, but he was not at home, he was at a beerhouse opposite.

15,703. Do you know the sign of the beerhouse?—The "Bull's Head Inn," Nightingale Street.

15,704. Did you see John Stanton there?—Yes.

15,705. What happened?—I asked him how he was; he was talking to some parties that were in with a dog and I offered my hand to shake hands with him. He says, "Stay a minute Will, sit you down." I sat down close beside of him, and when he had been talking to these men about the dog, he says, "Where are you working?" I says, "At the assize courts." He made use of these expressions. He said, "Do you mean to come out you b——r." I said, "No, I do not; I am engaged for six weeks, and six weeks I will stop." He then struck me close to the eye and broke the bridge of my nose, and he struck me in the other eye. I had two black eyes and my nose was cut.

15,706. Did he do anything else but strike you twice?—No, nothing else; as soon as he had done it he made his way out into the kitchen; a man asked me to go in the kitchen and wash my eye. I said, "No, I will go out the same way as I came in."

15,707. And you laid information against him?—Yes, for which he suffered a month.

The witness withdrew.

George Burton sworn and examined.

15,708. (*Chairman.*) Are you a member of the bricklayers' union?—Yes.

15,709. How long have you been so?—About 20 years.

15,710. I believe you were once president, were you not?—Yes.

15,711. Have you been president more than once?—Only once, that is, during one time.

15,712. When was that?—Six months ago my term of office expired.

15,713. How long had you been president?—Nine months.

15,714. Do you remember who was secretary at that time?—William Brown.

15,715. You remember the strike at the gaol?—Yes.

15,716. Were you president at the time?—I was not president, but I was present at the meetings.

15,717. Your meetings took place every fortnight?—Once a week, every Monday evening.

15,718. Was there a committee?—Yes.

15,719. Do you remember the strike?—Yes.

15,720. Do you remember a resolution being passed by your society to make an alliance with the joiners' and the brickmakers' unions?—No, I know of no alliance, not distinctly an alliance.

15,721. Was there some co-operation between you?—Yes; a certain amount of co-operation between the joiners' and the brickmakers' unions, but it was not at the same time.

15,722. When was that?—It would be something like eight months after the strike took place in the gaol.

15,723. The strike took place in the gaol in 1864?—Yes.

15,724. And this resolution for co-operation was about eight months afterwards?—Yes, towards the latter end of the year.

15,725. Was the nature of the co-operation or agreement this, that you should all support each others' interest?—Yes.

15,726. That if one union was offended the other should draw off their men, and so act together?—Yes, that if they requested our assistance we should give it them.

15,727. In that way, by drawing off the men?—Yes.

15,728. So that you would act jointly altogether?—Yes, to a certain extent.

15,729. We have been told that your delegate was a man of the name of Lester?—Yes.

15,730. And Kay was the delegate of the brickmakers?—Yes.

15,731. Was a man named Guy the delegate of the joiners?—Yes.

15,732. It was a near question whether there should be this union between you all?—No.

15,733. I thought you carried it by your casting vote?—That is simply a meeting that took place with respect to machine-made bricks.

15,734. When was that?—I think it was in November, at the Ebenezer schoolrooms. There had been a resolution passed previous to that in the Assembly Rooms, Free Trade Hall, that we would not use any machine-made bricks on account of the struggle we had while on the gaol.

15,735. You came to a resolution not to use machine-made bricks, and you would not work for any one who did?—Yes.

15,736. That was the resolution which was carried by your casting vote?—Yes, it was the second time. The first time it was unanimous that we should not use the machine-made bricks under any circumstances on account of the opposition we had met with here; we had given the machine an unrestricted sale for five or six years, and we found that the machines were a complete failure up to that time. In fact this dry machine, which has supplied the fronts for this gaol was a failure; the gaol was never intended to be faced with these Platt's machine bricks. I am speaking now as a practical bricklayer. The machines that had been out previously had made common bricks; they were an inferior article. The common bricks made by all the machines, with the exception of this dry or Platt's machine, were failures. It is a complicated piece of machinery, and makes bricks with dry material instead of moisture.

15,737. I think you said that the machine-made bricks were a failure?—An inferior article.

15,738. You mean that they are inferior to the hand-made bricks?—Yes, inferior to the hand-made bricks of the same class. The magistrates had the machine in the gaol to utilize the clay on the interior fence; they would have utilized this clay only the bricks were so inferior that they could not put them to the face; they are not put to the face, they are put at the interior of the walls.

15,739. With what did they face?—Platt's dry machine bricks.

15,740. That you say is an exception; all the other machine-made bricks are a failure?—Yes.

15,741. What was this resolution which you carried by a casting vote?—It was the second trial of what had been passed at the Free Trade Hall. It was passed at a previous meeting by a great majority that we should not use any machine-made bricks. This second meeting was a meeting convened through our own president, he convened a meeting for the purpose of re-trying the case. We considered that he had been tampered with in the meantime, because he was of a contrary opinion at the other meeting, and in that meeting he was entirely for them. As the chairman of that meeting, I saw the difficulty. There was a file of columns down the room and I divided the voters down these columns. I put one party one side and the other party on the other, and I appointed people to count the votes and they were counted and were found to be equal, and I gave my vote against the machine-made bricks conscientiously.

15,742. That was the way it was carried?—Yes.

15,743. Having established this sort of united action, what happened; did you attempt to prevent the supply of any bricks to anybody in consequence of this resolution?—No.

15,744. Do you know Mr. Marsden, of Bolton?—Yes.

15,745. Did he supply bricks to the assize courts?—Yes.

THIRTEENTH DAY.

G. Burton.

19 Sept. 1867.

15,746. Did a deputation wait upon him?—James Power and George Lees.

15,747. Was Moody one?—No, James Power and George Lees were the two parties, I believe.

15,748. Did you arrange the terms and resolve that if they were not agreed to you would strike?—No; it was previous to the passing of this resolution respecting machine-made bricks; it was to this effect, that if Mr. Marsden stood with us we were prepared to use the machine-made bricks unrestricted, and if he went against us our body would take measures in the case. It did not throw out any intimidation, but they requested to know whether he was prepared to go with us or against us. There was an unrestricted sale at the time. We had passed no resolution against machine-made bricks, and they were getting hard up for bricks for the gaol. There was a machine in Cheetwood of Mr. Atkins, of the same description as the one working on the ground. They could not make the bricks, they were of an inferior quality, and they could not be used, and they went to Mr. Marsden to get bricks; but previous to them going we had in the meantime requested Mr. Marsden to know whether he was going with us or against us, or would he stand neutral in the affair till we had settled with Mr. Bramall.

15,749. What do you mean by going against you?—Not to supply them with material for the gaol until we had the dispute settled, and Mr. Marsden promised to stand neutral in the affair till it was settled.

15,750. And not to supply them?—And not supply them; the moment they asked Mr. Marsden to supply them he supplied them without saying anything to anybody.

15,751. He supplied them without your permission? There was no permission required in the matter.

15,752. Upon his supplying them what did you do?—A meeting was formed and a resolution adopted not to use machine-made bricks.

15,753. Upon that what did you do with Mr. Marsden who went against you?—We did nothing to him.

15,754. But you sent delegates?—I do not know whether they sent a deputation up.

15,755. You did not do anything to him?—No.

15,756. You did not do anything in any way to prevent his supplying them?—No.

15,757. When you were president, were there minute books kept in your society?—Yes.

15,758. Who kept the cash-books?—The cash-books were kept by the treasurer.

15,759. And there was also a book for the contributions?—Yes, a rough book which was kept by the secretary.

15,760. Who had the right of paying money, the treasurer?—Yes, the treasurer.

15,761. Your minute-book, I suppose would have contained also the strike and all the resolutions which you passed, would it not?—Yes, the minute-book at the time, but I was not then president.

15,762. Did you ever destroy any books?—No, I had nothing to do with the books during the strike.

15,763. Were you present when any books were destroyed?—No.

15,764. Just remember?—I was never present when any were destroyed.

15,765. Did you ever hear of them being destroyed?—No, never.

15,766. Do you mean to say that as far as you believe none of the books have been destroyed?—I have no doubt that many books have been destroyed, but they were considered books of no value; there might be books going on for years.

15,767. Have you ever heard of any books being destroyed lately?—No.

15,768. Do you know a man named Hylatt?—Yes.

15,769. He is president now, is he not?—Yes.

15,770. Did you ever claim any money for having destroyed those books or any books?—No.

15,771. Will you swear that?—Yes.

15,772. Have you never upon any occasion claimed any money for having destroyed books?—Yes.

15,773. I mean books belonging to your society?—I know that I have never upon any occasion received any money.

15,774. I did not ask you that; I did not ask whether you had received any money; I asked whether you had claimed any money.—No.

15,775. Have you ever claimed any money for anything that you did not get?—Yes.

15,776. Did you ever claim any money for anything connected with the books?—I made a certain claim for some money for making entries in a book, but not for destroying any book.

15,777. When did you make that claim?—Perhaps it might be seven weeks ago.

15,778. Where did you make the claim?—At the committee.

15,779. Who were on the committee at the time that you made the claim?—There were four on the committee, the secretary, the treasurer, the president, and the vice-president.

15,780. Was Hylatt one?—Yes.

15,781. And the treasurer?—Yes.

15,782. Who is he?—Joseph Stein.

15,783. Who was the secretary?—William Brown.

15,784. How many more were there?—The vice-president was Thomas White.

15,785. You made a claim?—Yes.

15,786. How much did you claim?—I claimed 22*s*.

15,787. What was the claim for?—For re-entering the minutes.

15,788. How came you to re-enter the minutes?—I was requested by the officers of the society to re-enter them for the time that I had been in office, and I re-entered them.

15,789. Do you mean to say that they had been entered before?—Yes, in a rough state.

15,790. In what book had they been originally entered?—In the old minute book.

15,791. Does that exist now?—Yes, for anything I am aware of.

15,792. Where is that?—In the possession of our president who followed me.

15,793. Who followed you?—Henry Davies.

15,794. You had entered it in an old minute book, and that old minute book you handed over?—Yes.

15,795. Was that the book which you had when you were president?—Yes.

15,796. And was it as president that you made those entries?—Yes.

15,797. And about seven weeks ago you were requested to re-enter it?—It might be a little more than that; it was the time that I made the claim.

15,798. That is about the time; seven, eight, or nine weeks ago?—Yes.

15,799. Were you requested to re-enter it in another book?—Yes.

15,800. By whom were you requested to do so?—By Henry Davies.

15,801. Is he in office now?—He is the president who followed me; he is not in office now.

15,802. Was he president at the time when he made that request to you?—I believe he was just at the expiration of his office.

15,803. Did you make the entry in another book?—Yes.

15,804. How came you to make a re-entry in another book; it had already been entered in one book?—I was requested so to do; to re-enter the minutes that I had made in the book.

15,805. Why?—The simple reason he gave was that they wished to present a clean book for 12 months. His three months and my nine months were 12 months.

15,806. Your nine months were in 1864?—No; mine were in 1866, and up to March 1867.

15,807. Did the old book in which you had entered contain entries of 1866?—Yes; no further than 1866, I think.

15,808. Were the old entries which you now had to re-enter entries in reference to the year 1866?—Six months of 1866, and three months of 1867.

15,809. You had already made entries of the six

months of 1866 and the three months in 1867, in the old book ?—Yes.

15,810. And Davies requested you to make the entries again in the new book ?—Yes.

15,811. The same entries ?—Yes.

15,812. How many ?—Nine months' entries.

15,813. What sort of entries were they ; what were they about ?—Just rough minutes of the proceedings of the Monday evening meetings.

15,814. Was not the old book gone, and was not it stated that it was gone before you were asked to make the entries in the new book ?—I positively state that I copied from the old book.

15,815. What has become of it ?—Henry Davies has it in his possession yet.

15,816. At this moment ?—Yes.

15,817. Do you mean that the 22*s.* which you claimed were for having made the entries in a new book ?—Yes.

15,818. From entries already made ?—Yes.

15,819. And you claimed 22*s.* for it ?—Yes.

15,820. Can you give me any reason why these old entries should be re-entered in a new book ?—I cannot swear to the entry of the minutes.

15,821. You just said something about the delegates ?—It was relative to the delegates' business in summoning men up, and the general routine of their business.

15,822. Do I understand you to say that the new minutes which you made were not all that the old book contained ?—Not the whole.

15,823. You have left out in point of fact, some of the old entries in the new book ?—Yes.

15,824. And made, as it were, a fresh lot of entries ?—Just so.

15,825. How came you to leave out the old entries ; did they relate to these proceedings that you did not wish to be seen ?—Nothing relative to the gaol was in the book at all.

15,826. I do not ask you that ; some of the old entries related to things which you did not wish to be seen ?—Yes ; I suppose that was the reason.

15,827. So you made, as it were, a fresh book, these fresh entries containing omissions of certain other entries which you did not wish to be seen ; that is it, is it not ?—Yes, of course there were certain omissions made.

15,828. And you made the new book all right and clean to be seen ?—There is nothing that was obnoxious in the other one. I was averse to this being altered, but he said it was simple to clear up the 12 months.

15,829. Did he give you directions as to what you were to omit, or was it your own instinct that told you ?—No.

15,830. You say that there were some omitted, who gave you the suggestion as to what you were to omit ?—No one.

15,831. You understood what they wanted ?—Yes.

15,832. And you made certain omissions ?—Yes.

15,833. And for that you claimed 22*s.* ?—Yes, decidedly.

15,834. Did Davies help you ?—No.

15,835. Did he claim any money at the same time ?—I cannot say ; I never heard him claim any.

15,836. Are the books always kept in the box ?—Usually there is a box for the purpose.

15,837. At the place where you meet ?—During the time a man remains in office he has possession of the book.

15,838. Does he keep it in his pocket ?—He carries it about because he takes it home with him.

15,839. When the book is old what is done with it ; is it destroyed ?—They are sometimes deposited in the box and sometimes not. I cannot say where all the books have been deposited, because I have not been in office all the time.

15,840. When the book is full, and the man in office does not want it, is there a place of custody for it ?—There is a box for the purpose.

15,841. Where is the box ?—In the club-house.

15,842. Where is that ?—At the "Bridgewater Arms," Liverpool Road.

15,843. Have you many ?—I cannot say, there are two or three full boxes ; I cannot say what is in them. I have never seen the interior of them.

15,844. Supposing a book is not destroyed, and is no longer in actual use by the officer, it ought to be kept in a proper place like that, in custody ?—Yes, it is usual to put them there.

15,845. Who has the custody of that box ?—It is the vice-president who should have the keys of the boxes.

15,846. Who is the present vice-president ?—Thomas White.

15,847. He ought to have the keys of all those boxes ?—Yes.

15,848. Do you think the old book exists ?—I understand that it does exist intact.

15,849. And in the box or in somebody's possession ?—It is in the possession of a man now attending here in this court as a witness.

15,850. What is the name of the man ?—Henry Davies, the man that had possession of it when I gave up the office.

15,851. Then it is not of much use if that is the case, your having made a book with the new entries ?—I was not aware that it was going to be destroyed.

15,852. It was not to be kept ?—I was not aware that it was going to be destroyed.

15,853. It was not of much use having made a book with the clean entries if you kept the old one ?—Decidedly not.

15,854. Did you get that 22*s.* ?—No.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. Samuel Whitehead sworn and examined.

Mr. S. Whitehead.

15,855. (*Mr. Chance.*) You are a contractor at Cheetwood Lane, are you not ?—Yes.

15,856. Do you remember in June of this year making streets for Lord Derby ?—Yes.

15,857. Did you require some earth to fill them up ?—To fill up a hole in Derby Street.

15,858. Did you make a contract with a person of the name of Booth to take away material from the site of the new gaol ?—Yes.

15,859. Had you a tramway fixed so as to be able to do that more easily ?—Yes.

15,860. Do you know a man of the name of Robert Chadwick ?—I do not know him except from seeing him come to me on the 28th of June.

15,861. Had you ever seen him before ?—No.

15,862. Was he a member of the brickmaker's union ?—He is a member of the brickmaker's union—the keyholder for the district.

15,863. When he came to you did he say anything to you ?—Yes, Mr. Higgins and me were standing together ; he is my partner, and Chadwick said, "Mr. Higgins, do you know what you are doing ?" He said, "Why, what do you mean ?" He said, "You are removing this earth from the gaol, I understand." Mr. Higgins said, "What of that ?" He said, "It is "against our rules to allow anything to be done at the "gaol that has anything to do with us." Mr. Higgins being a brickmaker knew what the consequences would be.

15,864. What was the consequence ?—They would stop his jobs. Chadwick came to us at half-past 11 on the Friday, and he said these words to Mr. Higgins and me, and Mr. Higgins said, "If you think we are doing something wrong you had better call a meeting." He said, "Very well we will have a meeting at 1 o'clock on the same day." So they wished me to go to the meeting and I went, and I should think there would be about 200 brickmakers at the meeting.

THIRTEENTH DAY.

Mr. S. Whitehead.

19 Sept. 1867.

15,865. Brickmakers or bricklayers?—Brickmakers.

15,866. Where was the meeting held?—In Cheetwood Lane, in the croft; they held their meetings in the field somewhere about the centre of the district, and there would be about 200 members present. So Robert Chadwick laid the case down, and he said he heard that we were wheeling stuff out of the gaol, and he found it so. He said that he spoke to Higgins and me, and Higgins said if he thought he was doing wrong he was to call a meeting, and he did so; and they wished me to withdraw and they would discuss the matter, and they said they had come to the conclusion that we were to stop at once. I said, "It is "very near Saturday, you will let us go the week out; "it is very hard for Booth's men to be thrown out in "the middle of the afternoon." He said I must withdraw again and they would talk the matter over. I had to withdraw and when I came back they said we must stop at once. I then went to a different part of the works. I did not get down into Sherborne Street till between 3 and 4 o'clock, and when I went down the wagons were not stopped. I had not been back to the westward, and I had not been many minutes before John Kay and George Yates came. Kay said, "Mr. Whitehead, I understand you agree to stop the wagons." I said, "We are going to, I am only just come back, and they said they were to be stopped at once." He said, "The order was to stop at once," and I said yes, that I had only just come back. I said, "You can let us go on to-night?" He said, "I cannot "stop you; you can do as you like, but I tell you if "you go on with the work we shall withdraw the "men from Higgins's job at once." I called Higgins off the stage and told him what the men said, "Very well" he said, "we had better stop the men," and we had to stop the men at 10 minutes to 4 o'clock.

15,867. You stopped for fear of what they would have done to you?—Yes, they would have stopped Mr. Higgins's jobs; he had something like eight jobs of brickmaking.

15,868. It would be a considerable and permanent loss to him?—Yes.

15,869. What amount of loss?—His contract was for 8*d.* a yard taking it up. They filled it into wagons and we had an engine and tramway fixed, and we had occasion to keep the tramway in the street for a fortnight to take the surplus earth from the sewer; we could work this and take 200 of their wagons up as well.

15,870. And how long did you stand idle?—We never did any more with the gaol; we went on with our own contract, but we had to keep that wagon road in.

15,871. What loss did you suffer in consequence?—I could clear 5*d.* a wagon; the loss would be about 45*l.* I could have got it out very well in a fortnight and done all our work at the same time.

15,872. The only reason was because of the strike in the gaol?—Yes, they stopped us because they said they would not allow any one to interfere with their work.

15,873. There was no dispute at all?—No, there was no dispute whatever, but they told us what the consequence would be, and we wanted 200,000 bricks to build the sewer, and I knew they would not let me have them if I went on; they would stop all Mr. Higgins's jobs.

The witness withdrew.

H. Davies.

HENRY DAVIES sworn and examined.

15,874. (*Chairman.*) What are you now?—A bricklayer.

15,875. Are you a member of the bricklayers' union?—Yes.

15,876. How long have you been so?—17 years or thereabouts.

15,877. Are you in any office now?—Yes.

15,878. What are you now?—A committee man.

15,879. How many committee men are there?—Four, exclusive of the president, secretary, and treasurer.

15,880. There are four besides those three; that makes seven altogether?—Yes.

15,881. There are how many committee men; you are not president, secretary, or treasurer now?—No, but I have been.

15,882. Have you ever been president?—Yes.

15,883. Did you succeed Burton as president?—I did.

15,884. When was that?—In April 1867.

15,885. This year?—Yes.

15,886. What is to be your term of office?—Three months.

15,887. Had you ever been president before?—Many a time.

15,888. Were you president in 1864 or 1865?—No, I was not.

15,889. What was the last time you were president before this year?—Previous to 1867 the last time was 1863.

15,890. Has the president the custody of the books?—Yes.

15,891. Which of the books?—The minute book.

15,892. Who makes the entries in them?—The president.

15,893. He makes the record of the proceedings?—Yes, for the evening.

15,894. Does he make any entries in any other books?—Decidedly not.

15,895. Does he keep them?—He keeps them in his custody while he is in office.

15,896. After he ceases to be in office he puts them in a place of deposit?—He gives them to his successor.

15,897. If the book is full, where is it put?—In the fire; when they have done their duty they are committed to the flames.

15,898. You have not destroyed any books;—No.

15,899. But you say when the books have done their duty they are committed to the flames?—I have heard so.

15,900. You have not burnt any yourself?—No.

15,901. When did you hear of any being destroyed?—Not recently.

15,902. How long ago was that?—Four or five years since.

15,903. Four or five years since you heard of books being destroyed?—Yes, useless books.

15,904. That was because the book was useless?—Yes, only an encumbrance to the box.

15,905. You mean that the books were taken to get rid of the encumbrance?—That was the object, to get rid of the encumbrance.

15,906. Have you heard of that being generally done with a book when it was full?—Yes, invariably.

15,907. Have you often heard of it?—No; only on one occasion.

15,908. When was that?—In 1862 or 1863.

15,909. Were you present?—I was not present when they were burnt. I have asked for various books when I have been in office, and they were destroyed.

15,910. The answer was that they were destroyed?—Yes; they are done away with.

15,911. Various books have been destroyed?—Yes, such as minute books and old ledgers.

15,912. And cash-books?—I do not know where the cash books are.

15,913. Any old book which was an encumbrance or full was destroyed?—Yes; just like the president's book.

15,914. And the treasurer's book?—I cannot say.

15,915. Is the only book which you have heard of as having been destroyed a minute book?—Yes. I may state that the treasurer's book is his own private property.

15,916. How far do your present minute books go back if you destroy them when they are full?—I cannot say. I have some in my pocket.

15,917. All of them ?—All that were said to have been destroyed.

15,918. Having got them in your pocket, just let me see them ?—Here they are (*producing the same*), those that are said to have been destroyed.

15,919. How far back do they go ?—I cannot say ; I never looked at them.

15,920. Who has got the present minute book ?—The present president.

15,921. Who is he ?—John Hylatt.

15,922. The present president has got that ?—Yes.

15,923. Am I right in saying that the present book is a continuation of that book ?—Yes, and some of them we copied off for 12 months back.

15,924. Did you help to copy them ?—The three last months.

15,925. One of the witnesses, Burton, re-copied out the nine months ?—Yes, during his office.

15,926. And the three months for which you succeeded are also copied out ?—I cannot say ; there are only nine months in Burton's time and three in mine.

15,927. That was what I wanted ; nine were copied out again by Burton and three by you ?—I know I copied three.

15,928. Who asked you to copy them out again ?—It was suggested.

15,929. Who suggested it ?—Various committee men, not the present committee.

15,930. Can you give me any names of those who suggested it ?—I think, if I mistake not, I do not wish to keep anything back, I believe the present treasurer was one ; I believe Shaycross, the late committee-man, was one.

15,931. They suggested that you should make fresh entries ?—Yes.

15,932. Did you copy your three months altogether, or did you leave out some ?—I omitted some.

15,933. Why was it suggested that you should make new entries in a new book and leave out some of the old entries ?—The simple reason was, that when this inquiry was first spoken of, we were not aware but that there was something or other that might bring us into the clutches of the law. I am here to speak the truth ; there is nothing that I am ashamed of.

15,934. You cannot answer more straightforward than that. You made certain omissions ?—Yes, very slight ones.

15,935. You made certain omissions which you did not wish to be made public ?—Yes.

15,936. And you made a certain claim for the labour ?—I did not.

15,937. Burton says that he made a claim of 22*s.* ; you made none ?—I made none.

15,938. (*Mr. Barstow.*) I believe this book which you have given me is from October 1864 to the 24th of June inclusive ?—Yes, I think so ; it is there.

15,939. This is the original book ?—That is the original.

15,940. Of which a copy was made in the new book ?—Yes.

15,941. So that whatever there is of any sort which is questionable we shall find here ?—Yes, decidedly.

15,942. It would save us trouble if you would tell us what parts were omitted ?—I believe there is one omitted in my portion ; Mr. Stone's job, down the railway ; that is the only one of any note that I recollect of.

15,943. What is the date of that ?—I cannot say ; you will find the difference by comparing the present president's book and that.

15,944. I wish you could point out to us what is omitted ?—That one in particular ; and you will see from that and the one that the present officer has what I have really omitted. If I told you what is omitted I should perhaps be speaking an untruth.

15,945. (*Mr. Chance.*) You say that the treasurer's book is his own private property ?—Yes ; we always consider it as such. I will tell you why it is considered as his own private property. He is elected every six months ; and provided he should have to give up his situation as treasurer, he may be in the middle of his officership, and he has to turn over the money to a fresh one, and in any dispute that may arise hereafter, he would have nothing to refer to.

15,946. But the treasurer at the time being has the same book as the man that succeeded him ?—No ; he makes no entries but the incomings and outgoings.

15,947. Who is the treasurer ?—William Steyn.

The witness withdrew.

RICHARD COPPOCK sworn and examined.

R. Coppock.

15,948. (*Mr. Barstow.*) What are you ?—A bricklayer.

15,949. Are you a member of the bricklayers' union ?—Yes.

15,950. How long have you been a member ?—29 years.

15,951. Do you remember in 1864, an assault upon some bricklayers arising out of the strike at this building ?—Yes, I think I do.

15,952. Do you remember three men, named Wilfred, Ratcliffe, and Upton being assaulted ?—Yes.

15,953. Do you know what those three men were ?—Yes, I do.

15,954. What were they ?—Bricklayers.

15,955. They were bricklayers employed in this building ?—Yes.

15,956. I believe they were not union men ?—Yes, they were.

15,957. They were union men ?—Yes.

15,958. And had been union men ?—Yes, and they were then ; they had not run out of benefit.

15,959. They stayed in when the others went on strike ?—Yes.

15,960. That was their offence. We have heard who assulted them ; they were assaulted by Nolan and others. Do you remember information being laid against Nolan for the assault ?—Yes, I think I do.

15,961. Had you any conversation with Wilfred on the subject ?—No.

15,962. Did you see him about it at all ?—Not in the least ; after he was assaulted I never saw him for a time.

15,963. For how long ?—Perhaps a month, perhaps may be wrong a week.

15,964. Had you any conversation with him upon the subject of the assault when you saw him a month after ?—Yes.

15,965. Did you endeavour to induce him in any way not to proceed against Nolan ?—No.

15,966. You did not say anything upon the subject ?—No.

15,967. Did you at any time ?—No, never.

15,968. You never did anything whatever ?—I never saw him from the assault till the time I tell you.

15,969. Did you travel with him to London any time after the assault ?—No, never.

15,970. Did your hands give him any money ?—No, never.

15,971. You never gave him any money ?—No, not a farthing.

15,972. Are you quite sure that you did not take him away to London ?—As sure as I am that I kissed the book.

15,973. If we have heard that that is so our information is not true ?—I am positive it is not, if you have got that information.

15,974. Had you anything else to do with any other men that were assaulted ?—Yes, with Upton and Ratcliffe.

15,975. Had you any conversation with them about being assaulted by Nolan ?—No, I had not.

15,976. You had not any conversation at all ?—No.

THIRTEENTH DAY.

R. Coppock.

19 Sept. 1867.

15,977. You never spoke with them upon the subject?—No, I did not.

15,978. Did you take either of them away?—Yes, both of them.

15,979. Where did you take them?—To London.

15,980. You took Ratcliffe and Upton, but you did not take Wilfred?—Yes.

15,981. Of course you must have paid something to get them to London?—Yes.

15,982. Did you give them any money besides taking them to London. You paid their fare?—Yes.

15,983. You paid their fare and you paid for whatever refreshments they had?—Yes.

15,984. Did you give them any money?—Yes.

15,985. How much did you give them?—7*l.* apiece. There were two men that took them away; there was me and a man named Shaddocks; we divided the money in our possession to keep both these men right. I kept possession of one 7*l.* and my mate kept possession of the other 7*l.*

15,986. And when you got them to London you then gave them the money?—No, we did not.

15,987. What did you do then?—We gave it before I left them.

15,988. What did you do?—I stayed with them a week and gave them the money as they wanted it. I was one of the cashiers of the lot.

15,989. Did you four live together in London?—Yes, we did, and slept in one house.

15,990. And as they wanted money you gave it to them?—I did.

15,991. Did you keep them there till after the charge against Nolan was dismissed?—No.

15,992. How long did you keep them there?—One week; I think it would be a fortnight after that that he was dismissed.

15,993. I suppose they promised you not to come back to Manchester?—No, I do not think they did.

15,994. It was understood that they would not do so?—I think so.

15,995. You took good care that they did not come back here?—How could I help it; they had the money and they could come back if they chose.

15,996. Was that money your own money?—No, I should not pay it, not I.

15,997. Who gave you the money to give them?—Do you mean personally?

15,998. Yes, personally?—Power gave it me.

15,999. At that time Power was the treasurer of the bricklayers' union, was he not?—Yes.

16,000. (*Chairman.*) Who was the other man who went up to town with you?—Shaddocks.

16,001. You gave 7*l.* to one man, and Shaddocks gave 7*l.* to the other?—Yes.

16,002. What did you yourself get for that?—I got 10*s.* a day, and I travelled all Sunday; I got 3*l.* 10*s.* and I think I deserved it.

16,003. You got 10*s.* a day besides your expenses?—I got my lodgings, that is all; I had to pay for my own keeping.

16,004. You got that besides your fare?—Yes, I got my fare, and you do not live in London the same as you live here.

16,005. Which is the cheaper?—Here, where I live, in Manchester.

16,006. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Do you know who got Wilfred away?—Yes.

16,007. Who got him away?—Just mention his name, and I will tell you.

16,008. I thought you got him away?—Not I.

16,009. Did Kenny?—No.

16,010. Just think a minute?—It would be Friday before I saw Wilfred.

16,011. Whom did you see with him?—Stretton.

16,012. Who is he?—He is a bricklayer.

16,013. Is he a member of the union?—Yes.

16,014. Did you know from Stretton what he had given to Wilfred?—Yes.

16,015. What did he give to Wilfred?—60*l.*; that is right enough; is it not?

16,016. Do you know where Stretton got his 60*l.*?—No, how could I when I was in London.

16,017. He did not tell you?—No.

16,018. But he told you that he had given Wilfred 60*l.*?—Yes.

16,019. (*Chairman.*) Did Power pay you and the other man 7*l.*?—I do not know; we got 14*l.*, and we were in company, and consequently, for fear of fellows robbing them, we had 7*l.* a-piece to pay them; that is about the size of it.

16,020. And who paid the 60*l.*?—I could not tell that; how could I when I was away many hundred miles.

16,021. (*Mr. Chance.*) How much did Power give you?—14*l.*

16,022. And he paid your expenses too?—Yes, I think he did; yes, you are right. I think that makes 2*l.* I forgot that; I think it might be 2*l.* each for our expenses.

16,023. That would make 6*l.* more?—No, no, 4*l.*

16,024. You say you each had 7*l.*?—Yes, that is 14*l.*; but we could not bear the expenses. I think we had 2*l.* each, and I think it was no more.

16,025. Then there was your living in London, who paid for that?—We were not without a little cash for our living.

The witness withdrew.

J. Power.

James Power sworn and examined.

16,026. (*Chairman.*) What are you now?—An operative bricklayer.

16,027. Are you a member of the bricklayers' union now?—Yes.

16,028. And you have been so for some time?—Yes.

16,029. Were you ever treasurer during the strike at the assize courts?—I was.

16,030. Did you pay money to Coppock, the last witness?—Yes.

16,031. Do you remember the assault taking place upon some persons of the name of Wilfred, Ratcliffe, and Upton?—Yes.

16,032. Coppock tells us that he took Radcliffe and Upton away up to London?—Yes.

16,033. And he got some money for that purpose, which you paid him?—Yes.

16,034. Do you remember how much you paid Coppock?—No, I do not know.

16,035. He gave the men 7*l.* each and got his own expenses paid and their expenses, and got 10*s.* a day besides for himself?—I think it would be something like that.

16,036. And I suppose you paid the other man whose name was mentioned for taking one of the other men away?—Yes.

16,037. He and Shaddock went up to town with Radcliffe and Upton?—Yes.

16,038. Was Stretton the man who went away with Wilfred?—Yes.

16,039. It was somewhere about 60*l.* which was paid to Wilfred?—No; I do not know for that.

16,040. Who would pay that?—I do not know.

16,041. The money you paid was the union money was it not?—No; it was not.

16,042. Whose money was it?—The labourers' association; it did not belong to our union.

16,043. It belonged to the bricklayers' association?—No, the labourers' association.

16,044. Were you treasurer of that association?—I was not.

16,045. Of what were you treasurer?—The bricklayers' association.

16,046. Where did you get the money from?—The labourers gave it to me.

16,047. Ratcliffe and Upton were bricklayers, were they not?—Yes.

16,048. And you got money from the bricklayers' association?—No, from the labourers' association.

16,049. Did the money belong to the labourers' association?—Yes.

16,050. Then the labourers' association gave you the money, and you gave it to them in the way you have described?—Yes.

16,051. You do not know who paid the 60*l.* for Wilfred?—I do not.

16,052. Have you never heard?—No.

16,053. I believe on one occasion you paid Kenny some money?—Yes.

16,054. 27*l.*?—Yes.

16,055. What was that for?—I really cannot say.

16,056. Do you remember when it was?—Yes.

16,057. When was it?—I cannot recollect the date.

16,058. Give us the year?—Probably about three years ago.

16,059. Whose money was that?—The labourers' money.

16,060. Do you not remember the sum without going into it particularly?—I infer that it would be that.

16,061. Who directed you to pay it?—I was applied to by Kenny for the money, and I paid it to him.

16,062. For what purpose did he apply to you for the money?—I suppose in continuation of the arrangement of the affairs in reference to the labourers.

16,063. What affairs?—In reference to the assault upon Radcliffe and the others.

16,064. That money was in reference to the assault upon Radcliffe, Wilfred, and Upton?—Yes.

16,065. And you gave the money to Kenny?—Yes.

16,066. It was afterwards brought before a meeting after you had paid it?—It was a long time after, some 18 months after.

16,067. I suppose you gave an explanation to the whole meeting of what had been paid and what it had been paid for?—I did not.

16,068. Who gave it then?—Kenny gave the explanation.

16,069. And the explanation was satisfactory to the meeting?—They had nothing to do with it; it did not belong to them at all.

16,070. They explained at the bricklayers' meeting that the money had come from the labourers' association?—Yes; we had never paid a shilling in reference to anything of the sort in our lives.

16,071. Was Nolan a labourer or a bricklayer?—A labourer.

16,072. And Nolan was the person who was said to have committed the assault?—He was; it was in consequence of that that we took action in the matter. An offer was made to us through Mr. Kettle to compromise matters.

16,073. There was an offer made to you to compromise matters with Nolan, and that was the reason why you took action in the matter?—Yes.

16,074. Nolan was a labourer?—Yes.

16,075. And you were the treasurer of the bricklayers' association?—Yes.

16,076. I suppose, as you have been treasurer of the bricklayers' union, you have had to do with the money that was spent upon the strike?—Yes.

16,077. There was a general union of the bricklayers; where was the bricklayers' meeting held?—At Liverpool Road, in Manchester.

16,078. I suppose you have a union with the bricklayers' associations elsewhere?—Yes.

16,079. Where have you unions?—We have branches throughout the whole of the country.

16,080. Can you mention some of the places with which you have connexion in that way. We have heard of Stockport; that is one, I suppose?—Yes.

16,081. Ashton?—Yes.

16,082. St. Helen's?—Yes.

16,083. Liverpool?—Yes.

16,084. Birkenhead?—Yes.

16,085. Sheffield?—Our seat of government is there at present.

16,086. With what other places have you connexion?—Grimsby, Hull, Carlisle, Coventry, Wolverhampton.

16,087. Dudley?—I cannot say.

16,088. And Huddersfield or Wakefield?—I do not think so at present.

16,089. Newcastle?—Yes.

16,090. Durham?—No.

16,091. Gateshead?—No.

16,092. Is there any association of that sort in London?—Not belonging to us; that is the London association; we do not go into that district at all.

16,093. Do you go into the Wakefield district?—I think we do; I am not sure.

16,094. You have an executive committee, have you not?—No.

16,095. You talked about the seat of government; at that time was the seat of government in Manchester?—Yes.

16,096. I believe there was some disturbance about the payment of this money on strike which caused the seat of government to be transferred from Manchester to Sheffield?—No, it was not so. I do not understand the question.

16,097. The seat of government was at Manchester?—Yes.

16,098. When you say that the seat of government was at Manchester, it that the seat of the executive committee formed to act for all the different bricklayers' associations?—Yes.

16,099. And at that time of which you speak the executive committee sat here in Manchester?—Yes.

16,100. Of how many members does the executive committee consist?—Seven, and the secretary.

16,101. How are you elected?—The lodge of the place where the executive is held elects the executive, consequently that is the executive lodge.

16,102. Had you at that time an executive lodge here?—Yes.

16,103. Were the members of that executive lodge all men belonging to the bricklayers' Manchester association?—Yes, the same as at present in Sheffield.

16,104. The Manchester association had a lodge, and that lodge chose the executive committee for the whole of the bricklayers' associations?—Yes.

16,105. How came the government to be transferred from Manchester to Sheffield?—It is liable to removal every year.

16,106. Where was it last year?—At Manchester.

16,107. Where was it the year before?—At Manchester.

16,108. How long had it been at Manchester?—It had been at Manchester 14 years.

16,109. And though it is liable to be removed from year to year, you seem to have had it at Manchester for 14 years?—Yes.

16,110. Do the other bricklayers' associations give a vote as to where it shall be?—Every year a notice goes round with our report asking them to give their votes which shall be the executive lodge, and consequently upon the majority the lodge is chosen.

16,111. The majority decide where the executive lodge is to be?—Yes.

16,112. Manchester having held it for 14 years, at last it is gone to Sheffield?—Yes.

16,113. Do you know why that was?—No.

16,114. Had there been any disturbance about money?—No, none whatever.

16,115. Do you remember whether you spent as much as 920*l.* on the strike?—Yes; we would do so again if we had an opportunity.

16,116. Are you pretty rich?—Yes.

16,117. Was any disturbance made about the expenditure of the 920*l.* in Manchester?—No.

16,118. Nothing of the kind took place?—No.

16,119. And no fault was found with the expenditure?—No; I never was questioned in reference to that at all.

THIRTEENTH DAY.

J. Power.

19 Sept. 1867.

16,120. But without being questioned you might have heard?—I did not.

16,121. You never heard of that being the cause why the committee was transferred from Manchester to Sheffield?—No; Sheffield was selected in due course.

16,122. This has happened for the first time in 15 years?—At the delegate meetings it was so decided that the executive should be removed from town to town every two years, or something like that; that was the first commencement of the removal.

16,123. As a rule now, if any place is selected to have the executive committee, it is to be held for two years, and then it is to be transferred to somewhere else?—Yes, I understand so, subject to the majority.

16,124. That is the sort of practice which there appears to be an inclination to adopt?—Sheffield may be the centre for the next 10 years.

16,125. But the majority rule it?—Yes.

16,126. Is the object of your association to have united action in reference to strikes?—I do not understand the question.

16,127. Supposing there is a great strike taking place among the bricklayers at Manchester; if you want money to carry on the strike, do you send round to all the different places in which you are associated all over the country to get them to subscribe?—No; the executive support us in money.

16,128. Have the executive any control over the funds of the whole association?—They hold funds for local purposes.

16,129. What is your united action; you mention several places all over the country where you have an association, and you have the executive committee?—Yes.

16,130. What are the powers of the executive committee with reference to other associations?—Whatever their present rights, rules, and privileges are the executive supports them if they are violated.

16,131. Supposing they are violated; supposing that the executive committee at Sheffield decided that either here or anywhere else their rules had been violated, what do they do upon that?—Support us on the question.

16,132. That is, if you want money they support you?—Yes.

16,133. They collect money?—They have it on their hands; they never collect money.

16,134. Where does the money come from?—We have never been so situated as to require collecting.

16,135. Have they the power of disposing of such funds as exist?—Yes.

16,136. The funds of each association are all connected with the executive committee?—Yes.

16,137. Supposing there is a want of money, do they say what is a proper occasion, or on which the money shall be spent. The Manchester bricklayers' association has to subscribe so much?—No.

16,138. How do they do it?—The question never arose.

16,139. I do not understand how the executive committee get the funds to supply you with if you want it?—They have them at their disposal.

16,140. Before they have them they must get them. How do they get them?—By us remitting our contributions to that place.

16,141. How is your contribution settled?—We remit so much per member per month.

16,142. Each member subscribes so much every month to the general funds of the amalgamated union?—Yes.

16,143. How much is the amount per month?—3*d.* per head.

16,144. Is that subscribed by each member of each association?—Yes.

16,145. How much does each member subscribe to the general funds of the united association?—3*d.* per head.

16,146. Per month?—Yes.

16,147. Can you give me any notion of what the income would be at that rate?—I really cannot.

16,148. Pray try?—I cannot give any notion.

16,149. Were you ever a member of the executive committee?—Yes.

16,150. What was the amount ever spent by you at any time for a strike?—The gaol was the heaviest we ever had here.

16,151. Do you know how much you spent upon that?—I do not know.

16,152. Was it several thousands or one thousand?—I cannot give you an answer.

16,153. You can give me some answer?—There is no one knows how much it cost.

16,154. We have heard of a strike in 1854, which cost as much as 154,000*l.* You heard of that?—Yes, I did hear of that.

16,155. Cannot you give me any idea how much your strike here may have cost you?—I cannot say.

16,156. Several thousand pounds?—No, nothing of the sort.

16,157. Was it somewhere about 900*l.* or 1,000*l.*; you mentioned that sum?—I did not mention it.

16,158. I thought you assented to that?—I did not. I do not know how much it cost at all.

16,159. Is this money sent up to the executive committee and put into any bank?—Yes, subject to their control.

16,160. They meet at certain times and pass resolutions?—Yes, once a week.

16,161. What are the purposes of your society besides strikes and the expenses incurred thereby?—We pay for accidents and burials for all our members.

16,162. The executive committee do not do that?—They allow that.

16,163. Have they the complete control of all the funds of the union?—Yes.

16,164. When you want money for a funeral or an accident it is to the secretary of the united association that you apply for that money?—The secretary of the local lodge has the power of taking so much money out of the subscriptions for current expenses, accidents, and funerals, and he remits the balance.

16,165. If you want money for a strike it is remitted from the general committee?—Yes.

16,166. But for an ordinary accident and funeral account you deduct the sum from the amount to be sent up to the general committee?—Yes; if anything is overpaid for the current month it is balanced every fortnight.

16,167. If any money is paid for the purposes which we mentioned, as to which it may be doubtful whether they are legal or not, you apply to the executive committee for permission to spend it?—We never raise such questions; there is no such question raised, because we could get no such money.

16,168. The executive committee have the power to let the money be spent in what they think right?—No; we get in every month a report, which is sent to every lodge and read on the Monday after, consequently we should see such money reported, and we should send a deputation directly to inquire into it and remonstrate.

16,169. Still they have the power; you leave it to their discretion to say how they shall spend the money?—No; they have the general laws to look to the same as I have, and they cannot infringe them.

16,170. They cannot go beyond them?—No.

16,171. Have you had a meeting in Manchester lately?—Yes.

16,172. When?—Last Monday.

16,173. Did you come to any resolutions then?—Not to my recollection.

16,174. Who was it that gave you the money towards paying Kenny the 27*l.*?—One of the labourers' association.

16,175. What is his name?—I believe his name was Rush.

16,176. What was he?—I think he was one of the secretaries of the association.

16,177. Who sent you the money which you paid Coppock?—It was part of the same money.

16,178. How much did you get altogether?—I really cannot say; we got various sums.

16,179. Whatever you got, you got from the man Rush, who was the secretary?—I might have got money from others in the same association, but I cannot remember their names.

16,180. Cannot you remember their names; was it the president or the treasurer?—They might be some of the officers.

16,181. You cannot recollect their names; Rush is the only name which you can recollect?—Yes.

16,182. I think you said that there was a meeting last Monday?—Yes.

16,183. When was there a meeting before that?—The Monday before.

16,184. Where was the meeting, here in Manchester?—Yes, we meet every week.

16,185. Had you any special meeting besides those two?—No.

16,186. Was it a numerous meeting?—No, an ordinary meeting.

16,187. Do you know James Kay?—Yes, I have seen him several times.

16,188. He is pretty well known?—I have seen him several times.

16,189. When did you last see him; was he present at either of those meetings?—No, he never comes to us except on special business.

16,190. Did there happen to be any special business on either of those Mondays to bring him there?—No.

16,191. This inquiry has never been mentioned at any of your meetings?—No. THIRTEENTH DAY.

16,192. When did you last see Kay?—It may be a month or two months ago. *J. Power.*

16,193. But you did see him a month or two months ago at Manchester?—Yes. 19 Sept. 1867.

16,194. It may be a month ago?—It may be more, but I have seen him recently. I cannot say as to the time.

16,195. It may be less than a month?—I cannot swear as to when I saw him.

16,196. Can you say whether it may have been less than a month when you saw him?—I cannot say when I saw him.

16,197. Where was he when you saw him?—I may have seen him accidentally. I cannot say when or where.

16,198. You are certain it may be a month or two. Can you speak positively as to a month or two?—I cannot, because I had no interest in seeing him.

16,199. How far will you be positive?—I cannot say positively as to the time at all.

16,200. But you think it was one or two months ago?—I have heard of him being in the streets since.

16,201. Since you saw him?—No, not since I saw him. I have heard of his being in the district within a month. I have not seen him myself. Will you allow me to say a word?

16,202. Yes, if relevant to this inquiry.—Yes. We, during our experience of 22 years, have never paid a shilling for anything relevant to this inquiry.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to to-morrow at 11 o'clock.

FOURTEENTH DAY.

Assize Courts, Manchester, Friday, 20th September 1867.

PRESENT:

PERCIVAL ANDREE PICKERING, Esq., Q.C. | GEORGE CHANCE, Esq.
THOMAS IRWIN BARSTOW, Esq. | JAMES SHEIL, Esq., Secretary.

PERCIVAL ANDREE PICKERING, Esq., Q.C., IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. B. T. Williams stated that he was instructed by Messrs. Shaen and Roscoe to appear for the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners; and requested the Court to concede to him the privilege of suggesting questions to a witness who might say anything affecting the character of that society. He stated that the society desired to give every possible information to the Court, and to disclaim any participation in any acts of violence or course of policy of that nature. FOURTEENTH DAY. 20 Sept. 1867.

The *Chairman* stated that when cases affecting the society for which Mr. Williams appeared were brought before the Court they would willingly receive from him any suggestion as to questions to be put to witnesses.

Mr. JOHN KNOWLES sworn and examined. *Mr. J. Knowles.*

16,203. (*Chairman.*) What is the business which you carry on?—I am the representative of Messrs. Knowles and Sons, colliery proprietors at Pendlebury, near Manchester.

16,204. How far is that from Manchester?—About four miles from Manchester.

16,205. Are you a partner in the firm?—I am a partner in the firm.

16,206. How many partners are there?—There are several partners.

16,207. You say that they have collieries at Pendlebury?—Yes; and also at Pendleton, Edge Croft, Clifton Hall, Clifton Moss, Stone Clough, Little Lever, Ratcliffe, and the Cleggs, near Rochdale.

16,208. And do you work them all?—Yes, I and my partners; I am the managing partner of the Pendlebury district.

16,209. How many hands do you employ?—We employ about 3,000 altogether.

16,210. Is there a union among the colliers?—We do not countenance the union; in fact we will not employ union men.

16,211. My question was whether in fact there is a union among the colliers?—Oh, yes, there is.

16,212. How long have you been carrying on this business?—A great many years.

16,213. At this moment you are not employing union men, are you?—No, we are not.

16,214. Did you formerly employ them?—The principal time when we gave over employing union men might be between 1844 and 1846, but previously to that time we had had disturbances so as to cause us to decide not to employ union men.

16,215. Something took place previously to that time which led to your employing non-union men?—Yes.

16,216. And for the last 20 years you have been always employing non-union men?—Yes.

16,217. And you still employ non-union men?—We still employ non-union men. Of course they may

FOURTEENTH DAY.

Mr. J. Knowles.

20 Sept. 1867.

get into our works without our knowledge, but we discharge them when we happen to know of it.

16,218. Within the last 12 months or so have any men left your work in consequence of their joining the union?—About 1,400 left in November last.

16,219. Do I understand you to say that it was in consequence of their joining the union (you employing non-union men) that those 1,400 men left your works?—Yes.

16,220. Then did those 1,400 men become union men?—A few of them were in the union previously to that time; that we did not know of, and they left work and induced the others to leave, and then, after having left our employment, they at once joined the union to get the advantage of the subscriptions which might be paid.

16,221. Then in all about 1,400 left?—Yes.

16,222. Had you had any dispute at the time with them about wages or anything of that sort?—None whatever.

16,223. Then was it a sort of sudden resolution?—It was a resolution which was come to in the Pendlebury district, on the 8th of November, and they induced a large proportion to stop from their work on the Friday morning, the 9th.

16,224. And you had had no dispute to lead to it in any way?—None whatever.

16,225. Not in reference to wages or anything?—No, all our men on being employed came into our employment with the understanding that they did not join any colliery union.

16,226. And that has been the understanding for the last 20 years, has it not?—Yes, it has.

16,227. Some of them had privately joined the union unknown to you?—Yes.

16,228. And they had persuaded the others, and it led to this?—Yes.

16,229. At the time that this circumstance took place were your wages high?—They were higher than they had ever been; in fact, the men had just had an advance given to them, and they had scarcely received any advantage from it.

16,230. I suppose that you have never had any negociations or deputations from them, have you?—No, and we do not recognize them.

16,231. You do not recognize their existence?—No.

16,232. When the colliers left your work, was the colliery trade in any other part of the country in a depressed state?—Yes, in Staffordshire particularly, and also the mining population in Cornwall were very much in want of work.

16,233. That was just at the time when those men left as you have described?—Yes.

16,234. Upon having 1,400 men leave you, what did you do for hands?—We sent out our agents to different parts of the country and brought men to the works.

16,235. How many men did you get?—Altogether, the number that we brought from Staffordshire and Cornwall might be 500—300 from Staffordshire and about 200 from Cornwall; but I think that an equal quantity, about 500 others, came of themselves, knowing that the wages were remunerative, and they receiving very little where they were living.

16,236. Where did those men come from?—The majority of them came from Staffordshire, and some came from Cornwall.

16,237. I suppose you took means to make it known?—Yes, we sent about 3,000 placards up and down the country for the purpose of informing them that we were wanting colliery hands.

16,238. Those men having joined the union, had you any houses in which union men resided?—Yes, we had many houses.

16,239. Were the houses occupied by some of those men who then joined, or by some who had been union men before?—Both cases, but principally those who were induced to join immediately; there was a stoppage.

16,240. Some of those, at all events, you say were tenants of yours?—Yes.

16,241. Upon this having taken place did you give the men any notice, or what did you do with them?—We gave them notice to leave the cottages because we wanted them for the new hands.

16,242. They had occupied those cottages as being in your employment, and you, of course, wanted those cottages for the new hands, as you tell us?—Yes.

16,243. What was the nature of the tenancy?—It was simply a fortnightly tenancy or a weekly tenancy.

16,244. Could you get the cottages vacant in time for the new hands?—We could not, because it would take a week or so to get them out of the cottages.

16,245. Did you then engage other rooms for those other men?—Well, we prepared our work and store rooms in the different collieries for the accommodation of the new hands, purchasing beds and bedding and all the requisites for living.

16,246. How many should you say that you had in the store-rooms under those circumstances?—I daresay we had 150 at a time, and then as we had cottages emptied we put them into the cottages.

16,247. Did you anticipate that those new hands, to the number of about 1,000, would probably be annoyed by those who had joined the union?—Yes, we had every reason to think that they would, and the results which did take place showed it.

16,248. In expectation of that, did you engage the services of any police or anything of that sort?—Yes, we did.

16,249. Of the county police?—The county police and also the borough police.

16,250. Did you engage them for any period of time?—No, there was no particular period.

16,251. But did you employ and pay them for a certain amount of time?—I daresay we employed them for six months.

16,252. I need scarcely ask you whether that did not cost you something, at all events?—It did. I think in our Pendlebury district we had 12 policemen; in Ratcliffe we had about seven, and perhaps about the same number at Little Lever and Stone Clough.

16,253. This district which you have been speaking of is the Pendlebury district?—Yes.

16,254. I think you mentioned that you have also collieries at Stone Clough and Clifton?—Yes, Clifton is in the Pendlebury district.

16,255. Had you ever had a turn out of colliers before this?—In 1863 we had a turn out from the same cause at Clifton Moss, Stone Clough, and Little Lever, and that lasted 12 months.

16,256. Was that from a similar cause?—Yes, the men joined the union.

16,257. Do you know about how many men?—It might be 200 or 300.

16,258. They joined the union; did they find that that did not answer, and did they give it up?—Yes.

16,259. In 12 months you say?—They gradually came in, but 12 months was the ending of it.

16,260. You always persisted in having nothing to do with the union and not even recognizing their existence?—Yes.

16,261. They had been out for 12 months, and then they thought better of it and came back?—Yes.

16,262. Had you had previously any turn out in the Pendlebury district?—The one previous to that was in 1850.

16,263. We will not go into that, that is beyond our time, which is limited to 10 years?—There was no turn out between 1850 and 1863.

16,264. Do the wages at all depend upon the price of coal?—They do. Our practice is that in any change in the price of coal, on its advancing or reducing, we have changed the wages of the colliers at the same time, so that it really has been a good guide.

16,265. The turn out at Pendlebury of which you first spoke was in November 1866, was it not?—Yes.

16,266. How long did that turn out in November 1866 last?—Six months; it ended in May.

16,267. What did the men who were turned out do; did they get money from the union?—Yes.

16,268. What was the rate of wages which those 1,400 men who turned out then were then receiving per week?—Taking the men and boys together the average would be 22*s.* per week; the boys would get less, but the men would get more.

16,269. Taking the average at 22*s.*, how much would the men get?—About 29*s.* per week. There are double the number of men that there are of boys, so that the proportion can scarcely be worked out.

16,270. And that would have extended over a period, if they had been with you, of six months?—Yes, I would say that that is the average of the wages that they get, and that depends upon the amount of time they work. Being paid by the piece they may make more or less, but that is actually the average.

16,271. Have you now a full complement of workmen?—Yes, we have.

16,272. And does it still include those whom I may call strangers from Staffordshire and Cornwall?—It does not include all of them; many of them are working, and many of the old hands who have given up the union are at work.

16,273. Several of those who had joined the union have thought better of it and have come back to you?—Yes, a large proportion.

16,274. Of course, in coming back to you they have had to give up their membership of the union?—They had.

16,275. In March last did any fire take place in any of your store-rooms?—Yes, there was a fire in our Pendlebury store-room, and that store-room was a room adjoining where some of the people were residing. It burnt both the store-room down and this place, which had been prepared for them to live in.

16,276. Was it at night when the fire was discovered?—It was early on Sunday morning, about a quarter past 1 o'clock, or 1 o'clock. I will not be certain as to the exact time.

16,277. Was the store-room where the fire was discovered one of those rooms which you had had prepared for the new comers?—That particular store-room was simply a shed which we originally kept oil in for the use of the colliery.

16,278. Was there oil there?—Yes, oil, and tallow, and hemp, and other things.

16,279. Things which would have burnt pretty freely?—They did burn freely. All those stores had been put into this shed out of the old store-room where the people were living.

16,280. So that you had all those combustible materials in one place, and there the fire was discovered?—Yes.

16,281. And in a room adjoining those other rooms where the new comers were living?—Yes.

16,282. So that it would have gone on and burnt down the place where they were?—Yes, and it did burn it down.

16,283. How much did it burn?—There would be about 500*l.* worth of stores.

16,284. Can you give us at all any estimate of the amount of damage done by that fire?—Well, the buildings would be worth 300*l.* and the stores 500*l.*, that makes 800*l.* altogether.

16,285. The fire was discovered about the time you say, and you took immediate measures of course to put it down?—Yes, there were policemen there. It was found out a few minutes after it was set on fire. If it had not been discovered early we should have had a very serious explosion.

16,286. Will you mention how that would have occurred?—Close to these works was a gasometer, with a large pressure of gas on it to force the gas down the pit (I name its being a large pressure for that purpose), and not very far from that was a powder magazine, and also another store-room, so that it is the most dangerous place to set on fire that you could possibly have.

16,287. Had you any gun-cotton?—Yes, some gun-cotton.

16,288. What quantity of powder had you?—There might be a ton or so, but I cannot tell the exact quantity. It was our usual quantity which we keep for the works.

16,289. I suppose, for the purpose of injuring your property a place could hardly have been selected which was more likely to produce that injury than the place where the fire was discovered?—No, I do not think it could.

16,290. There was a store-room and a powder magazine, and also the place where the gun-cotton was?—Yes.

16,291. Had the fire not been discovered in the way it was and put out, I suppose the destruction of your property and the loss of life would have been very considerable?—The loss of life would have been immense in the village.

16,292. Had you had any reason to expect that some damage would be done, so as to be on the look-out?—Well, a short time before it had been rumoured about that some great mischief would be done, either to the works or to the mill belonging to one of the partners, or perhaps to some of the houses where the partners resided.

16,293. Had any letters been sent?—No threatening letters whatever.

16,294. Did any letters come to you at all from the union?—Yes, two letters have come.

16,295. Have you got them?—Yes (*handing in the letters*).

16,296. This is a letter from persons professing to be the committee?—Yes; they are of no moment. There was no reply sent to the first letter, because being a committee we did not recognize it.

16,297. That letter, I see, bears date December 12th 1866?—Yes.

16,298. Will you read it?—"Committee Rooms, Pendlebury, Windmill Inn, December 12th 1866 ——."

16,299. Is that the committee room of the union?—Yes.

"To Messrs. Andrew Knowles and Sons,

"GENTLEMEN,

"WE, a committee formed of your own men, "wish to know the reason why you object to us join- "ing the union, seeing other masters allow their men "that privilege, and master and men are working "harmoniously together. If you would admit of a "deputation composed of your own men, a deputation "of your own men will meet you at any time and "place you may appoint. An answer to this note "will greatly oblige

"Yours respectfully

"THE COMMITTEE."

16,300. Then the other letter you have given to me is a letter dated "Pendlebury, May 16th 1867." Will you read that (*handing the letter to the witness*). That letter you are now going to read is from some of your men, and it is signed by Chapman, the secretary, as he is called, is it not?—He is not a man of ours.

16,301. He writes for your men, but he himself writes as the secretary of the union?—Yes.

"SIR, Pendlebury, May 16th, 1867.

"WE are ashamed of writing to you through "our conduct in the strike, knowing that we put you "to a great deal of trouble and expense by our un- "manly conduct, but we were led on by men who "said fine things and made great promises (who, we "believe, had had their great feelings hurt because "you would not speak to them). Fools that we were "to heed them, men who we believe care very little "for us so long as they can get their 30*s.* per week, "and themselves thought to be somebody. But we "have had enough, and more than enough, and many "of us were young and inexperienced in such things, "but thought at the time it was wrong to strike in "the manner we did without a moment's warning, "but we were overruled; fools I say we were again "to heed them.

"But now to the point. We humbly beg that you

FOURTEENTH DAY.

Mr. J. Knowles.

20 Sept. 1867.

" will look over our conduct for the past, and we pro-
" mise amends for the future. We are forced to keep
" in the union while we are out of employment; you
" will see that, if we withdrew from the union, and
" then you would not employ us, our support would be
" gone, and we should have to leave the country to
" seek other employment. We were led to join the
" union under a belief that it would do us good, and
" the rules went to say that we were not to do any-
" thing that would injure either employer or em-
" ployed, rules which have been foully broken by the
" present strike. But we, the leading members of the
" lodge which is held at the 'Windmill Inn,' and
" which is the most influential lodge in the whole dis-
" trict, pledge ourselves to withdraw from the union
" if you will look over our fault this time, and take
" the few members we have out of employment to
" their work again, with the privilege of turning our
" lodge into a sick lodge, as we have some money on
" hand which we do not want to leave, and we also
" think that if you will grant us these things, that
" turning of our lodge into a sick lodge will be the
" means of smashing up the union in Pendlebury.
" Hoping you will consider our petition, and if you
" can grant us our request and we promise not to be
" so soon led to enter a trades union again.

" Signed on behalf of the leading members of the
" above lodge.

" I remain, your humble servant,

" JOHN CHAPMAN,

" John Knowles, Esqre. Secretary.

" P.S.—You must not think that it is on my own
' account that I write this. I was not working for
" you at the time of the strike, and I do not think I
" shall ever work in the pit again.

" J. C."

" SIR,

" If you can agree with our proposition you
" will greatly oblige by writing in return, and I will
" ever remain your humble servant,

" JOHN CHAPMAN,

" John Knowles, Esqre. Secretary."

16,302. Was that the reply you wrote (*handing a letter to the witness*) ?—Yes.

16,303. What is the date of that ?—

" SIR, May 23rd, 1867.

" IN reply to your letter of the 16th instant, I
" can enter into no negociations on the subject therein
" named.

" Yours truly

" JOHN KNOWLES."

16,304. I think you have also told us that you did take some men back ?—Any man coming back on his own account we would take on, and they knew that at the time.

16,305. But you would not recognize the union and had nothing whatever to do with it ?—Yes, that was it.

16,306. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Has the union any price list ?—No, no price list at all; I do not know of any.

16,307. You pay your men by the piece I think you said ?—Yes, we do.

16,308. Are you aware whether you pay your men as highly as union men are paid ?—Yes, we do; and the consequence of that is that they are induced to come to us by the price which we give.

16,309. You think that you give as high prices as any other colliery master in the trade ?—Quite so; we have to do that to induce them to come to us.

16,310. In what way did you anticipate that the union men would interfere with the working of your pit ?—We had had experience of that many years before.

16,311. But can you tell us in what way you supposed they would interfere with your business ?—Well, they would dictate to us what we should do as regards the working of the collieries.

16,312. That is a very general answer, you know; it seems to me that you did not anticipate any difficulty on the ground of wages, because you were paying the highest wages in the trade ?—No.

16,313. Then in what other way did you anticipate that the union would interfere with you ?—They would pass laws and regulations for the working of our collieries, which would interfere with us.

16,314. But I rather want to know what you thought those laws and regulations would be ?—Well, I will tell you what happened once in 1833 ——

16,315. I will take this as an illustration of what may happen now, but of course we cannot go into what happened in 1833 ?—No, I am only showing you the beginning of it; of course I am now telling you my father's experience of it. At that time there was a dispute about the works; a certain number of men came to the colliery, took the engine men's place, and let men down the pit and brought our colliers out, and there was a riot then, and there were 18 men sent to Lancaster for it.

16,316. What was the ground of that; what was the reason they gave for taking your men out ?—It was a dispute about wages; they wanted them to stop, and we were then paying more wages (so I am informed) than our neighbours; they wanted them stopped so that they could get more, and they fetched the men out of the pit.

16,317. In that case they would have interfered with you in point of wages, although you were paying the highest price ?—Yes, at that particular time.

16,318. Were those men whom you introduced, particularly the Cornish men, satisfactory pit hands ?—They were after they had been down a certain time. Of course being miners, they could not get into the working of the coal so soon as the others, but they are satisfactory, no doubt.

16,319. Then the effect of the strike has been to introduce a thousand new labourers into your district ?—Yes, but part of them have returned. They have kept going backwards and forwards from Staffordshire and from Cornwall to here.

16,320. But a portion of them remain I suppose ?—Yes.

16,321. I suppose that would rather have a tendency to lower the rate of wages ?—It has not done so as a matter of fact. There has been a reduction in the rate of wages on account of the reduction in the price of coal, but there has been no reduction in the rate of wages in consequence of those men being imported into the district.

16,322. Is the labour market now fully supplied, or not ?—It is fully supplied with us.

16,323. In speaking of this building of yours you used the words "set on fire;" do you attribute the fire to the work of an incendiary ?—I do.

16,324. What reason have you for saying so ?—Because the place was perfectly safe, and there was nothing to cause a fire of the material which was in it, and there were men about the place who would easily have discovered any smouldering or any smell arising if it had been caused by spontaneous combustion.

16,325. Were you insured ?—No, we were not.

16,326. Then of course you did not have it surveyed ?—No, not at all.

16,327. Did you find matches or naphtha, or any combustible material about the place ?—It was all burnt down; there was plenty of oil and tallow of our own in the place.

16,328. But did you find anything such as anybody would have brought to set fire to the building ?—I think they would have very easily set fire to it by putting a match to it.

16,329. Had anybody been seen about the place ?—No. The way in which we think it was set on fire was from the back. To get at the front of the place they must be in the colliery yard, but it could be got to from the back.

16,330. No one was apprehended, I suppose ?—No.

16,331. Can you give any opinion as to whether or not the fire was the work of anyone connected with

the union ?—I think it must have been because of the rumours which were afloat that some mischief must be done.

16,332. You had a dispute with the union, and there were rumours afloat that mischief would be done ?—Yes.

16,333. Putting those two things together you argue that the fire was the work of some union men ?—Yes, and from the expressions which were used at the time when the fire was raging.

16,334. Were you there at the time of the fire ?—No, I was not.

16,335. Did the fire bring a large crowd of people ?—A great number. (*The witness produced a paper.*)

16,336. You are apparently going to read some expressions which you tell me were used at the time. Who told you the expressions ?—It was one of the managers of our colliery, an under-manager.

16,337. Is he here ?—He is not here. His name is Peter Higham ; he said that he heard Thomas Fletcher ——

16,338. I suppose that if we saw it necessary we could have Peter Higham here ?—Yes, you could.

16,339. Is he still in your employment ?—Yes. This is information which I got at the time after the fire. I tried to ascertain what I could, but I could not bring it home to anyone. "Thomas Fletcher, George Pil-" kington, and Jesse Booth were on the contrary side " of the road. Those men stood on the opposite side " of the road during the fire, and they expressed a " wish that the bloody place was on fire, and the " knobsticks in it."

16,340. Part of their wish, it seems, was gratified ?—Yes.

16,341. But that was during the time that it was on fire, I suppose ?—Yes.

16,342. Was there anything else ?—There is a man named McManus, who works for Mr. Walworth. He said that Robert Tattersall, the smith, of Clifton, had told him that he was afraid that there would be mischief done, and he also said in Worsell's beershop that it would happen on a Sunday morning.

16,343. (*Chairman.*) Is Robert Tattersall a union man ?—No ; he is a smith. I have seen Robert Tattersall, and this is what he says. First of all he said : " I did not make any remark," and then afterwards he says, " I may have made a remark that it was an " unfortunate affair, and that I was afraid something " serious would happen before it was over. A month " last Saturday I called at the house at the bar and " had a glass of beer with James McManus, and it " was then that it was named." Those are the rumours which I heard.

16,344. Are those all the rumours ?—Then McManus said he heard two men in a jerryshop at Pendleton, opposite the street leading to Mr. Barningham's, say that there would be a row before many days.

16,345. Are the other rumours of the same kind as those ?—Yes, they are.

16,346. They do not come nearer ?—They do not come nearer. I am only telling you as far as I could get.

16,347. There were rumours about before this that something would be done to your property ?—Yes.

16,348. And they seem not to be traceable to anyone ?—No, I cannot trace them to anyone.

16,349. (*Chairman.*) You had no private animosity against anybody, had you ?—No, we had not.

16,350. And you know of no reason at all why your premises should have been destroyed, except the quarrel with the union ?—That is all.

16,351. (*Mr. Chance.*) What was the building made of which was burnt ?—It was a brick building. It was originally two cottages and a shed at the end of it, and the two cottages were made into rooms for the men to sleep and live in.

16,352. Could they be set on fire from the outside ?—Where the shed was they could be easily set on fire from the outside.

16,353. Was the shed built of wood ?—No, of brick.

16,354. Then how could it be set on fire ?—By simply putting a light through the wall at the back into the interior.

16,355. Were there many combustible materials exposed about which would easily take fire ?—Yes, it was a store-room, with oil, and tallow, and hemp.

16,356. The oil, I suppose, was kept in vessels ?—Yes, in barrels.

16,357. And was the tallow in barrels too ?—Yes.

16,358. Was there wood about which would take fire ?—No, there would be no wood about in the place, it would simply be hemp and ropes.

16,359. Were any of your men allowed to smoke there ?—Not at all ; it was not a place where they would go ; it was in the middle of the night.

16,360. You cannot conceive how an accident could have occurred ?—I cannot see how it could have occurred there.

16,361. You do not think that it could have occurred from spontaneous combustion ?—No, because the police were in the yard going about, and any smell which would have been caused by spontaneous combustion would have been easily detected. It was found out about a quarter of an hour after it was set on fire.

16,362. (*Chairman.*) Were there policemen watching your premises at this time ?—There were.

16,363. Where ought they to have been ?—There was a policeman in the yard at the time.

16,364. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Were the new hands actually in the adjoining shed at the time that the fire broke out ?—Yes, some few.

16,365. (*Chairman.*) And I believe that one of the policemen discovered the fire, did he not ?—I think he did.

16,366. A man named Alcock I understand discovered it ?—I do not know his name, but he went to our manager immediately.

16,367. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Of course if the fire had caught the powder the adjoining shed would have been blown to pieces ?—There would have been a serious injury ; hundreds of lives would have been lost for certain.

16,368. (*Chairman.*) You said that you imagine they had put a light in the shed from behind ?—Yes.

16,369. Did they open the door and go in, or did they put it through a hole ?—Put it through a hole.

16,370. Was there a window ?—I cannot describe the exact position ; we thought it could be done there ; it is only a supposition.

16,371. But you think something could have been thrown there which would easily have caught ?—Yes, it is but low, so that if they could not get it through the wall they could put it through the slates and let it drop down, or even they might have been so sharp as to get round to the front and throw it in, and then get back.

16,372. (*Mr. Chance.*) Was the combustible material close to where this hole was ?—It was all filled in the shed.

The witness withdrew.

JOHN WALWORK sworn and examined.

J. Walwork.

16,373. (*Mr. Barstow.*) What are you ?—A wheelwright.

16,374. Where do you live ?—In Pendlebury.

16,375. Do you remember the colliers' strike at Messrs. Knowles' colliery ?—Yes.

16,376. Do you remember exactly when it was ?—Well, I cannot tell exactly the date, but I can remember the time very well.

16,377. You remember Mr. Knowles getting some new hands ?—Yes.

16,378. Had some of those new hands lodged with you ?—Yes.

16,379. Do you remember when it was that those

FOURTEENTH DAY.

J. Walwork.

20 Sept. 1867.

new hands came to lodge with you?—I remember the time, but I cannot exactly tell you the date.

16,380. Can you remember the month?—I do not know that I can.

16,381. Can you remember about the time of the year?—It was the back-end of last year.

16,382. About October or November perhaps?—Well, I should say it was somewhere about that time, to the best of my knowledge.

16,383. How many men lodged with you?—Six.

16,384. Did anything happen to your house whilst they were lodging there?—Yes.

16,385. What was that?—I had my front window broken, and the men had to be guarded to and from their work——

16,386. Keep to the windows first; how many windows were broken?—There were two windows with six panes in the front room below, and one pane in the room above.

16,387. At what time of the day was this done?—About 7 o'clock, as near as I could think.

16,388. Did you see anybody do it?—No.

16,389. Did anyone see who did it?—No, there was one of those lodgers who went into the front room to write a letter, and they were shouting, "Turn those bloody knobsticks out of your house."

16,390. The people in the street were shouting, "Turn those bloody knobsticks out?"—Yes; and when he went into the room there were several stones came through the window at him, and he made his way back again into the kitchen.

16,391. Then there was a light in the room, was there?—Yes, he went with a candle into the room to write this letter.

16,392. And the people outside could see that there was somebody in the room?—Yes.

16,393. Were you in the house at the time?—No.

16,394. Was anybody taken up for this?—No.

16,395. Did you give information to the police?—Yes, information was given to the police there and then.

16,396. And they came on the spot?—They came on the spot.

16,397. Did they find anyone there?—No, they could not find anyone there nor anyone about.

16,398. This crowd who were shouting out had dispersed?—Yes.

16,399. You said something about the men being guarded?—They were guarded to and from their work.

16,400. Who guarded them?—Police-constable Cock guarded them to and from their work.

16,401. How long did they live with you?—I should think about four or five months.

16,402. Did this continue all the time that they were living with you?—Yes, there was threatening language used all the time.

16,403. But were they guarded to and from their work all the time that they lived with you?—Yes, they were guarded to and from their work all the time that they lived with me.

16,404. Have you ever heard threatening language used to them?—Yes.

16,405. By whom have you heard that language used?—I cannot exactly say. It was shouted out in the street whilst I was in the house.

16,406. But did you see the persons who shouted to them?—I do not know that I did, I only heard someone calling.

16,407. I did not mean to ask whether you saw them so as to know them again, but what sort of people were they?—They appeared to be colliers.

16,408. You saw them well enough to know that?—Yes.

16,409. You live in a colliery district and know colliers as well as possible, I suppose, when you see them?—Yes.

16,410. Is that all you know of any act of violence?—No. I removed from that place to a place called City Walk, close by the colliery, and I believe that last Christmas-day I was returning home, me and my "missus" were going down together, and I saw a drunken man coming up, and I said to my "missus," "We will step on one side and let this man go along, "as he appears to be drunk, and seems to have as "much as he can manage with him." The moon was shining bright at that time as he was passing, and he saw it was me, and he came and laid hold of me, and got hold of my shirt front and pulled it out, and he said, "I suppose thou art a bloody knobstick." I said, "Not that I am aware of;" he said, "I will give thee a bloody good whiz." That means a good strike, you know. I said, "You had better not if you can get any other shift;" and then my wife caught hold of him instead of me.

You can stand down.

The witness withdrew.

W. Holford.

WILLIAM HOLFORD sworn and examined.

16,411. (*Mr. Chance.*) Are you a collier?—Yes.

16,412. In November last year were you working for Messrs. Knowles?—Yes.

16,413. How long had you been working for them?—Well, I cannot say I am sure.

16,414. Had you been working for them for sometime?—Yes, five or six weeks I daresay.

16,415. Were you one of the new hands engaged by them in consequence of the strike?—Yes.

16,416. Where did you come from?—I came from a place called Wigan.

16,417. Were you ever threatened or annoyed by the union men at Pendlebury?—I do not understand you.

16,418. Was anything ever said to you by any of the union men at Pendlebury?—No.

16,419. Were you ever called a "knobstick?"—Oh yes.

16,420. Were you often called a "knobstick?"—Well, several times.

16,421. Was that by the union colliers?—Yes.

16,422. Did they ever beat you at all?—No.

16,423. Do you remember one night in September a bottle being thrown into your house?—Yes.

16,424. Into what part of your house was it thrown?—It was thrown through the front chamber window.

16,425. At what time?—Between 11 and 12 o'clock at night.

16,426. Who was in the room at the time?—Only me and my "missus."

16,427. You were in bed I suppose?—Yes.

16,428. Did the bottle explode?—Yes, if it was a bottle; but I do not know whether it was a bottle of some kind, or a fire-arm, but it made a big noise.

16,429. And it woke you up I suppose; was it on fire?—Yes, I thought the room was in a blaze, with little bits of stones and bottles and things.

16,430. Did it set anything on fire in the room?—No.

16,431. But you found bits of bottle and bits of stone?—Yes.

16,432. Did you find any nails about?—No, bits of bottle and stone on the floor, and on the bed beside of us.

16,433. You were not injured?—No.

16,434. Had anything ever been said to you by anyone about coming to Pendlebury?—No, no different to anybody else that came the same time as me.

16,435. But did anybody ever say to you that you would have to rue or be sorry for having come to Pendlebury?—Well, they said they was ashamed of me coming, and they asked me the reasons I came for.

16,436. Who said that?—It was some of those union men; I do not know which of them.

16,437. Did they ever tell you that you would repent coming to Pendlebury?—They told me that I

should rue it; they thought I should have more sense than to come.

16,438. Was this before the bottle was thrown into your window?—Yes.

16,439. Had you any private quarrel with anybody?—No, I never had a word with any man since I came.

16,440. You do not know any reason why any man should throw a bottle through your window?—No, I do not.

16,441. Was it your belief that it was to make you rue coming to Pendlebury that this bottle was thrown?—I thought it was for the purpose of frightening me away, but still I remained; I did not go away.

16,442. You are working there still?—Yes.

16,443. Was anything else done to you?—No.

16,444. They call you "knobstick," I suppose, still?—Yes.

The witness withdrew.

Samuel Potts sworn and examined.

16,445. (*Chairman.*) Do you remember the Pendlebury district in November last?—I do.

16,446. There was a strike, we understand, among the colliers?—Yes, there was.

16,447. Was there much disturbance going on?—There was a great deal of disturbance.

16,448. We understand that several additional constables were employed to protect Mr. Knowles' property?—There were 10 besides Inspector Bent.

16,449. There were several summonses against persons for breaches of the peace?—Yes, I reported a great many.

16,450. Were non-union people and their families the subject of insult or injury in any way at that time?—Yes, to the very utmost.

16,451. Were they hooted?—Yes, they were.

16,452. Were stones thrown at them?—There were stones thrown in a great many instances.

16,453. When they were seen leaving their houses?—Going to and from their work. There was one place in particular, the "Windmill," where the union club-house is. Police-constable Alcock used to bring them down as low as there, and I met them there and took them home. I lived in a house, almost the centre of a row, under Messrs. Knowles and Son, and all the way coming by there a great many of the factory people stopped till they got a hundred or so together, and then shouted and made a great annoyance as they passed by. It was night and day continually.

16,454. How long did this go on?—I have no exact date, but I should say it would be five months altogether.

16,455. While the strike was going on?—While the strike was going on. There was one instance while I was in Pendlebury. A young lad was summoned for annoying in company with others. There were about 20 or 30 lads that had got tin cans, and they were shouting and ringing them close into the fresh comers ears, and a lot of the union men that I knew were union men were standing a short distance off and harrying them on and saying, "Go it, lads! Give it 'em!"

16,456. What month was it when that took place?—I think it would be in December.

16,457. In December last?—In December last.

16,458. (*Mr. Chance.*) Is it all quiet now?—Yes, it is all quiet and peaceable now.

The witness withdrew.

Joseph Robinson, jun., sworn and examined.

16,459. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Did you come into the employment of Messrs. Knowles at the end of last year?—Yes.

16,460. Do you remember at what time you came?—No, I do not.

16,461. You came here from Bilston I believe?—Yes.

16,462. Do you remember of being assaulted on the 9th of February last?—Yes.

16,463. Was that at Clifton?—That was at Clifton Moss.

16,464. Just tell us what happened to you.—I was going home on the Saturday night and I was met by four or five young men in a field, and they asked me if I was a "knobstick." I told them I did not know what they meant by that. They said, "Are you in the union?" I said, "No;" so I was struck by one of them. I started to run and I was met by another or two. I could not see, and it was dark. I was knocked down and kicked and jumped on scandalous.

16,465. I believe a man named Wolstenholme was apprehended?—I cannot say. I could not tell any of them; it was dark.

16,466. Was not a man prosecuted?—Not that I know of.

16,467. Was no one taken up in consequence of that assault?—No.

16,468. Were you assaulted at any other time?—I was insulted one Sunday at home by having the window smashed by a lot of them.

16,469. Where were you living at that time?—At Clifton Moss.

16,470. Did your house face the street?—Yes, it was going up to the pit where I worked.

16,471. Were you in the house at the time?—I was in my house washing myself when there came a party to the door.

16,472. Of about how many did the party consist?—I think seven or eight of them came at first, and there were two that lodged with me standing at the door when they came.

16,473. That is to say, two of Mr. Knowles's new hands?—They were working for Mr. Knowles, and were lodging with me. They began to talk to them and question them, and asked if they would join the union, and go and leave Mr. Knowles, and they would find them work; and they told them it would not do for them, they were in a strange country. So then there came another lot up, and when this t'other lot came up, one that lodges with me, John Barnett, said, "I will go and put my jacket on;" and then they struck him and knocked him in the house, and the row began then. One of those union men began.

16,474. Barnett was standing at your door?—Yes.

16,475. Did the men strike him?—Yes, the men struck him.

16,476. And they knocked him down?—Yes, they knocked him down. My door was shut, and there came a great thump at the window and smashed that other pane.

16,477. Did you pull Barnett into the house?—They knocked him into the house, and then I shut the door, and then they began to break the windows. My child was sat in her little chair before the window, and I picked the child up to take it out of the way, so that I could not see who they were.

16,478. How many windows did they smash?—I should say they smashed about eight or ten windows.

16,479. Do you not know a man of the name of Wolstenholme at all?—I do not.

16,480. Have you never appeared against him?—No.

16,481. Did you ever go before the magistrates?—No.

16,482. Did you give information to the police about breaking your windows?—Yes, the police came out. I was taken ill down the pit on the Friday night, and I was bad, otherwise I should have appeared before the magistrates on Saturday.

FOURTEENTH DAY.

J. Robinson, jun.

20 Sept. 1867.

16,483. Some proceedings were taken then?—Yes.

16,484. Do you know what was done to the men?—I believe some of them went to Stafford, but I am not sure.

16,485. It would not be to Stafford; but they went to prison, you say. Do you know who they were?—No, I do not; I did not stop long after.

16,486. Then it is not correct to say that anyone was punished for assaulting you?—No.

16,487. Are those two cases of which you have told us, when you were assaulted by those four or five young men in the fields and when you had your windows smashed, the only times when any violence has been offered to you?—Yes, I have been threatened several times going home; they have shouted "knobstick," and threatened me.

16,488. I suppose that all the new hands were shouted at and threatened?—Yes, when they were coming for their reckoning, they were called it then.

16,489. (*Chairman.*) Where are you working now?—I am working at Bilston.

16,490. Is that in Staffordshire?—Yes.

16,491. Then had you to leave your work here in consequence of the way in which you were treated?—Yes, I did not like to stop; I was frightened to stop.

16,492. You have a family, have you not?—Yes.

16,493. How many children have you?—One child.

16,494. And you were frightened and went back to Bilston?—Yes.

16,495. Were those men punished for an assault on you or upon your father?—One was punished for an assault upon my father.

16,496. Was anybody punished for the assault upon you?—No.

16,497. Then what you mentioned about a person being punished was for an assault upon your father?—Yes.

16,498. When was your father assaulted?—Not at the same time that I was.

16,499. Do you remember when it was?—No, I do not; it was on a Saturday that he was struck, but I do not know when it was.

16,500. And it was for that that the man was punished?—Yes.

The witness withdrew.

J. Robinson, sen.

JOSEPH ROBINSON, sen., sworn and examined.

16,501. (*Mr. Chance.*) Are you a collier working for Messrs. Knowles?—Yes.

16,502. Did you come into their employment in the November of last year?—Yes.

16,503. Where did you come from?—I come from Bilston in Staffordshire now.

16,504. When you came to Pendlebury were you called "knobstick?"—Yes.

16,505. Were you often called "knobstick?"—No, not very often.

16,506. Did a good many people call you "knobstick?"—We were never called "knobsticks" in our own country till we came over here.

16,507. Were you never called a "knobstick" until you came to Pendlebury?—No.

16,508. Were you ever assaulted or beaten at Pendlebury?—I went to Pendlebury to reckon under Messrs. Knowles, and I was going back to my home where I lived, and as I was going by the "Robin Hood" door, six or seven men stood there, and they said, "Knobstick! knobstick!" I passed on, me and my "missus," and I got a little boy in my hand. As I was going up the road a little higher I met a man coming down as I was going up, and he up with his fist and knocked me down, and knocked down the little boy, and before I could gather myself up he ran away. These men would not let me go into the house after him, and some little boy said, "It was Wolstenholme that knocked that old man down;" so I walked my way home and fetched a summons against Wolstenholme, and I found he was the right man and he suffered for it.

16,509. How far was it from the "Robin Hood" to where those men struck you?—I suppose 20 or 30 yards.

16,510. Did they all seem to be of the same party?—Yes.

16,511. Were you ever at any other time ill-treated?—No, I was never insulted at any other time, nor have I been insulted since; they have baa'd at me as I was going by.

16,512. Where are you working now?—In Staffordshire.

16,513. What made you leave Pendlebury?—Well, I was working at Moss; I was not working at Pendlebury.

16,514. But you were working for Messrs. Knowles?—Yes. It is nearly all lamp work here; in our country we work by candles, and I am getting an old man and the lamps hurt my eyes.

16,515. You did not leave because you were called a "knobstick" and beaten?—No.

16,516. You did not care about it?—No.

The witness withdrew.

H. Jones.

HENRY JONES sworn and examined.

16,517. (*Chairman.*) Are you a miner?—Yes.

16,518. Did you work for Messrs. Knowles?—Yes.

16,519. Are you working for them now?—Yes.

16,520. You do not belong to the union, I suppose?—No, I do not.

16,521. In February last were you attacked by anybody?—Yes.

16,522. Who attacked you?—Well, I could not say.

16,523. But how many men?—I could not tell you how many men there were.

16,524. Were there more than three or four?—I could not tell you how many there were.

16,525. But were there more than one?—Yes, there was more than one.

16,526. Were there more than two?—I could not say how many there were.

16,527. Were there so many that you could not count them?—I did not see them.

16,528. Tell me what happened to you?—I was going out of my house No. 6 on the Clifton Moss into the next door.

16,529. What time in the evening was it?—It was near upon 12 o'clock I should think; I was knocked down and knocked senseless. I could not tell who did it.

16,530. Where were you hit?—I was cut under the eye.

16,531. With what?—I could not tell; I was knocked down senseless. I could not see who did it.

16,532. But did you gather from the nature of the blow what it was?—I should think myself it was a kick.

16,533. But they could not kick you in the eye?—I think it was a kick.

16,534. Anything may have happened to you after you were knocked down, but do you remember where the blow was or what it was by which you were knocked down?—I could not tell whether it was a fist or a stick; it was dark.

16,535. Well, it hit you in the eye?—I was caught in the eye the first time, and I never remembered anything besides.

16,536. You only remember the blow coming upon your eye, but whether it was a stick or a fist you do not know?—No, I was insensible; I could not tell anything about it afterwards.

16,537. When you came to your senses where were you?—They had brought me into my own house then.

16,538. It was quite dark?—Yes.

16,539. Were some of the men caught running away ?—Yes.

16,540. I believe they were afterwards sent for trial, were they not ?—Yes.

16,541. Were they found guilty and punished ?—Yes.

16,542. What did they get ?—They had 12 months I believe.

16,543. How many of them ?—Two of them.

16,544. And they were sent for trial for this assault upon you ?—Yes.

16,545. Were they unionists ?—Yes.

16,546. Are you working for Mr. Knowles now ?—Yes.

16,547. We understand there were some new hands obtained when the other men struck ; were you one of the new hands ?—Yes, I was one of the first lot that worked for Mr. Knowles up there. I was one of the new hands that went after the strike.

16,548. Where did you come from ?—From Bilston.

16,549. In Staffordshire ?—Yes.

16,550. Were the new hands who came hooted at ?—Yes, and they were called "knobsticks," and such as that ; and baa'd at, and such as that.

16,551. And were stones thrown at them ?—Well, they never threw any at me any more than that night, you know.

The witness withdrew.

JOHN BARNETT sworn and examined.

J. Barnett.

16,552. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Are you a member of any union ?—No.

16,553. Did you come to work for Mr. Knowles at the end of last year ?—Yes.

16,554. Did you come from Bilston ?—Yes.

16,555. After you came here were you hooted at and subjected to insult by the union men ?—Yes.

16,556. Do you remember standing at Robinson's door one Sunday ?—Yes.

16,557. What happened to you then ?—Well, we stood there talking and there came about six or seven men up.

16,558. What men ?—Well, colliers.

16,559. Were they men who were working, or men who were out on strike ?—Well, I believe they were men who were out.

16,560. What did they say to you ?—They came up and said, "There is a lot of fine scamps there ;" and I said to them, "You had better go on about your "business ; we will not have anything at all to say to "you." They said, "Can't men speak ?" and I said, "Yes, you can speak if you like." I did not say any more then.

16,561. What happened to you ?—Well, they stood about the door talking, and they came a bit closer to the door and began to talk about a knobstick and working for Mr. Knowles, and asked me if we would leave him and they would find me a better place if we would join the union and go with them ; and some of them were going to ask the reason why we sent coal up into our country while we were out there for wages. I was in my shirt sleeves at the door and it was rather cold, and I said I would go into the house to put my jacket on, and as I turned one man struck at me and knocked me down and knocked me into the house.

16,562. He struck you with his fist ?—Yes.

16,563. Did anything happen after that ?—Yes, they threw great stones.

16,564. Was the door shut then ?—The door was shut and locked.

16,565. Did the men try to enter the house after you ?—Yes.

16,566. And you and the people who were with you shut the door ?—Yes.

16,567. Then what happened after that ?—They began to throw stones ; they had their pockets full of stones.

16,568. Did you see them take the stones out of their pockets ?—Yes.

16,569. They had come prepared in fact ?—Yes.

16,570. They broke the windows I believe ?—Yes.

16,571. Were any of those men taken ?—Well, I believe some were taken for it.

16,572. Do you know whether a man named Richard Howarth was taken ?—Yes.

16,573. Was he one of that party ?—I cannot say.

16,574. Did you appear against him ?—I was here, but I could not swear to him.

16,575. He was sworn to by somebody who was there ?—Yes, he was sworn to by somebody who was there.

16,576. What was done to him ?—Well, I believe he had 12 months, but I am not certain.

16,577. Were you assaulted on any other occasion ?—Well, no more than shouting "baa" to us, and "knobstick," as we walked up the road.

16,578. You were never struck ?—No.

16,579. Nor were you windows broken, nor anything of that sort ?—Not afterwards.

The witness withdrew.

MATTHEW BOWLING sworn and examined.

M. Bowling.

16,580. (*Mr. Chance.*) Do you work for Messrs. Knowles ?—No, I work for Mr. Henry Hannan, Pendlebury Mills.

16,581. You are not a collier ?—No.

16,582. Do you remember the strike amongst the colliers at Messrs. Knowles' last year ?—Yes.

16,583. It was the latter end of last year, was it not ?—It was.

16,584. Do you remember walking one day in December and being attacked by some men ?—Yes, it was at the night part.

16,585. Where were you going to ?—I was making my way home to Pendlebury Mills, coming down from Manchester here.

16,586. How many men attacked you ?—To tell you true I cannot. It was dark at night, and I being a stranger, I could not tell you how many it was, for I was knocked down at once.

16,587. Were there more than one ?—Yes, there was a crowd of them.

16,588. Was anything said to you before they attacked you ?—I said to them when they started of me I was not a collier nor yet a knobstick ; I was working for Mr. Henry Hannan ; and they called me a "bloody knobstick" then and knocked me down.

16,589. Did you say this to them before they struck you ?—Yes, I did.

16,590. Then had they called you a "knobstick" before they struck you ?—No, I received a blow before that.

16,591. And then it was that you told them that you were not a "knobstick ?"—Yes, I told them that I was not a "knobstick," that I worked for Mr. Henry Hannan as a labouring man.

16,592. And then you say they knocked you down, as I understand ?—Yes, they knocked me down and left me for dead in the lane.

16,593. Did they say anything to you before they struck you again ?—Not to my recollection ; nothing more than a "bloody knobstick."

16,594. But did they say they did not believe you ?—No, they did not.

16,595. Then you did not call them any names ?—No.

16,596. Do you know any reason why they should have struck you ?—I do not know. I was innocent enough, I was innocent as a child amongst them.

FOURTEENTH DAY.

M. Bowling.

20 Sept. 1867.

16,597. Do you suppose that they mistook you for a non-union man?—They did I believe.

16,598. Were you very much injured?—Yes, very much.

16,599. Whereabouts did they strike you?—I had this ear split open and my skull knocked in, and this cheek bone broke, and this lip cut open and laid on my chin, and this side kicked through.

16,600. Do you know what it was they struck you with?—No, I do not.

16,601. Was it with something hard?—With something harder than their fists.

16,602. Not their fists?—No.

16,603. You were afterwards in the infirmary, were you not?—No, I was under Dr. Martin.

16,604. Were you then taken home?—Two parties came and took me home; I did not know who they were and I have never learned that since.

16,605. Did they kick you while you were down on the ground?—They must have done, by the wounds I had on me.

16,606. And how long was it before you recovered?—I was a fortnight at home, and when I went to work I was hardly fit to go; but they wanted me to go, and I did go. I shall never recover it altogether as long as I live.

16,607. Do you feel the effects of it still?—Yes.

The witness withdrew.

T. Halliday.

THOMAS HALLIDAY sworn and examined.

16,608. (*Chairman.*) What is your business?—Well, my "missus" is in business. Of course I am a collier's agent. My "missus" looks after a little shop, by the way.

16,609. Where do you live, then?—At Little Lever, near Bolton.

16,610. Then she looks after the shop, and you are a colliery agent?—Yes.

16,611. Is there a colliers' association there?—Yes.

16,612. A union club, I suppose?—Yes.

16,613. What is your office?—I will explain. My office is to do whatever the miners require to be done while they are at work.

16,614. Is there a president?—Yes.

16,615. Who is the present president?—The man that has been the president from the time it was originated, on the 17th of August 1863.

16,616. What is his name?—His name is John Worrall, of Clifton.

16,617. Is he a miner?—He is now a miner.

16,618. Have you a secretary?—Yes.

16,619. Who is he?—Moses Cotton. He has been the secretary also from the commencement.

16,620. Were you an officer from the first?—I have been an agent from September following August, that is from a month after the origination of the association until now.

16,621. Are you vice-president or treasurer, or anything of that sort?—No, I am agent; but since that time I have been made treasurer.

16,622. When were you made treasurer?—In December, or about the December quarter in 1863.

16,623. Where do you hold your meetings?—We meet in what we consider a delegates' meeting, of a representative from each colliery, or what is known to be a lodge, every fortnight.

16,624. Where do you meet?—At the Church Inn, Farmworth, known more generally as H Wood.

16,625. How far is that from here?—Eight miles, I believe, from this place.

16,626. That, you say, is a meeting of the delegates from the lodges?—Yes.

16,627. Where have you your lodges?—At various places behind Bolton; Little Hulton, Pendlebury, Clifton, Kearsley, Outwood, Ratcliffe, Bury, Bagslet, Littleborough, Shaw, and so on right through the whole district. We include all that.

16,628. All over Lancashire?—No, to Shaw near Oldham we extend; Littleborough, and Pendlebury, and all intermediate places.

16,629. This district which you describe has an ambit of how much round Manchester?—It does not come this side of Manchester at all; it is on the north-east and north-western side of Manchester.

16.630. There is a lodge in each district, and the delegates from each lodge meet every fortnight, do they?—Yes; for instance, it will be the fornightly meeting next Monday.

16,631. Does each lodge send one delegate, or more?—Each lodge sends one delegate only.

16,632. How many delegates have you?—I think we have now since the dispute one or two less than we had at that time. We have perhaps 48 now.

16,633. You had 50 then?—Yes, 50, 51, or 52.

16,634. Then you 48 meet; and do you pass resolutions that are binding upon all the lodges?—Clearly; at least they pass resolutions which go before the lodges again, and then they become binding.

16,635. Then has a separate lodge a power to differ from you, and not to agree to your resolutions?—They are bound by the resolutions after that are passed at the meeting.

16,636. Do those resolutions relate to such things as the wages of the men, and matters of that description?—The resolutions go through about three questions; one is for a death fund, the resolution appertains to that, the rules of which are registered under Government.

16,637. Under the Friendly Societies' Act, I suppose?—Yes; and also to ascertain in case of dispute for lodges where accidents arise. Of course lodges have the management of their own funds. The districts do not do anything with that, only if a dispute arises they all come down to the district meeting for their opinion, and are ruled to a certain extent by that.

16,638. Then there are accidents?—Yes.

16,639. Is there anything else?—Yes, the third point is looking after the protection of the wages of the men, and also, I ought to say, to look after better enactments of law at London, such as looking after better ventilation, &c., and also to attend in such a case as you yourself were in at Liverpool, where there was a compensation for a poor widow, who, very fortunately for her, got 300*l.* damages.

16,639*a*. That is an action?—Yes. Resolutions as to such cases as these are passed at a district meeting.

16,640. How much is the subscription?—Usually our weekly subscription, when there is no dispute and when all is going on right, is 6*d.* per week per full member. We have full members, and we arrange down according to age till they come to be considered to be a quarter of a member, that is, to pick up the boys; for instance, to the age of 18 a person is considered to be a full man; at the age of 16 he is considered to be three-quarters of man; at the age of 12 he is considered to be half a man; down to 10, where the law allows, he is considered to be a quarter of a man.

16,641. And the contribution is regulated accordingly?—Yes, out of the 6*d.* one penny per week goes to the funeral funds (that is 1*s.* per quarter), 2*d.* for accident, and 3*d.* for what is known to be the union fund proper, as masters understand the union.

16,642. How much per week does that make altogether for the full man?—6*d.*

16,643. That money being subscribed, is it paid to the treasurer of each lodge?—Yes, to the treasurer and secretary of each lodge.

16,644. And each lodge has the disposition of its funds?—Yes, with its committee and members. The members meet every fortnight to understand what is going on.

16,645. In case of a strike do you get the money from the collective funds of all the lodges?—I said a short time ago that there was a fortnightly meeting; 3*d.* out of that 6*d.* comes to this fortnightly gathering,

and there is a treasurer and a secretary appointed to receive those moneys which are remitted to their lodges by members, and keep them and appropriate them rightly according to their rules.

16,646. But suppose there is a society in need of money, independent of the district, do the remaining 47 lodges subscribe?—Clearly, if it is required. There is just one point, if you will allow me to explain it. Where strikes do take place they are after no other thing can be done. For instance, that is my occupation; if a master shall attempt to reduce the wages, of which he gives notice, I am appointed by the men to go and see to that matter, to reason the matter over, hear the masters' side of the question and report thereon.

16,647. And do you lecture both the men and the master?—Sometimes I do; I lecture about various things; I have the pleasure to do so, I am glad to say.

16,648. Very effectively, I daresay. Supposing this strike takes place, you, as the agent, give the information at the meeting of the delegates, and then the amount of money comes from the general fund belonging to the 48 lodges?—There is a link between that. Before a strike, as it is understood, can possibly take place, the men say that they are going to be reduced. I am appointed to go and see the master and ascertain from him why that is. I report to the delegates and say that the reason is so and so. It may be because he is out-competed by somebody else. I state the matter; they look it broadly in the face, and then they come to the conclusion whether it shall be so or not, and if the members say it shall be supported, if there are not sufficient funds, a levy is put on to meet the case.

16,649. Each of the lodges?—Each of the lodges.

16,650. You having explained no doubt in detail the case to the delegates?—Clearly the masters' side; the men know their own.

16,651. Do you remember the strike at Messrs. Knowles's?—Yes, I recollect both.

16,652. In the strike which took place in November last year, did you go to him to try and explain your views?—I will tell you that——

16,653. Do not give me too long a lecture?—I vouch I will not lecture; but there are thousands of pounds hanging upon this question. Mr. Knowles has in his mind that which perhaps other masters have, that the union is intended to do him an injury instead of being a good to the men only and the masters jointly. That being so, before you, the Commissioners, I want to be able to have this matter thoroughly set out——

16,654. We have our own manner of proceedings here. You must answer the questions, if you please, because the time will not allow us to hear a declaration upon the subject. Did you go to Mr. Knowles upon the subject; you may say yes or no to that surely?—I went after he had locked out some 500 men to Andrew Knowles, John Knowles's brother, in Market Street (no, they had removed to King Street I believe at the time), to ask him if I could have an interview with him. He said, "No." I told him certain parties were locked out, and I wished to talk to him about it, and he would not hear me, so I withdrew and thanked him.

16,655. Do you as an active member take measures to persuade colliers to belong to your union?—I only persuade sometimes; I do if I can get the chance to persuade them. As I have done in the past, I very likely might do again, provided they were men that were worthy to be invited at all.

16,656. And the funds are merely distributed for the reasons you have mentioned?—Clearly, only that.

16,657. That means of course that you have never known of any distribution of funds for any improper purposes?—Just so.

16,658. That you mean to say?—Yes.

16,659. And you do say it?—Yes.

16,660. And I suppose you keep accurate accounts of how the money has been distributed?—Yes, actual accounts.

16,661. Who keeps the books?—I am appointed treasurer, as I told you. I only received them the night before last, and I have brought them, and the secretary has brought his also.

16,662. Who enters the cash payments?—The secretary.

16,663. What do you enter?—I enter the receipts what I receive from the secretary, and assist the secretary as it comes in.

16,664. When there is a vote for expenditure whose is the hand which pays it, the treasurer's or the secretary's?—Mine is the hand which pays it. I ought to say this: that what documents come into the district meeting the president will have his eye upon, and then it may be that the secretary would pay that and hand over the balance, but usually I pay the money.

16,665. You receive the money from the secretary?—Yes, except sums which are paid at the district meeting only.

16,666. You pay the money and it is the duty of the secretary to enter the items in a book?—Just so.

16,667. What is the utmost amount you have know as a levy to pay for a strike?—I will change the phrase. We have not had what is considered a "strike;" we have had a "lock-out." I changed the phrase because I consider it was a better one.

16,668. You mean by a "lock-out" the same thing as I mean by a "strike?"—Yes; it is a "lock-out" first, and the world ought to know this, that Knowles locked out 500 men at Lever and Ratcliffe, and afterwards we gave to the men the open chance of declaring that they were union men and of being so. We let Knowles take their own course, and in this case we have paid as much as 5*s.* per fortnight to meet the demands of the men.

16,669. That is an answer to the question. You have paid 5*s.* per fortnight, you say?—Yes.

16,670. Each member?—Each full working member, excepting they are sick.

16,671. Each full working member in health and gaining his wages has paid as much as 5*s.* fortnightly for the support of what I call a "strike," and you call a "lock-out?"—Yes.

16,672. Have you any communication with other colliers' associations throughout the kingdom beyond this district?—We have what is said to be a national association of coal miners.

16,673. Does that extend all over the kingdom?—It is considered so.

16,674. Do you take in from Northumberland to Cornwall?—No, we do not go as far as Cornwall; the furthest place is in Staffordshire, some miles from Bilston.

16,675. How far north do you go?—To Northumberland, and there are some few in Scotland.

16,676. I suppose you are the important man on that association?—If there is any importance about it at all, very likely I may be one.

16,677. Do you send round and communicate with them in the case of any strike or want of money?—I ought to say that there are no thorough arrangements about any strike. There is no strike proper.

16,678. But you send round and get something?—We send round and beg.

16,679. And sometimes you get something?—Not always I am sorry to say. Sometimes we get something, and sometimes not. According to our success in begging we should have to pay.

16,680. Do you go round to different mills and places to beg?—In the case of the late lock-out we found that our money would not enable us to go on and pay the people. A man with a family of children cannot live on 9*s.* a week or anything like it, and in that case they requested that the committee would allow them to go and get money from the people who were prepared to give 1*s.* a head for the children. That has been done not only in the latter but in the former lock-out.

16,681. Where do you go?—We go to the mills; we have not gone to the collieries. A common man, or shopkeeper, or anyone is at liberty to give.

FOURTEENTH DAY.

T. Halliday.

20 Sept. 1867.

16,682. You go and ask them to give to your national association?—No, that is a district affair. The national association is supported by the 1*d.* a week from men that belong to it mainly.

16,683. In addition to the 6*d.*?—No, that goes out of the 6*d.*; that is what is said to be the union money, the 3*d.* per week.

16,684. How is the money for the national association distributed?—For instance, we are now trying to get certain measures in the House of Commons. There has been a committee appointed, and I believe they have now concluded their examination and have tendered their report for getting an amendment of the Mines Inspection Act. We may be seeking compensation or various other things. The money is applied for those purposes only.

16,685. Only for general public purposes?—For general public natural purposes.

16,686. For getting any alteration of the law which you think desirable, or anything of that sort?—Yes, or finding the widow the means to pursue the employers in case of a breach of the Act. These are some of the purposes in that national movement.

16,687. I suppose you go about and hear what takes place, at all events, in this district?—Yes, I go about a good deal, sometimes more than I like, because I feel so tired.

16,688. I suppose you have heard of disturbances consequent upon strikes?—I do not know that I hear very much about disturbances.

16,689. We have had evidence to-day about assaults and other matters taking place in Pendlebury. I am not suggesting that you are in any way connected with them, but you have heard of them, no doubt?—I understand you. I have heard them. There is one which I had not heard of; there are only two that I have heard of. I have heard of the boilers and of the conflagration, and also of the Pendlebury Moss concern.

16,690. Have you taken any means, by lecturing or otherwise, to raise a different tone of feeling. Supposing the union men were calling men "knobsticks," or assaulting them, what have you done to prevent that?—I have had meetings in the various localities, and have exhorted the people to keep within the bounds of the law, because it would answer our ends better by far than any other course that they might possibly take. It would damage our reputation, and we have been seeking for these four years to gain a reputation for good conduct.

16,691. No doubt you have heard of conduct of that sort of which you disapprove taking place in this Pendlebury district?—I have heard of those two cases; the last case I never heard anything about.

16,692. But you have heard about the fire?—Oh, yes, and I was sorry to hear of it.

16,693. You heard that it was attributed to the union?—Speaking truthfully I had not heard that it had been attributed before this day to the miners' union. It did occur to me that another thing might have been attributed to us, and that was a boiler which unfortunately exploded at Ringley. I was sorry for that, because it was a destruction of property.

16,694. Have you heard of violent assaults being made, and of men being taken up and sentenced to imprisonment for them, which were connected so far with the union that the word "knobstick" was used against the men that were assaulted?—Yes, I have heard of that.

16,695. No doubt that was a source of grief to you?—It always is.

16,696. And you have done your best to discourage all these things?—I have done my best and shall do so, so long as I shall continue where I am, and when I cannot do that of course I had better go to my pick again, from whence I came.

16,697. Do your men interfere in any way, so far as you know, with men who are not unionists being employed by masters?—Perhaps I had better mention one thing, that there are some men who believe in having the advantages of a union, but who do not want to pay anything. There are some who believe in drawing but not in paying, and they are persons generally that do not attend to their work in working days it may be, but who stop off drinking for days, and after doing that they desire to do just as they please. They think folk must stand back while they have the benefit of their streugth and all that, and other people complain about such things as these——

16,698. That is not an answer to the question I put to you. I ask whether any of your men take active measures against non-unionist men who are employed by masters?—They ask them to join the union.

16,699. Do they picket them?—No, we need no picketing, because men can get work as they are, only not so well, only in so large an affair as Knowles's lock-out.

16,700. Is the trade pretty good in the colliery business?—In the summer time it is not so brisk as it is in the winter; in the summer it was brisker than usual, and would have been much more brisk only for the depression in the cotton trade.

16,701. Do you know whether Mr. Knowles's men were picketed by the union men?—In the sense that I have read in the paper lately about picketing I do not know that they have been picketed at all.

16,702. Would a matter of that sort be brought before your meeting?—If there had been pickets appointed to go to places during that lock-out we should have heard something about it.

16,703. Do you ever remember pickets to have been appointed on any occasion?—On one occasion only, and I will explain the occasion. When the lock-out had commenced at Lever and Ratcliffe——

16,704. Mr. Knowles's?—Yes, Mr. Knowles's. In that district the miners were prepared to accept of the consequences. The other men who were in, whom Knowles did not know anything about, when they found that they would be able to find money to support those persons, provided Knowles did lock them out, then appointed on a certain evening, when there was a meeting, a deputation to wait on the lodges (this is the only case) to tell them they were at liberty to acknowledge their connexion with the union.

16,705. Did they use any other sort of persuasion besides that?—Not at all.

16,706. Were there no threats of any kind?—No threats. No complaints did we hear about what was done at all, and nothing at that time I believe is reported as being wrong. That is the only time, and it is the truth; in fact, I believe you believe me.

16,707. You have all your books, you say, up to the time it commenced in 1863?—Yes, from our commencement up to this moment.

16,708. And you have the same books now that you had when you first went in in September 1863?—Yes.

16,709. Are all the entries the same now as they were?—They are the same now as they were; they have not been re-entered.

16,710. I mean, have there been no alterations?—There have been no alterations in the entries.

16,711. Nor as far as you know in the other books?—No. Of course we vouch for all being straight like that, and give you the keys to get at the boxes, and anything you desire as Commissioners. We have the books there, and they are open for your supervision.

16,712. We understand that as many as 1,400 men left Mr. Knowles's. Was the subject of their leaving discussed before it took place at your lodge?—Not before Knowles had locked out some 500.

16,713. But the 500 joined the union, and that was the reason?—But there were other men belonging to the union at the time.

16,714. There might be one or two men belonging to the union working with Mr. Knowles whom he did not know belonged to the union. Several men (say 500 if you like) suddenly left and belonged to the union. Was the fact of their coming to you known and discussed at your meeting before it happened?—There was more than 500 belonged to us.

16,715. But there were but a very few at first, and then suddenly about 500 left him. Was it known to

you beforehand that they were going to leave him and going to belong to you?—There is just a word there which is not exactly right; that is, you say some few belonged to the union—a large number belonged to the union, not less perhaps than 600 or 700 persons.

16,716. Unknown to him?—Unknown to him.

16,717. But I suppose it was very well known among you that Mr. Knowles professed not to take union men?—It was known to us that he had taken men from other collieries without putting the question to them whether they were union men or not.

16,718. But before this lock-out took place was it well known that Mr. Knowles did not employ union men?—It was well known that they said they would not employ union men.

16,719. There may have been a great many, such as you say, 500 men, but he did not know that they were union men?—Just so, and I believe it will be so in the future also.

16,720. Then will you swear that those 500 men were union men; of course you must have known it?—Yes.

16,721. And you also knew that it was unknown to Mr. Knowles?—I knew that it was unknown to Mr. Knowles.

16,722. Then did you know that anything was going to take place with regard to the lock-out before it did take place?—No, not before it commenced, not at all.

16,723. Then did you support the 1,400 men during the six months?—Yes, with the help we received. We paid the men as well as we could.

16,724. May I ask what it cost you in round numbers?—I said to the president since I came here, "Have you reckoned what that lock-out cost us?"

16,725. Was it as much as 4,000*l.*?—I believe it cost us four times 4,000*l.*, as much as 16,000*l.* I will not be sure because we have not the minutes here. I mean in the former and the latter lock-outs.

16,726. The full men, and the half men, and the quarter men?—Yes, in the former and the latter lock-outs.

16,727. You, I suppose, have no ninth part of a man?—I think that would be going down a little too close. I would not like to be nice upon that point. If I had more time I would have been ready, because it would have been a feature which I should like to have given to the world.

16,728. Then you say that when the lock-out began there were 500 or 600 union men there unknown to Mr. Knowles?—Yes.

16,729. What led to that?—I ought to say that we had had excursions to Hollingworth, close by——

16,730. It is scarcely necessary to go into all this.—This will lead to the point in a moment.

16,731. If it will lead to the point in a moment, I shall be very glad, but be as short as you fairly can.—I will. They were told they were to go. Some men went to this place and some went home, and the underlooker was sent, or said he was sent, to ascertain who were union men and who were not. Some men said they were union men, and some men would not say, and they were discharged for it.

16,732. That was the beginning of it?—That was the beginning of it.

16,733. Did the men against Mr. Knowles's order leave their work to go to this excursion?—No, that was not in connexion with it; but those things caused the manager under Knowles afterwards to make inquiries.

16,734. And then he found out upon inquiry that some of the men were union men?—Yes.

16,735. And then he discharged those men?—They were discharged.

16,736. Did the other men deny it?—The other men acknowledged that they were union men, and he dismissed them also.

16,737. Did the men who went to Hollingworth have Knowles's permission to go there?—They went after they had done their work; in the afterpart of the day.

16,738. (*Mr. Chance.*) It was first a lock-out, and then a strike?—Yes; we allowed the men to acknowledge their connexion with us, and we found what support we could for them while they were out of work.

16,739. (*Chairman.*) What led you to make inquiries whether they were union men or not?—Some of the men complained to me beforehand of the extortionate charges of the underlookers for powder and candles and things of that sort, they being above the average price for the candles, which the underlookers expect them to purchase from the place; that is the point.

16,740. I do not understand you at all. What made the underlooker inquire whether the men belonged to the union or not?—I am not prepared to say. I cannot tell. I had nothing to do with it.

16,741. You told us a story about an excursion to Hollingsworth, and you said it would explain the whole thing; now we are further than ever from that. What has the excursion to Hollingsworth to do with the underlooker making his inquiries?—The excursion to Hollingsworth was prohibited, and yet some of the men went there; but these men had complained also about having to pay extortionate prices for their candles and things of that sort.

16,742. Was it because of their going in spite of your prohibition, and having also complained of other things, that the underlooker made inquiries whether they were union men or not?—I cannot say.

16,743. Was it a union excursion?—Yes.

16,744. If they went in spite of Mr. Knowles' prohibition I can understand why the underlooker inquired whether they were union men?—The body of the men did not go.

16,745. Listen to the questions, and answer them, as we have been very patient with you. What I ask you is this: you say that this was a union excursion, and Mr. Knowles prohibited his men from going?—Yes.

16,746. Is it because some of the men went in spite of that prohibition upon this excursion that the underlooker inquired of them whether they belonged to the union?—I cannot say; it will have to be a surmise; the underlooker has not told me so.

16,747. (*Mr. Barstow.*) If these men went out of working hours how would it be known to Messrs. Knowles?—Because the question was put to them, "Were you at Hollingsworth yesterday?"

16,748. Are you quite sure that these men went after working hours?—The party I refer to went after working hours.

16,749. Are you quite sure that Messrs. Knowles's men went after working hours, or did they leave their work to go to Hollingsworth?—They dared not leave their work.

16,750. Are you sure they did not leave their work to go to Hollingsworth?—They went after they had done, at noon.

16,751. Can you tell me of your own knowledge that the men did not leave their work at Messrs. Knowles's to go to Hollingsworth?—Of course they left in the afterpart of the day.

16,752. They left their work?—Yes.

16,753. I asked that question before. The men left their work without Messrs. Knowles's permission to go to Hollingsworth, and the inquiry of this man was, it being union holiday, whether they went to Hollingsworth, and upon that I suppose Mr. Knowles discharged the men who had left his employ?—They were not discharged then, it was two months after.

16,754. Did an inquiry take place?—I do not know.

16,755. I thought you said so?—No. After they had come back from Hollingsworth these things were going on in the underlookers' minds for sometime before they acted.

16,756. But the question is, whether you know the origin of the strike or lock out, whatever it was?—No, I do not know the true origin, it is only a conjecture.

The witness withdrew.

FOURTEENTH DAY.

M. Cotton.

20 Sept. 1867.

Moses Cotton sworn and examined.

16,757. (*Mr. Barstow.*) We understand that you are secretary to the colliers' association, and have been so ever since it was formed?—Yes.

16,758. Tell me the name of your association?—The Miners' Provident Benefit Society.

16,759. We have heard from the last witness what the objects of that society are. Do you remember a strike or lock-out at Mr. Knowles's pits last year?—Yes.

16,760. Do you remember several breaches of the law taking place during the continuance of the lock-out?—Yes, I remember them.

16,761. Do you remember several members of your union being taken before the magistrates in consequence of the breaches of the peace?—Yes.

16,762. Do you know whether those men were defended by attorney or counsel, or did anybody appear for them before the magistrates?—Not that I am aware of.

16,763. You do not know whether there was or not?—No.

16,764. Do you know whether any funds were furnished by your union for the purposes of their defence?—There was none found.

16,765. None whatever?—No.

16,766. You say for certain that no funds were found for their defence?—No.

16,767. Do you know whether any individual subscriptions were made for the purposes of their defence?—No.

16,768. You do not know whether that was so or not?—No.

16,769. You yourself did not contribute?—No.

16,770. (*Chairman.*) You have got your books, if we want to see them?—Yes.

16,771. (*Mr. Barstow.*) And they are the same books?—They are the same books; we had no other since we commenced.

16,772. And they are exactly in the same state as they have always been?—Yes.

16,773. There is nothing torn out?—No.

16,774. And no re-entries?—There are no re-entries.

16,775. (*Chairman.*) If you furnished funds for that defence would it have been your duty to have entered it in the book?—Yes.

16,776. And for what it was given?—Yes.

16,777. You give the money to the treasurer. If any money is to be paid for any purposes, does he pay it, or who pays it?—I sign a note to the treasurer for funeral money.

16,778. How do you enter it?—For whatever it is paid I enter it in full.

16,779. You do not enter it merely as cash?—No, every item for what it is paid. I have had none other book since the commencement but this (*handing in the same*).

16,780. (*Mr. Chance.*) What book do you call this?—The cash-book for the funeral fund.

16,781. And for the funeral fund only?—The funeral fund only.

16,782. (*Chairman.*) There is a large payment of 100*l.* in February of this year to the national association; how came you to pay as much as 100*l.*?—It was a levy of 3*d.* a week from all our members.

16,783. What was it for?—For any purpose that the national association wished.

16,784. How often do you pay such money as that?—Every month.

16,785. But you do not pay 100*l.* every month?—No.

16,786. For what purpose was 100*l.* demanded then?—I do not know.

16,787. It is a very large sum?—Yes.

16,788. What is the meaning of "victim members?"—It is members on strike or lock-out.

16,789. I find "victim members" in February of this year, 848*l.*; were all those members on strike?—Yes.

16,790. I find on February the 11th, "National Association 100*l.*;" and then I find February the 25th for "National levy," another 100*l.*—the same year. Have you paid 200*l.* this year to the National Association?—We have paid it.

16,791. 100*l.* twice in the same month?—Yes.

16,792. That is an enormous amount of money. ThenI find on March 25th, for "National Association levy," another 100*l.*; that is 300*l.* in less than one month. From February 11th to March the 5th there is no less than 300*l.* paid?—Yes.

16,793. Have you paid as much as that?—Yes.

16,794. How many members have you?—It was estimated at 4,000 then.

16,795. Then I find on April the 8th "National levy 100*l.*;" do you pay as much as 100*l.* a month to the National Association?—We did so then.

16,796. Why did you do so then; surely you must have some notion?—It was a levy made by the national council of so much per member.

16,797. What was it for; surely you must have some notion?—I cannot tell in what way they have distributed it, because I sit in a room by myself.

16,798. You also walk abroad and hear things; surely you can have some notion before you give a cheque for the money to go. Here are two sums of 100*l.* each in February, another sum in March of 100*l.* also, and another in April, to the National Association, that is 400*l.* in a short time this year; surely you must have some notion what it is for?—It was to support the National Association.

16,799. How did the funds go? We understand that your lodge is only one of 48; in two months 200*l.* goes, and in four months 400*l.* goes. Supposing the 48 lodges supply at the same rate it would be a very large amount?—That is the whole amount for the 48 lodges.

16,800. This is a book of the general district?—Yes, the book of the general district secretary.

16,801. This includes the whole 48 lodges?—Yes.

16,802. Is that about the rate of payment which you make per month. Do the 48 lodges supply as much as 100*l.* a month to the National Association?—We have not subscribed lately, and if you look further you will see.

16,803. You do not know what this is for at the beginning of the year; that was in February. I find also on the 14th of January 100*l.* to the National Association; then on the 11th of February another 100*l.*; on February 25th there is another 100*l.* to the National Association; and on March 11th there is another 100*l.*; on March 25th there is another 100*l.*; and on April the 8th there is another 100*l.* I do not see through May that there is a similar item. Can you give me no explanation at all why that money has been paid?—The Derbyshire men were out.

16,804. The Derbyshire men were out?—Yes.

16,805. When was that?—About that time.

16,806. And of course you suppose that the money went towards them?—Some of it would go towards them no doubt.

16,807. Was there any other strike going on at the time?—Yes, Messrs. Knowles's men were out.

16,808. Would you pay money for that?—There was a levy put on all alike.

16,809. Would the money of the National Association go to pay for the strike at Messrs. Knowles's?—Part of it; if you look at the income side you will see what we received from the National Association back.

16,810-1. Which book shall I look in?—The same cash-book.

16,812. Among the receipts?—Yes.

16,813. I see that the National Association received 270*l.* at the beginning of the year; then I find your contributions put down for your 48 lodges 675*l.* in January; that is so, is it not?—Yes, the whole of the contributions are together.

16,814. I find January the 28th, "Received 30*l.* from the National Association;" that is so?—Yes.

16,815. And February the 11th, 230*l.* received from the National Association?—Yes.

16,816. Then all this money was for the strike?—Yes.

16,817. I find as much as 400*l.* on the 25th of February from the National Association?—Yes.

16,818. Do you think that any of the expenses of defending the members of your union if they got into trouble would come out of that money?—No.

16,819. Are you quite sure of that?—Yes.

16,819*a*. It only goes to support men on strike, but not to support the men who have got into trouble?—No.

16,820. Then you never knew anything of that sort?—No.

16,821. Not for any damage done?—No, nothing of the kind.

16,822. Do you do it on your own responsibility, because we have heard of men injuring other people for not being members of the union, and being punished for it. Do your body take no notice of it?—No.

16,823. You never paid any money for anything of that sort?—No.

16,824. You seem to have received a great deal of money, for on March the 11th I find another sum of 300*l.* received from the National Association, and I find on March the 25th 287*l.* received from the National Association, and again in April the 8th 200*l.*; therefore you received more than you paid?—Yes, we have received more than we paid.

16,825. A good deal more?—Yes.

16,826. The strike ceased by May, did it not?—Yes.

16,827. It did not go on beyond that?—No.

16,828. I saw an entry of J. Lubbock's and Bury Hall's deputation to Stafford; did you send a deputation to Stafford in April last?—Yes.

16,829. What was that for?—To warn the men of what was going on.

16,830. To tell the people at Stafford that the strike was going on here?—Yes.

16,831. How many delegates did you send?—One went first.

16,832. Was that to get them to prevent their men from coming over here?—To tell the men to stop at home till things were settled quietly.

16,833. The strike seems to have cost you a good deal of money?—Yes.

16,834. (*Mr. Barstow.*) We understand that Mr. Knowles' men have gone in again now?—Yes, them that could go in.

16,835. A large proportion of them?—Yes.

16,836. About how many have gone in again?—We had only about 80 the last time I paid them any money.

16,837. They have gone in at Mr. Knowles' own terms?—Yes,

16,838. (*Chairman.*) I find your victim members, that is men on strike, going on as late as July; "Victim members 237*l.* 19*s.* 9*d.*," in July. Was the strike going on in July?—We had 160 men from Shaw, belonging to our district of Oldham; they would be included.

16,839. I find it going on in August; is there any strike now? On the 27th of August I see "victim members" down; is that the men who were in the strike before?—Yes.

16,840. Is there any strike going on now?—No.

The witness withdrew.

CHARLES MASON sworn and examined.

16,841. (*Mr. Chance.*) Are you a warper, living in Newcastle Street, Hulme?—Yes.

16,842. In November 1857 were you in the employ of Messrs. Weaver, spinners, in Jersey Street, Ancoats?—Yes.

16,843. Were you a member of any union then?—No.

16,844. Had you been at any time previous to that a member?—About three months I was a member, in the last 15 years.

16,845. Do you remember being at the Blue Bell public-house?—Yes.

16,846. Was there a man of the name of Alfred Doherty with you?—Yes.

16,847. Who was Doherty?—He is a warper.

16,848. Is he a member of the union?—Yes.

16,849. Was he at that time?—I believe he was.

16,850. Was anybody else with you at the public-house?—No; but there were two men that I observed, one the secretary of the warpers' club, in another room as I passed in; he was called Walland.

16,851. He was in the same public-house in another room?—Yes.

16,852. Do you know whom he was with?—I do not know; the other man was before the magistrates with Walland, but I forget his name.

16,853. Was his name Hewitt?—I believe that is the name.

16,854. You did not know that that was his name then?—I did not know his name then, but I knew Walland.

16,855. Did Doherty bring you a glass of ale?—He did instead of the waiter.

16,856. Did you ask for a glass of ale?—I asked for nothing, but he took me in a room where there was no one but himself and me.

16,857. Did he bring you a glass of ale?—We went into the room, and he left me alone, and went out and brought the glass of ale in.

16,858. Had you asked for any?—No.

16,859. Had any conversation taken place between you and Doherty before this?—I cannot tell you whether there was or not; he brought me out and took me down the town; he pressed me to go into the Blue Bell two hours before that, and I would not do that. This was going on 11 o'clock at night.

16,860. You refused at first, and afterwards you went in?—Yes, he pressed me all the way up, and at last I gave way and went in, and when I saw these two other men in this room, and him bringing the glass, I said "I have ordered no glass; what do you know I am drinking?" or something like that, so when the ale was brought in it was a very red coloured ale; I saw the sediment in the centre of the glass, and my suspicion was aroused, knowing I was in a bit of bother, and I threw it under the grate and put the glass down, and he followed right sharp after me.

16,861. You say there was sediment at the bottom of the glass?—No, as if something had been put in the middle of the ale.

16,862. What did it look like?—More like laudanum, or something of that sort, to stupify me. I cannot tell what it was.

16,863. It was something that aroused your suspicion?—Yes.

16,864. Did you say anything to him at the time?—No, I walked very quickly out. I said, "All right," and away I went. I got to about 100 yards from my house, and he walked and conversed with me all the way, but before I got 10 yards from the door, the other two men came out; I looked back and saw the other two men.

16,865. Walland and Hewitt?—Yes.

16,866. Did they leave the public-house soon after you?—Yes, when I came out they all followed me; they followed us out.

16,867. What took place after that?—As we went along I saw another man before I got across the street of the name of Hall. He asked me for a job on the Monday, and he ran up the entry.

16,868. Was he a warper?—Yes; he came from Chorley.

16,869. Was he a member of the union?—Yes.

16,870. Before you saw Hall had there been a whistle?—No, not till after that. I went up the top end of the other entry; he had to run from the top

FOURTEENTH DAY.

C. Mason.

20 Sept. 1867.

end of the Blue Bell end up to my corner before he met me.

16,871. You mean Hall had to run?—Yes.

16,872. Did you see him running?—He went up the entry, and when I got up into the street, Doherty was conversing with me all the time, we were talking first one thing and another respecting the club and that, and when he found I was so stubborn he gave a whistle, and a man came out of the entry and made a rush at me. He had something wrapped round his arm, and a ginger-beer bottle with the neck knocked off. So when he threw the vitriol in my eyes I said, "Good God Almighty! you have been at the bottom of this, Doherty;" and there was a lamp in the street just at the corner, so that I could see it was the same man.

16,873. You say that this man was Hall?—Yes.

16,874. John Hall?—Yes.

16,875. Do I understand you to say that before Hall came to you there was a whistle?—This man had not come out of the entry when the whistle was made.

16,876. Who gave the whistle?—Doherty.

16,877. After the whistle this man came out of the entry?—Yes; and he made a throw at me, and I bobbed down, or else I should have been blinded.

16,878. Where did you feel the vitriol?—It splashed my hat and went through my hat, running down on to my eyes.

16,879. Then you told Doherty of this?—I went into the house, and Doherty followed me in. I said, "You villain, get out, you have been at the bottom of all this; get out of my house or I will have you taken up." He asked me to open my eyes. I said, "No, you villain, get out."

16,880. Where was it that this took place?—In my own house. After a while the doctor came, Dr. Dean, and he asked if there was any cream or oil in the house; we had some cream in the house. I said, "Doctor, I must not open my eyes." He opened my eyes and put the cream into my eyes. Then a constable came in, but Doherty was gone, but next day he was apprehended, working at Eccles.

16,881. Was he taken before the magistrates?—He was taken before the magistrates, and Walland and Hall; there were four of them, and the other men and Hewitt were discharged.

16,882. Doherty, Walland, and Hewitt were taken before the magistrates with Hall?—Yes.

16,883. What took place there?—Hall and Doherty got committed.

16,884. Were they committed for the assizes at Liverpool?—Yes.

16,885. Were they afterwards committed there?—One was sentenced to four years and the other to six years. Doherty to four years, and Hall to six years.

16,886. Were your eyes injured by the vitriol being thrown upon them?—Yes, I went through an operation with Mr. Dean the year following.

16,887. In consequence of that?—Yes.

16,888. Were you prevented from attending to your work for some time in consequence?—Yes, I was about 12 months before I could do any work.

16,889. Do you know any reason at all why these men should have injured you in this way?—Yes, I learn my wife and two sisters to warp.

16,890. Was anything said to you in consequence of this?—They offered to give me money not to learn women at all.

16,891. Did they give any reason why you should not learn them?—They said it was against their rule, and they would not permit it.

16,892. Was that because they thought it would interfere with their labour?—Because they thought it would be the means of ultimately introducing women into the market, and it would reduce wages.

16,893. Was that the only reason you can assign for this injury being inflicted upon you?—That is the only reason.

16,894. Had you ever had any private quarrel with Doherty or Hall?—No, we were very particular friends; we were like brothers.

16,895. Up to that time?—Yes.

16,896. (*Chairman.*) Did you fix the date of this occurrence; you said November 1857?—The beginning of November 1857.

16,897. At that time was it unusual for women to be employed in your trade?—No. Mr. Bicton, in Mosley Street, has had women for five years, and I believe at the time he was learning women there was vitriol thrown at him.

16,898. Who was it told you that it was against their rules that women should get into your trade?—I cannot exactly point one individual out.

16,899. Did several say so?—Yes, several belonging to the union. I know there were one or two delegates waited upon me, and they told me.

16,900. Delegates had waited upon you for that purpose?—Yes.

16,901. Do you remember any of their names?—No.

16,902. How long before this happened had delegates waited upon you about it?—I daresay it would be the beginning of 1857.

16,903. They had waited upon you?—Yes, several times.

16,904. And there had been various things said to you about it?—Yes; they have offered me money even since this occurred. They have offered me money not to prosecute, and they have offered me money to send me out of the country, and Doherty's mother wanted me to sign a petition after he was transported to try and get him out, and I would not do it. She said that it was all his uncle Walland, or else he would never have done it.

16,905. Where are you living now?—98, Newcastle Street, Hulme.

16,906. Do you carry on the same business?—No, I am a commission agent; I put money for gentlemen on horses.

16,907. You are no longer in that business?—No, I could not be if I wished.

16,908. Why would not they engage you?—The masters would, but the masters would not put up with the inconvenience of having all the other men turned out.

16,909. Why would not they engage you; because you are not a club man?—The masters have no control over warpers.

16,910. Why so?—The club is so strong, and the party who takes the warpers on will not engage non-club men at all.

16,911. The only men whom he can employ in the warping business are men belonging to the union?—Yes, and if a job is wanted and a non-union man applies he has no chance at all. If a man is out he is sent for to come and fill this place.

16,912. Where was this warping club held, at Hulme?—At Ancoats.

16,913. Does it exist now?—Yes.

16,914. You have nothing to do in that business at all now?—No.

16,915. After this did you hear of any other attacks made or any other assaults made upon any other person for similar reasons to those which existed in your case?—No.

16,916. Were there many warpers in the district of Ancoats?—Yes.

16,917. Are there now?—Yes, but not so many now as there were then, because a good many mills are closed.

16,918. (*Mr. Chance.*) Could you not belong to the club now if you liked?—I do not think I could now.

16,919. Have you ever applied?—No.

16,920. Was Doherty at all drunk when he did this to you in November?—No, he had only two or three glasses of ale that night at most.

The witness withdrew.

ALFRED DOHERTY sworn and examined.

16,921. (*Chairman.*) What are you now?—I am a warper.

16,922. You have been so for some time, have you not?—Yes.

16,923. Are you a member of the warpers' union?—Yes.

16,924. Have you any office in it?—No, and never had.

16,925. How long have you been a member?—Since I learnt the trade, about 15 years.

16,926. Where does the union meet?—At Mr. Pointon's, Newton Street, Manchester.

16,927. How many members are there?—I cannot say.

16,928. A good many?—Yes, above 100.

16,929. Are there any other warpers' unions with which you are associated elsewhere?—Not that I am aware of.

16,930. How often do you meet?—Fortnightly.

16,931. Do you pay fortnightly?—Yes.

16,932. How much do you pay?—1*s*.

16,933. And there is a president, secretary, and treasurer?—Yes.

16,934. Who pays money if any money is wanted for anything?—I do not know; I never was in any office, and therefore I do not know.

16,935. We understand that you were in trouble through throwing vitriol upon Charles Mason?—No, I was not in trouble for throwing vitriol, but acting in collusion.

16,936. Hall threw it?—Yes.

16,937. Where was it that it was thrown?—At the corner of Crowther Street, Manchester.

16,938. Did he throw it?—Yes.

16,939. And you were taken up, were you not?—Yes.

16,940. And you were tried at Liverpool?—Yes, I was.

16,941. And were found guilty and sentenced to what?—Four years' penal servitude.

16,942. Had you before on that same day given any ale to Mason to drink?—We were out together.

16,943. Had you gone into some public-house and offered him a glass of ale?—We were treating each other.

16,944. Did you go out of the room and get a glass of ale for him?—No.

16,945. Did you offer him a glass of ale?—I did not, not any individual glass; we were treating each other; it came in our turns.

16,946. Did you offer him a glass of ale?—In that respect I did. I thought you meant in some other way.

16,947. You were treating each other, and he offered you a glass and you offered him a glass?—In that sense I did.

16,948. Did you hand him a glass?—No, I handed him no glass to my knowledge.

16,949. Did you at that time put anything into any ale that you wanted him to drink?—Far from it. I would not be guilty of any such action.

16,950. You did not put anything into any ale that night; no powder or laudanum?—Nothing whatever.

16,951. How came this vitriol to be thrown by Hall; what was the reason of the assault?—I do not know.

16,952. You do not know at all?—No.

16,953. Had you known that there were any complaints made of his employing women in the warping business?—I had.

16,954. That was against the rules of your union to have women employed in the warping business, was it not?—Yes, it was.

16,955. I suppose your notion was that bringing women into the business would lower the wages of the men?—Yes.

16,956. That had been the ground of complaint against Mason for some time?—Yes.

16,957. Was Hall, the person who threw the vitriol, a member of your union?—Not that I am aware of. I never saw him before that.

16,958. Did you hear that he was a member?—No, I never knew him at all.

16,959. Was he a weaver?—I do not know if he was. I know nothing about him. I never saw him before.

16,960. You never heard at all that he was a member of the union?—No, I never heard his name mentioned.

16,961. Do you know a man named Walland?—Yes.

16,962. Is he a member of the union?—Yes, at Oldham.

16,963. A warpers' union?—Yes.

16,964. There was another man ot the name of Hewitt; was he a member of the union?—Yes, the same that I belong to.

16,965. Did you see them there that night?—Yes, I did.

16,966. Where was that?—At the "Blue Bell," in Mill Street.

16,967. The same public-house where you and Mason treated one another with beer?—Yes.

16,968. Was Walland anything in the warpers' union at that time; was he president?—Not to my knowledge. I do not know.

16,969. You must know whether he was the president or not?—No, I am not in the habit of attending the club.

16,970. Was he secretary?—I do not know.

16,971. He has been, has he not?—He has been for Manchester; this was a separate branch then.

16,972. Has he been secretary for the warpers' union at Manchester?—Yes, many years.

16,973. Is he now?—No, not to my recollection. I do not belong to the same club as he does.

16,974. You do not know whether he was at that time secretary or not?—I do not.

16,975. You do not know him well, do you?—I never saw him before that day, and an unlucky day for me, too, it was.

16,976. You never saw him before?—No, never.

16,977. Was he to pay you any money on that day?—I never saw him before or even knew anything about the transaction.

16,978. Were you to receive any money from anybody that day?—No, there was no communication with me or anyone as regards pay.

16,979. What was Hewitt; was he a member of the warpers' club?—Yes.

16,980. What was he then; did he hold any office?—I cannot say.

16,981. He was a member of the warpers' club?—The same that I belong to.

16,982. Were Walland and Hewitt both in the "Blue Bell" public-house?—Yes.

16,983. Were they drinking in the same room with you?—No.

16,984. After this vitriol had been thrown into Mason's eyes, did you go to the house of Mason?—I did.

16,985. Did you ask him to open his eyes?—Not to my recollection. I do not recollect it.

16,986. Were his eyes shut, and was he in pain?—He seemed to be in great bodily pain.

16,987. And his eyes were shut?—I could not tell that.

16,988. You have spoken of something that had just been thrown in his face, and it was near his own house?—Not many yards from his house.

16,989. And he rushed in great pain into his own house?—Yes.

16,990. And you followed him?—I did not follow him; I went with him.

16,991. Did not you ask him when you got into the house to open his eyes?—I might have done.

16,992. Did not he tell you to go out?—Yes; and then I went out of course.

OURTEENTH DAY.

A. Doherty.

0 Sept. 1867.

16,993. How long after that was it that you were taken into custody ?—I think it would be the day after, the morning following.

16,994. And you were tried at Liverpool and sentenced to four years' penal servitude ?—Yes.

16,995. When did you come out ?—In April 1861.

19,996. Since you have been out have you received any money from anyone ?—Yes.

16,997. Who gave it to you ?—I had it given to me at Manchester.

16,998. By whom ?—By some of the officials belonging to the warpers' club.

16,999. How much was it ?—20*l.*

17,000. Were there several persons present when it was given to you ?—There was above 100 present.

17,001. Who was it that gave it to you ?—The president of the society.

17,002. When did he give it to you, when you came out ?—It was in April 1861.

17,003. How long was it after you came out that it was given to you ?—Not many days.

17,004. Who was president then ?—Nathan Bowker.

17,005. Had you applied for it ?—No, I neve expected anything.

17,006. Was it at a meeting ?—Yes, a regular ordinary meeting.

17,007. Did you go there as one of the members to attend the meeting ?—Yes.

17,008. Was it put to the vote that you should have 20*l.* ?—No, not then ; I think it had been a resolution passed previously ; he presented it to me then.

17,009. You had no notion that you were to have 20*l.* before you went in ?—Yes, before I went into the club.

17,010. You had only been out of prison four days ? —I had not been out many days.

17,011. Who first gave you an idea that you were to have 20*l.* from the warpers' club ?—My brother.

17,012. When was that ?—The day that I came home.

17,013. And accordingly you attended the next meeting and the president gave you 20*l.* in the presence of 100 people ?—Yes.

17,014. That was in consequence of a previous resolution that you were to have it ?—Yes.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. JONAH THOMPSON sworn and examined.

Mr. J. Thompson.

17,015. (*Mr. Barstow.*) What are you ?—I am a builder.

17,016. Where do you carry on business ?—At Bolton.

17,017. On the 15th of May 1866 did a man in your employ stop you in the street ?—Yes.

17,018. And ask you for his wages ?—Yes.

17,019. What was his name ?—Edward Caton.

17,020. Were his wages due at the time ?—No.

17,021. It was on a Tuesday ?—It was on a Tuesday.

17,022. When would he be paid in the ordinary course of business ?—On the Saturday following ; he had been paid 1*l.* 5*s.* 7*d.* on the Saturday previous for five and a half days' work.

17,023. He had been at work on the Monday ?—Half a day.

17,024. How much did he claim from you ?—Half a day's wages.

17,025. I suppose it was his intention to leave your service ?—I believe they had been having some beer, he and some others, and that was the reason that they wanted something to drink.

17,026. You did not pay him ?—No.

17,027. Was he violent at that time ?—He seized the horse's head and said that I should not go until I did pay him.

17,028. Were you riding ?—Yes, I was driving a horse in a conveyance.

17,029. How did you get rid of him ?—I sent my son and told him to bring a policeman, and upon that he let go.

17,030. Where did you go to then ?—I went to some quarries, two and a half miles out of Bolton, and came home to my dinner.

17,031. When you got home did you see anything else ?—I had not been in the house many minutes previous to Caton coming, and Abraham Williams coming with him, and each demanded their wages.

17,032. Williams was a man whom you had never seen before ?—No.

17,033. And he was not in your employment ?—No.

17,034. And never had been ?—No ; they said they were old butties, and that they had been together before, and wanted some money to go on the spree with.

17,035. Did Williams demand any money from you ? —Yes.

17,036. But he had not the smallest claim upon you ? —No.

17,037. What did you say to Caton ?—I said I would pay no money until I knew from my son what was due to him.

17,038. Did they go away peaceably ?—No ; they collected a crowd of 300 or 400 people in St. Mark's Street, right opposite my place.

17,039. Then you sent for a policeman, did you not ? —I sent a man on horseback for the police.

17,040. And they were taken before the magistrates and bound over to keep the peace ?—Yes.

17,041. And locked up in default of sureties ?—Yes, they were locked up.

17,042. When you left the court did you see a man named Seddon ?—I saw him on a job something like half an hour or three quarters of an hour after.

17,043. It was shortly after these men had been locked up ?—Yes.

17,044. Was he a man in your employ ?—No, he never had been.

17,045. Do you know what he is ?—He is a mason.

17,046. Is he a member of any union ?—Yes, the masons' union.

17,047. Is he an officer of the union ?—Not that I know of.

17,048. You do not know whether he is a delegate? —No.

17,049. You know now that he was a member of the masons' union ?—Yes ; he was released from prison that morning, where he had been for striking a woman.

17,050. That was not a union business ?—No.

17,051. What did he say to you ?—He said if I allowed those men to go to prison he would give me a club law and make me rue it. I ordered him off the premises. I was on a job I had been building.

17,052. He also was bound over to keep the peace, was he not ?—Yes.

17,053. On Wednesday the 13th of June did anything happen ?—Yes.

17,054. What was that ?—There was a party named Richard Clarkson whom I had engaged on the Wednesday previous to this, and he started on the Thursday morning, and I make up my books on Thursday night and pay on Friday night, and keep a day in hand.

17,055. Clarkson had begun to work on Thursday and you made up your books to Thursday night ; that is, he was entitled to one day's pay ?—Yes ; he was paid that on the Friday night ; he worked on Saturday, and I think Monday was a very wet day, and Tuesday was very wet likewise, but I went up to the job that he was at, and it was raining very heavy, and I said, "Men, you had better go to the shop ; you are doing neither me nor yourselves any good ;" and the whole four went to the shop and worked that day.

17,056. Did he demand his wages ?—On the Wednesday morning at 10 minutes past 6 I met him as I was coming out of the door ; I said, "Now man, this is no time to come to work." "Well," he says, "we do not care much about it, give us a bit." I said, "It is a very strange time to ask for your bit at "10 minutes past 6 in the morning ; you know I pay "only once a week." They went away from me

without a single sentence more being said; and at noon, between 12 and 1 o'clock, another man came with him that was working with him and demanded to see me in the office.

17,057. Do you know who the other man was?—I really forget his name now; he was a mate of his that I engaged at the same time.

17,058. Did he see you?—Yes, I was in the house.

17,059. What happened?—I told my missus to open the door, and when he came in he demanded his wages. I told him that it was no use coming to ask me for his wages as he had got his answer in the morning, and I should only pay as I promised. He began with some abusive language, and I asked the missus to open the door for him and let him go out; she went to open the door, and he let into her breast and knocked her down, and I got him outside with the assistance of the carter, and then outside they kicked up a row again for about half an hour. I sent off for the police, and had the man locked up at once.

17,060. He was sentenced to a month's imprisonment?—He was sentenced to a month's imprisonment.

17,061. Did something happen on the 5th of July?—Yes.

17,062. What was it?—A deputation consisting of a joiner, a mason, and a bricklayer arrived at my house about half-past 9. I was gone out; they were told that I should be home between 12 and 1 o'clock. In place of that I happened to be home about 11, and had to go out again. I got home about half-past 12, and the deputation came and wished to speak to me privately.

17,063. And you refused to see them?—I said anything that they had got to say must be said in the office, and publicly; that is how I did my business. Of course they went away.

17,064. It was after that that your men were called off?—When I got to the job the delegates that had applied to me had been there and drawn the men off; they were all to leave off at 3 o'clock.

17,065. I believe there were 44 men?—Yes, they drew off all they could; I had about 19 men left when they drew them off.

17,066. I suppose you made efforts to supply the place of the men who had left your employment?—Yes.

17,067. Were your workmen then molested?—Yes, in every shape possible.

17,068. What was done to begin with; were your works picketed?—They were picketed most strongly.

17,069. Just describe to us in what way?—From six to 20 pickets were put on, but most positively two pickets on each job from morning till night.

17,070. How many jobs were there?—Six.

17,071. Did the pickets endeavour to prevent men coming to you for employment?—Yes, they paid them for going away when they could get hold of them.

17,072. In what way did they prevent them?—They persuaded them off, and they would give them a sum of money to go to town.

17,073. Did they use any violence towards them?—Yes, in several instances.

17,074. What took place?—It went on till the middle of August, and my men were nearly tired of it.

17,075. You mean the non-union men?—Yes.

17,076. The men in your employment were tired of the annoyance?—Yes; their meat was taken to the place, but they had to go home at night; we had a place like a barracks; they got up a memorial about the 20th of August to the mayor for extra protection, and it was granted.

17,077. Were any of the men who came in place of the union men assaulted?—Yes.

17,078. Who, for instance?—Charles Harris had his head split open with a brick; a brick was thrown at him on a Sunday night, and his head cut open and his hat smashed.

17,079. Do you know the date?—It would be sometime about the beginning of August.

17,080. What did they do to him; cut his head open?—Yes, they cut his head open.

17,081. Do you know who threw the brick?—I cannot positively say to that.

17,082. No one was convicted?—No; the party that was supposed to have thrown the brick was got out of the town, and the man who had his head cut open was sent out of the town, both in one day.

17,083. How do you know that he was sent out of the town?—We can tell by the people who were with him in the train.

17,084. You know that he left the town?—Yes.

17,085. Who were with him when he went off?—Some of the bricklayers.

17,086. Who; we want to have them here to inquire?—I do not know whether I could say positively who were there or not, but Henry Wilcock was one.

17,087. Can you give any information as to who can tell us who these men were?—I can safely refer you to the names of Henry Wilcock, a bricklayer, John Burns, a bricklayer, and Thomas Fairbrother, a joiner.

17,088. Why do you refer to these men?—As being the men who escorted him out of the town.

17,089. Do you know that they did escort him?—Yes.

17,090. Why do you say they got him out of the town?—Because I could bring proof of people who saw them escort him to the train when he went to the train, and escorted him out of the town; as the train went off they were there to see him go.

17,091. They were on the platform?—Yes.

17,092. And they paid his fare?—Yes, I think that can easily be proved.

17,093. But you do not know yourself?—No.

17,094. Do you know whether they gave him any money?—No, I did not see any paid.

17,095. Your carter, Gorton, was assaulted?—Yes.

17,096. How was that?—Four or five set on him one Saturday night.

17,097. What was he doing?—I cannot say; he was not at his work at the time; in fact I did not hear tell of it till Sunday morning.

17,098. He was assaulted by five or six men?—Yes.

17,099. Do you know where it was?—It was in Fletcher Street and Bridgman Street; it was in the corner public-house that it occurred.

17,100. Does Gorton know who the men were?—Yes, we had them up before the magistrates.

17,101. What was done to them?—I believe the magistrates said that they were perfectly satisfied of the conduct of the men, but that there was not evidence enough to commit them, and there were so many things of that sort, and so much bribery went on, that you could not get a conviction hardly.

17,102. Why do you say that?—We know it.

17,103. In that case were the witnesses bribed to stop away?—Yes, there was no dispute about it in that case.

17,104. I suppose if these men were to come here they would not dispute it?—I should like to see them come, because I think we have evidence to bring after, which they could not say they they did not do it.

17,105. What are the names of the men?—John Beebee, he is a joiner.

17,106. A union man?—A union man; Hugh Irvine, he is a joiner.

17,107. Is he a union man too?—Yes, on strike at the time.

17,108. Who else?—I really forget; there were five or six of them altogether in company.

17,109. A man named Hulme, who was a mason working for you, was assaulted?—That occurred after that.

17,110. And there was a man named Taylor, a joiner; was he assaulted?—Yes.

17,111. Do you know who assaulted him?—John Beebee and Samuel Rigby.

17,112. A man named Hough was assaulted too?—Yes.

FOURTEENTH DAY.

Mr. J. Thompson.

20 Sept. 1867.

17,113. Then I believe there was an effort made to settle your disputes by arbitration, which failed?—Yes, after the memorial went in from the men, the mayor tried to settle it.

17,114. How long had this picketing of your works continued?—13 weeks.

17,115. That was until the end of February this year?—Yes.

17,116. Do you consider that all the annoyance resulting from this dispute is over?—No.

17,117. Are you threatened at all now?—Yes, we are annoyed and threatened down whatever street we go, both our men and ourselves.

17,118. They continue to threaten you now?—Yes.

17,119. (*Chairman.*) What other offence had you given to the union men except the prosecution of Clarkson?—We had given no offence.

17,120. Is Clarkson a union man?—Yes, he is a member of the joiners' union.

17,121. Clarkson came in and demanded his wages, and you did not give them to him, and then he assaulted your wife, and you prosecuted him?—Yes.

17,122. Is there any other ground of complaint? Are there reasons why you have been assaulted or threatened, except for the one circumstance that you had prosecuted Clarkson?—That is the whole that we are aware of. Till the mediation took place, when the masons said before the mediator that there was a strike then brewing for the prosecution of the two masons, Caton and Williams, we did not know that we had done anything wrong.

17,123. When the matter was referred to arbitration, before the arbitrator it was alleged that there was a strike pending because you had prosecuted Caton and Williams?—Yes.

17,124. You had prosecuted them for similar things?—Yes.

17,125. They demanded their wages, and you refused to give them?—Yes.

17,126. It was not that you were not going to pay the wages, but that you were not going to pay them on the day on which they asked for them?—No.

17,127. One case was the strike of the masons because you prosecuted Caton and Williams, and the other case was that of the joiners, because you prosecuted Clarkson?—Yes.

17,128. By whom were you threatened and assaulted?—The whole of them, both the bricklayers, the joiners, and the masons.

17,129. And you are sure that all the three trades joined in threatening you?—There were many dozen assaults.

17,130. I take the joiners, the masons, and the bricklayers?—Even now the men cannot go up and down. On Monday last I had a man, who is here now, that was insulted by them.

17,131. The men who have assaulted and threatened you are still doing so. You speak of some joiners some masons, and some bricklayers. Is that so?—Yes.

17,132. And you know of no other cause except the one you have mentioned, the prosecution of Clarkson, and Caton, and Williams?—Yes.

17,133. You know of no other offence?—No.

17,134. When did the prosecution of Caton and Williams take place?—The 15th of May 1866.

17,135. When was the prosecution of Clarkson?—The 14th of June 1866, on a Thursday.

17,136. With the exception of those two causes of offence you do not know of any other?—No other.

17,137. (*Mr. Barstow.*) And you pay the wages like any other man in your business; there is no difference in that respect?—At the time of the strike I had a man that received 1*s.* less wages than the standard.

17,138. Is it usual to pay builders' wages on Saturday?—The masons are paid on the Saturday, but the joiners are paid on the Friday night.

17,139. (*Chairman.*) You did prosecute both Caton and Williams?—They were taken up for annoyance.

17,140. Nothing came of it?—They were bound over, and locked up in default of sureties.

17,141. (*Mr. Chance.*) You tried also to get other non-union men?—Yes, I went all over the country.

17,142. (*Chairman.*) Do you employ non-union men now?—Yes, while I live I will employ non-union men in all my work. I have committed no offence, and it is the only offence I have.

17,143. A question is suggested for me to ask you. Have you been convicted by the magistrates of Bolton of any offence?—Yes, for sending the men from my own house front.

17,144. When were you convicted?—The same week as the memorial.

17,145. When were you convicted?—On the 22nd it should have been brought before the magistrates; it was put off until the Saturday, because Mr. Roberts could not attend.

17,146. Tell me the month?—The 22nd of August 1866.

17,147. You were taken up and charged before the magistrates of Bolton with some offence?—For an assault upon some workmen in the front of Fletcher Street.

17,148. You were charged before the magistrates at Bolton with an assault upon some workmen in front of some street?—Yes, they were coming there to annoy me.

17,149. Were you convicted?—I was bound over in my own sureties to keep the peace.

17,150. What was the nature of the assault?—It was sending the men away.

17,151. Was there any assault committed?—No, I never touched any of them.

17,152. You were bound over to keep the peace?—It was creating a disturbance in Fletcher Street.

17,153. What sort of a disturbance was it?—There were 12 or 15 of the workmen employed in other places at the top of the street.

17,154. What workmen?—Masons, bricklayers, &c.

17,155. Union men?—Yes.

17,156. They came between 12 and 1?—Yes, they got a number of factory operatives passing backwards and forwards to create an annoyance.

17,157. How do you mean factory operatives?—Innocent people going past.

17,158. What did they do?—They got them to assist in making a noise in the front.

17,159. A noise in shouting?—Yes.

17,160. What did they shout?—"Knobsticks," and other things.

17,161. Were there a good many of them?—Yes.

17,162. When they shouted out "knobsticks" what did you do?—I went and ordered them away, and said if they did not go away I should send for the police. I believe I called one of the men something he did not like at the time, and I sent for the police, and there was a charge against me for creating a breach of the peace.

17,163. There must have been something more than that?—No.

17,164. You were bound over to keep the peace. If all that happened was that these men collected a mob in front calling out "knobsticks," and compelled factory workmen to join with them in calling out and creating an annoyance, and all you did was to come out and say you would send for the police, how was it you were bound over to keep the peace?—I believe it was for threatening them or calling them some names.

17,165. Did you use any threats of violence?—No.

17,166. Then you had not broken the peace. According to that there would not be a reason for binding you over to keep the peace?—I forget the word I used, whether I called him a thief or something of that sort.

17,167. But that is not a reason for binding you over to keep the peace; you ought to tell us the whole case which was gone into before the magistrates. You were bound over to keep the peace; therefore say what you did.

Merely calling a man a name is not a sufficient reason for you to be bound over to keep the peace unless you threatened him ?—I did not threaten him.

17,168. What did you say; it must have been explained in court ? Was the summons for an assault ?—No, I did not commit any assault.

17,169. It resulted in your being bound over to keep the peace, and you come here to tell us the story, and you ought to tell it on both sides ?—I do not wish to tell anything else.

17,170. We must see, if any question is suggested, that it is fairly brought out on both sides. Now, I ask you, how it was you were bound over to keep the peace ?—I believe it was for creating an annoyance; I believe they reckoned that it was through me that it was created.

17,171. Do you mean that it might be through you that the men came into the street, and you were bound over to keep the peace for that, because that is nonsense ?—Yes.

17,172. It cannot be. You are on your oath and you ought to tell us; you have made your charges for the other things, and you ought to answer us. You were taken up before the magistrates, and bound over to keep the peace; you ought to know why it was ?—I do not know.

17,173. What did they say that you did ?—I believe I have told you as near as I can.

17,174. You have given me no possible reason why you should be bound over to keep the peace. Who appeared against you ?—Mr. Roberts.

17,175. Mr. Roberts would act professionally; but what did the witnesses say that you did ?—I forget who they were.

17,176. But you cannot forget what they said. Somebody must have given evidence against you. Are you certain of this, that you were bound over to keep the peace ?—I was bound in my own recognizances to keep the peace for a month.

17,177. Why and wherefore you do not know ?—No; if I could assist you in getting to that I would be very glad to do it.

17,178. Did you seize anybody ?—No.

17,179. Did you claim the ground on which the men were congregating ?—Certainly.

17,180. Did you, in order to take them off the ground which you considered your own, seize some men ?—I did not seize any men.

17,181. Did you ride in among them ?—My son rode very near through them on a pony.

17,182. Did any stonemasons, whom you employed, leave your employment ?—Those who had been taken away had left me, besides those two who went out on strike.

17,183. Did you publish a placard containing the names of those men who had left your employment ?—Yes, there was a placard published. I gave the names to the publisher.

17,184. You ordered it to be published ?—Yes.

17,185. How many names did you give ?—44.

17,186. Was there also in the placard a warning for other people not to employ those men ?—No, not a word was said about it.

17,187. Was there the mere statement in the placard of these men's names, and of the fact that they had left your employment ? Publishing men's names without saying why or wherefore is idle; you must have said something on the placard ?—I do not think anything was mentioned about their having left my employment.

17,188. Do you mean that you only put in the placard the names of the men ?—I advertised, "Wanted bricklayers, masons, and so on."

17,189. Did you not say, "The 44 men whose names "are written here have left my employment, and I "want more men in their place ?"—I believe the heading of the bill was "The Builders' Strike."

17,190. And then you go on to mention the names of the 44 men, and say that they have left your employment ?—The case of Clarkson was mentioned in the same bill.

17,191. Clarkson having demanded his wages ?—Yes.

17,192. And having been convicted ?—Yes.

17,193. As an explanatory reason for the 44 names being there what was on the bill ?—We understood that it was the strike, and I think there was an article from the "Builders' Journal," stating that the men had left my employment.

17,194. Did the bill also give a sort of warning not to employ these men, or anything of the sort ?—No, nothing of the kind.

17,195. It was merely the fact stated that they had left your employment ?—Yes.

17,196. Was there nothing in the shape of warning or recommendation for others not to employ them ?—No.

17,197. What was your object in publishing the 44 names ?—To let the public see how I had been treated by those men, for the defence of my wife and myself.

17,198. There are two societies of joiners ?—Yes, I believe there are.

17,199. One is called the "General Union" and the other the "Amalgamated Society ?"—I cannot tell the terms; I know them by No. 1 and No. 2.

17,200. What is the number of men in the General Union ?—I do not know that.

17,201. Can you tell me whether No. 1 or No. 2 has any branch at Bolton ?—Both of them have; there are two lodges at Bolton, one is called No. 1 and the other No. 2, but what the names of the societies are I cannot say.

17,202. You cannot say whether there are two societies of joiners beyond the fact that there are two societies at Bolton ?—I do not know.

17,203. Are they two lodges of the same society ?—I cannot say.

17,204. You do not know the names of the unions ?—No, I know there are such things, but I do not belong to them myself.

17,205. There are two societies, and the men you speak of were members of one or the other at Bolton ?—Yes.

The witness withdrew.

ANDREW BARRY sworn and examined.

A. Barry.

17,206. (*Mr. Chance.*) Are you a joiner by trade ?—Yes.

17,207. Are you in Mr. Thompson's employ ?—Yes.

17,208. How long have you been with him ?—About a year and a half.

17,209. Do you remember the disturbance which took place between him and some of his workmen ?—I was not there at the time the disturbance took place; I have been employed after.

17,210. Did you go soon after the disturbance ?—Yes.

17,211. Did you go to him to supply the place of some of the union men ?—Yes, and I worked for him before the strike.

17,212. Are you a member of the union ?—No.

17,213. Have you ever been ?—No.

17,214. When you went into his service were you at all threatened or annoyed by members of the union ?—Yes, frequently.

17,215. Do they say anything to you ?—Yes, they say they will make me suffer for working for him.

17,216. Can you give me the names of any of the men ?—I do not know them by name.

17,217. Has this happened more than once ?—Yes, several times.

17,218. Were they members of joiners' union ?—Yes.

17,219. And members of other unions as well ?—They were all union men.

17,220. Were there any amongst them who were

FOURTEENTH DAY.

A. Barry.

20 Sept. 1867.

members of the bricklayers' or masons' union ?—No, they were all joiners.

17,221. Is Mr. Thompson's work picketed ?—Yes.

17,222. How many men were engaged in picketing? —Six men.

17,223. Was it as you went to work that they made use of these expressions ?—Yes, in going and coming from work.

17,224. Were you ever struck by one of them ?—Yes, on Monday last.

17,225. Is that the first time they struck you ?—Yes ; but I have often been stopped in the streets and pressed to join the union.

17,226. Last Monday was the first occasion when you were struck ?—Yes.

17,227. Do you know the names of any of the men who struck you ?—No.

17,228. At the time you were struck was there more than one man ?—There were three men.

17,229. Before striking you did they say anything to you ?—They called me a dirty black and a knobstick. They said it was a shame for me to be working for Jonah Thompson, because as soon as Jonah Thompson had finished his job he would never get another job in Lancashire, and that I would find myself asleep one night never to wake again.

17,230. You do not know their names ?—No.

17,231. Were you struck by more than one ?—No, only one.

17,232. Where were you struck ?—On the forehead.

17,233. With the fist ?—Yes.

17,234. Did they do you much injury ?—No, I ran away from them.

17,235. Do you remember a man of the name of Clarkson being prosecuted ?—I was not working for Mr. Thompson when he was prosecuted ; the week he was prosecuted I started working for him.

17,236. Did you hear of his being taken up before the magistrates and committed ?—Yes.

17,237. Did you know the man ?—I did not know him.

17,238. Have you seen him ?—Yes.

17,239. Of which union is he a member ; is he a joiner ?—Yes ; he belonged to the General Union.

17,240. Do you know whether his wife was allowed any sum of money for her relief while he was in prison ? —Yes, I heard his wife got 14*s.* a week while he was in prison.

17,241. From whom did you hear that ?—From different members.

17,242. The members of that union ?—Yes.

17,243. Do you know the name of any one of them ? —No, I do not know their names.

17,244. You are sure that they were members of the union ?—Yes.

17,245. Did you also hear that Clarkson himself had received any money ?—Yes.

17,246. What was that for ?—I heard that he received his full pay while he was in gaol.

17,247. Do you work for Mr. Thompson now ?—Yes.

17,248. (*Chairman.*) Do you know if there are two societies of joiners ?—I know there are two lodges in Bolton.

17,249. Do you know whether there are two societies, one called the " General Union," and the other the " Amalgamated Society of Joiners ?"—I do not know about the " Amalgamated."

17,250. You have heard of the " General Union ?" —Yes.

17,251. Are the two lodges at Bolton, as you understand, belonging to the General Union, or does one belong to one society and another to another ?—There are two lodges, and they both belong to the General Union.

17,252. Both the lodges belong to the General Union ?—Yes.

17,253. And you know nothing of the Amalgamated Society ?—No.

The witness withdrew.

G. Haworth.

GEORGE HAWORTH sworn and examined.

17,254. (*Chairman.*) What are you ?—A joiner.

17,255. Have you been so many years ?—Yes, ever since I was able to work.

17,256. And a member of the joiners' union ?—Yes.

17,257. Have you been so many years ?—Yes.

17,258. Of which union are you a member ?—There is the General Union.

17,259. There are two clubs or unions, I mean the General Union of joiners and another, the Amalgamated Society ?—Yes.

17,260. Where does the General Union hold its meetings ?—It extends almost all over the country.

17,261. Have they lodges in different districts ?—In different towns.

17,262. We understand that there are two lodges in Bolton ?—Yes.

17,263. They are both lodges of the General Union ?—Yes.

17,264. How is that, that there are two in one town ? —I do not know. I have an opinion of my own that it is advantageous to have two where there seems to be so many joiners in one town ; too many joiners in one lodge is not beneficial.

17,265. There are a good many joiners in Bolton, and it is more desirable that they should be separated into two lodges ?—Yes.

17,266. Are there lodges in all the different towns of England where there are joiners ?—Yes.

17,267. How does the General Union meet ; are there delegates from the different lodges ?—The bodies in the town meet once a fortnight.

17,268. The lodges do ?—Each lodge.

17,269. Is there no general committee of the whole union to which the lodges send delegates ?—Meeting regularly ?

17,270. No, periodically ?—Our general committee meets in Manchester; that is what we consider the seat of government.

17,271. You meet in Manchester, and have you delegates sent from all the different lodges to form that committee, or how is it selected ?—Only at the delegate meeting.

17,272. How many members are there on the committee at the seat of government ?—I cannot exactly say.

17,273. One hundred ?—No, nothing of that sort.

17,274. Twenty?—No, I should think a dozen would form the committee ; I cannot speak positively.

17,275. How are those 12 elected ?—They are elected within the district.

17,276. Within what district are the present 12 elected ?—They are elected within a certain radius of Manchester.

17,277. What is the extent of the radius ?—I think it is six or seven miles.

17,278. Is that for a given time, or do they go on ; how long does that committee exist ?—It is elected every 12 months.

17,279. Does each lodge collect its own subscriptions from its members ?—Yes.

17,280. Have they the right of the distribution of it ? —They do what they think proper with it, so long as they pay all due demands with regard to government.

17,281. What is the Amalgamated Society of Joiners ? —I cannot speak to that ; I have no connexion with it at all.

17,282. You have heard of it ?—Yes.

17,283. Where is it supposed to exist ?—Bury is the nearest place to my knowledge.

17,284. You have no connexion with that ?—Not as far as working together goes; we work at the present time in Bolton with the Amalgamated Union.

17,285. How do you work with them ?—We work in the same shop with them ; if a man belongs to a society of any description he is right ; we expect a man to belong to some union.

17,286. And he is wrong if he does not belong to a union?—Yes.

17,287. And do you allow your men who belong to your general union to work with men who do not belong to any society of joiners?—Of course we do not if we can avoid it, if we can do it with persuasion.

17,288. A little persuasion?—Yes, we are sometimes placed where we cannot get the chance of persuasion.

17,289. But when you get the chance of persuasion you make use of it?—Yes.

17,290. Have you ever known the persuasion assume different forms; is it only confined to language, or does it go beyond that?—I have heard of it going beyond that, to slight threats. I have heard tell of it.

17,291. Were the threats sometimes carried into execution?—I cannot say.

17,292. You have heard of it?—I cannot say that I ever saw it.

17,293. You have heard of it?—I have heard tell of some slight affairs; what I have heard tell of has been the same as is of daily occurrence; they have originated through beer more than anything else.

17,294. By a sort of collision between the unionists and the non-unionists?—Yes.

17,295. And a little brought on too by the beer?—In general that way.

17,296. Supposing unionists to have been turned off and non-unionists to have been employed, have you heard of men being picketed when non-union persons have been employed; have you heard of pickets being employed to watch them?—Yes, I have.

17,297. And those men of course you pay for their labour?—Yes.

17,298. Has that frequently occurred?—It has occurred twice to my knowledge. I have only been in two strikes.

17,299. What do the pickets do; do they use any persuasion?—They watch the premises of the employers.

17,300. The premises of the employers, and they watch the employed there too?—Certainly; they watch the premises of the employers to catch the employed, and if they can lead them by persuasion they do so.

17,301. And if they cannot?—I never saw coercion used.

17,302. I never said you did, but perhaps you have heard of it?—I have heard of little bits of scrimmages, but not during the working hours.

17,303. But they scrimmage afterwards, after they go back?—All the scrimmage I have heard tell of has been after the working hours if they fall into a beer-house; if persuasion will not do it, of course I have heard of coercion being used to a certain extent, but to no great extent.

17,304. Do you remember Thompson's men being picketed?—Yes.

17,305 Did your society pay the pickets there?—Yes.

17,306. And you as secretary would make entries of it?—Yes.

17,307. How do you enter that, "pickets" or "cash"?—We paid the pickets their full wages the same as if they had been in actual work; we allowed them 3*s.* a week extra for their picketing, both of them, while they lasted.

17,308. How would that appear in your book; how would you as secretary enter that in your book?—It is classed altogether; he is paid weekly 1*l.* 13*s.*

17,309. Does his name appear in the book as a man paid?—Yes.

17,310. He is not called a "victim member" or anything of that sort? You have no particular name? You write the man's own name?—I write his name one side of the book, and he writes his name the other side when he receives the money.

17,311. How long did this go on, paying the men picketing at Thompson's?—I cannot say how long it was. I am not prepared to give the exact dates; it was when the strike first took place.

17,312. Do you remember the names of the men?—John Beebee and Thomas Fairbrother.

17,313. Did you hear of Caton and Williams getting into trouble?—I remember Clarkson.

17,314. Clarkson was a joiner?—Yes.

17,315. You heard of his being charged with an assault upon the wife of Mr. Thompson?—Yes.

17,316. And he was sent to prison for it?—Yes, for a month.

17,317. And your society paid his wages while he was in prison?—Our society?

17,318. Some society?—I believe that the whole money he received from the Bolton lodge was 4*s.* I cannot exactly swear, but I think it was perhaps 3*s.* 6*d.*, or something of that sort, the whole money he drew from us.

17,319. For what was it paid?—It was paid when he came out of prison to pay his railway fare back to Bolton; it was a little bit of philanthropic feeling about us; we did not like to see a man without a penny in his pocket who had suffered that length of time.

17,320. Your philanthropy did not go beyond the 3*s.* 6*d.*?—I do not think it did; I have an entry in my book to show you.

17,321. If you can without inconvenience look at the book and see how much you did pay him we shall be glad?—I can do presently.

17,322. Are your books here?—They are, every one of them.

17,323. When was this payment made?—When he came out of prison.

17,324. When was that?—I cannot recollect the dates.

17,325. Do you remember the year; it was the 14th of July 1866, we should find the entry immediately?—Certainly.

17,326. Did you pay his wife anything while he was in prison?—She did not get a farthing from the Bolton lodge. I do not know whether she had anything paid or not, but nothing was paid to her from the Bolton lodge.

17,327. Are you the secretary of Bolton lodge No. 1?—Yes.

17,328. Then she might have had it from Bolton lodge No. 2, and you not have known it?—She might have. He was a Preston man and belonged to the Preston lodge; he had nothing to do with us.

17,329. Supposing anybody was to pay him for the time he lost while in prison, it would be the Preston lodge to which he would have to look?—I should expect so.

17,330. He would not come within the jurisdiction of either the Bolton lodge No. 1, or the Bolton lodge No. 2?—Not till his clearance came from one lodge to the other.

17,331. You would not pay at all with the chance of getting it back from the Preston lodge?—No.

17,332. Did you attend a meeting between Mr. Thompson and the other man with regard to arbitration?—No, not as to arbitration.

17,333. To whom was it referred?—It was referred to a mediator, not to an arbitrator.

17,334. Did you appoint the mediator?—Yes.

17,335. At that time the strike was going on against Thompson, was not it?—Yes.

17,336. Was one of the conditions you proposed for withdrawing the strike that Thompson should pay the expenses?—We expected that he would pay us the expense.

17,337. Was the sum mentioned?—Mr. Lever Rushton advised us to withdraw the expenses, and if Mr. Thompson would only give an acknowledgment that he was in the wrong, then the dispute would end.

17,338. The acknowledgment was to be in the shape of money?—That was our beginning.

17,339. Did you ask for as much as 360*l.* to be paid you by way of expenses for the strike?—The joiners?

17,340. Yes.—I think not.

17,341. Where there other clubs besides the joiners concerned in this mediation?—There were the bricklayers, masons, and plasterers.

17,342. And the joiners besides?—Yes.

17,343. Was the sum total of the money which Mr.

FOURTEENTH DAY.

G. Haworth.

20 Sept. 1867.

Thompson was asked to pay about 360*l.*?—It would be considerably more than that for the four bodies combined together.

17,344. How much would your body want?—I cannot exactly say; I have been taken rather on the bounce, you know.

17,345. Have you a shrewd suspicion that it was somewhere about 300*l.* for your body?—It would not exceed 200*l.* very much.

17,346. Not much?—No.

17,347. Then what would the others be?—I cannot say; each body had their own.

17,348. Was it mentioned in your presence what the other bodies claimed?—It might be, but I do not recollect what it was.

17,349. You said that it was a good deal more altogether than 360*l.*; did it amount to 1,000*l.* in round numbers?—I do not know what the masons might have expended; I should think they would expend more than us.

17,350. Taking it in that way it would be nearly 1,000*l.*?—I do not think it would be 1,000*l.* The plasterers' expenses were very small comparatively speaking to ours.

17,351. The conditions upon which you assented to withdraw the strike were, that he should pay the expenses whatever they might be?—We expected that, we expressed that wish to Thomas Lever Rushton, Esq., as the mediator.

17,352. And he advised you to withdraw all claim?—He advised us to withdraw all claims as far as money went.

17,353. Did you do so?—The body that meet there as a committee could not rule the other body. This was laid before them.

17,354. Did you withdraw it or not?—We could not do it then.

17,355. Did you refer it afterwards to your general body?—Yes.

17,356. What did your general body say?—Thomas Lever Rushton wanted Mr. Thompson to make an open acknowledgment that he was in the wrong.

17,357. You could not come to an agreement, you being only delegates from your committee?—No.

17,358. It was referred to your general body; what did the general body do?—It was not accepted.

17,359. You would not withdraw your claim to the money?—No, we would not.

17,360. What did the strike cost you altogether?—Well, I do not know.

17,361. A mere trifle?—The strike and one thing and another cost us perhaps a little over 300*l.*

17,362. Is your joiners' general union at all associated with the "Operative Carpenters?"—It is that union.

17,363. It is the same thing?—Yes.

17,364. Was Fairbrother a member of your union?—Yes.

17,365. Do you know of his being at all engaged in getting away witnesses who were prepared to prove an assault, and seeing them off to London?—I am not aware.

17,366. Do you remember giving Fairbrother any money about that time?—Never a farthing.

17,367. You would have been the person, if money had been given, to pay it?—Sometimes I pay money and sometimes not.

17,368. Would you enter such a thing as that, "Paid money to Fairbrother?"—Yes.

17,369. Were Beebee and Irvine joiners or masons?—Beebee is a joiner.

17,370. And Hugh Irvine?—Yes, he is a joiner too.

17,371. Were they and three or four others ever up before the magistrates for assaulting a man named Gorton, a carter of Mr. Thompson?—I heard of Beebee being up.

17,372. For assaulting the carter?—Yes at the "Farmers' Arms."

17,373. Did your society employ somebody to defend him?—Yes.

17,374. Whom did you employ?—Mr. Hall.

17,375. Is he a solicitor?—Yes.

17,376. What did it cost you?—Three guineas.

17,377. For defending him for that assault?—Yes.

17,378. Did you defend Irvine at all?—I heard so.

17,379. How came you to pay money to anybody for defending the assault upon Mr. Thompson's carter; was it because it arose out of the strike?—It was a drunken squabble.

17,380. You did not always pay for drunken squabbles?—We did not make a general practice of it.

17,381. You must have a very large fund if you pay for drunken squabbles; but did not you know that the assault upon the carter arose out of this union strike?—It might have done at the first onset; I have no doubt but that it did.

17,382. What was the origin of Mr. Thompson's strike?—It originated through Clarkson.

17,383. Clarkson demanded his wages, did he not? There was some question about wages?—Yes.

17,384. How did you understand the circumstance?—I understood it only from Clarkson's tongue telling me.

17,385. Because Clarkson demanded his wages in the way that has been mentioned your union caused the strike to take place among Thompson's men; is that it?—Clarkson was a total stranger in the town. He came from Preston. He came to work for Thompson, and he worked a week or two there, and he happened to come into the yard a little later than common one morning, and Mr. Thompson made a bit of an answer, "Was this any time to come in the morning?" Clarkson took it up rather abruptly, and they got to words, and Thompson told him that he could do without him.

17,386. And Clarkson committed the assault of which we have heard?—He committed no assault. I saw Clarkson shortly after, and I told him if I was him I would go back to Thompson's, and ask for my money so long as he was discharged. When he went back Thompson told him he only paid once a week, and that was upon a Friday, and a stranger in the town, being discharged on the Tuesday, and being compelled to wait till Friday, was rather hard. That Clarkson did not like, and he had a partner with him that came with him, of the name of John Johnson, and he was very hard of hearing. He was with him when he went to the man, and being hard of hearing he did not hear the dispute.

17,387. And Clarkson assaulted Thompson's wife?—So he said.

17,388. Was that the subject of the strike as far as you were concerned?—Yes; the real origin of the strike was not paying the man when he was discharged.

17,389. He was discharged on the Tuesday, and had to wait till the Friday for his money, and that was the origin of the strike?—Yes.

17,390. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Was not the strike owing to Thompson appearing against Clarkson?—In court?

17,391. Yes.—No, it was not.

17,392. (*Mr. Chance.*) You told us just now that scrimmages often arose between the union and the non-union men; do you generally defend men if they are taken up for assaulting non-union men?—We always support our own lot as far as lies in our power.

17,393. When one of these scrimmages takes place you make it a practice to defend your own men?—Yes, we defend our own men.

17,394. Is not that a very strong encouragement for these scrimmages?—There have been very few in Bolton.

17,395. Whatever numbers there may be, is it not a very strong encouragement, when an assault of this kind is made by union men, if you provide funds out of your union to defend them?—I cannot dispute that.

17,396. Can you tell me how many members there are in your association?—In the country?

17,397. Yes.—About 10,000 in round numbers.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to to-morrow at 10 o'clock.

FIFTEENTH DAY.

Assize Courts, Manchester, Saturday, 21st September 1867.

PRESENT :

PERCIVAL ANDREE PICKERING, Esq., Q.C. | GEORGE CHANCE, Esq.
THOMAS IRWIN BARSTOW, Esq. | JAMES SHEIL, Esq., Secretary.

PERCIVAL ANDREE PICKERING, ESQ., Q.C., IN THE CHAIR.

ELI FIELDING sworn and examined.

17,398. (*Chairman.*) I believe you are the secretary of some union ?—Yes.

17,399. What union is it ?—The "Self-acting Minders."

17,400. What do the minders do ?—Spin yarn in mills.

17,401. Minders are in the spinning yarn trade ?—Yes, in the factory.

17,402. Where do you come from, Bolton ?—Yes.

17,403. Is the union of which you are secretary existing at Bolton ?—Yes.

17,404. Do you know at all of how many people it consists ; how many members have you ?—Between 300 and 400.

17,405. How often do you meet ?—We meet every Thursday night and oftener, if necessary.

17,406. Have you the custody of the books of the union ?—Yes.

17,407. You are the secretary ?—Yes.

17,408. It is your duty to enter all the monies that are paid, is it not ?—Yes.

17,409. Your object is for the protection of your trade as well as other purposes ?—Yes.

17,410. What other purposes are there as well as the protection of your trade ; do you pay money for funerals and in cases of sickness and accident ?—Yes, for sickness, death, and for loss of limbs.

17,411. The seat of your society is Bolton, but have you connexion with other unions of the same sort ?—Yes.

17,412. Where ?—We have our central place in Manchester.

17,413. Do you send delegates to Manchester ?—Yes.

17,414. How often do you send delegates, or do you send one to act for some time for you ?—It should be every three months, but oftener if required.

17,415. Every three months there is a meeting at Manchester, the central place, of delegates ?—Yes, that is a quarterly meeting.

17,416. Where are the other unions from which the delegates come besides yours at Bolton ?—For every district.

17,417. Just mention some of the other districts.—Leeds, Preston, Barnsley, all round, and they are all amalgamated in Manchester.

17,418. Are all those other unions in Lancashire, or all over the country ?—In Cheshire, Yorkshire, and Derbyshire.

17,419. They are all amalgamated together, and the seat of government where the delegates meet is Manchester ?—Yes.

17,420. They meet quarterly ?—Yes.

17,421. Is there a delegate from each town which has a union ?—Some send two or three, according to the number of members.

17,422. How many do you send ?—Sometimes we send one and sometimes two.

17,423. Who has the control of the funds ; have you the control of all your funds at Bolton ? I suppose you pay a certain subscription ?—I order it to be paid.

17,424. How often is the subscription, once a week or once a fortnight, or once a month, or how is it ?—The members subscribe weekly.

17,425. How much ?—1*s.* each, weekly.

17,426. Is the money placed to the account of the treasurer of the union ?—Yes.

17,427. Have you the power of ordering the disposition of that money of your club at Bolton as you please ?—The committee has to do that.

17,428. You have a committee ?—Yes ; and if the committee cannot do it, it is referred to the general meeting of the whole body, and they have to do it.

17,429. You say that you have the disposition of the money which you yourself subscribe among the 300 or 400 members ?—Yes.

17,430. What money do you subscribe to the general amalgamated body of delegates who meet here ?—In Manchester do you mean ?

17,431. Yes.—Sometimes it is more and sometimes it is less ; sometimes it is a farthing and a halfpenny a-head.

17,432. Have you a general body in Manchester ?—We have a general body in Manchester.

17,433. I suppose you have strikes in your trade ?—Yes.

17,434. Can a man work below a given rate of wages ?—Yes, if we allow it.

17,435. Do you allow it as a matter of fact ?—No.

17,436. Do you allow your union men to work with the non-union men ?—No.

17,437. If a master only employs non-union men, what do you do with him ?—We put it down as a black, and no respectable man will go near his shop.

17,438. You mean that no member of your union, which is your definition of a respectable man, will go near his shop ?—No.

17,439. And if he does go near his shop, what do you do with him ?—If he goes near, and if we cannot prevail upon him to keep away, we turn him out of the club.

17,440. Do you ever do anything else with him ?—No.

17,441. You use no physical force ?—No.

17,442. You do nothing of that sort ?—No.

17,443. I suppose you occasionally picket the non-union men ?—Yes, occasionally.

17,444. When did you last picket ?—It might be about three months since.

17,445. Whose premises where they that you picketed ?—Mr. Tomlinson's.

17,446. Is he at Bolton ?—Yes.

17,447. How many men do you send to picket the premises ?—It just depends.

17,448. How many did you send then ?—Sometimes we send two, or less ; sometimes three or four, and sometimes half a dozen.

17,449. How many did you send to picket Mr. Tomlinson's ?—Sometimes we sent more and sometimes less.

17,450. How long did the picketing go on ?—I dare-say it would last a good share of the three months, if not quite.

17,451. What did you pay the pickets ?—Nothing but the weekly wages.

17,452. That came out of your funds ?—Yes.

17,453. Did you get any assistance from other unions, or were your own funds enough ?—No.

17,454. What did that strike cost you altogether ?—I cannot say, we never reckoned it up ; it cost a good lump.

17,455. You have got your books here ?—Yes.

17,456. And did you enter pickets in those books ?—No, we did not put it down as pickets.

17,457. How did you put it down ?—As wages. We paid them the same as the men who were not picketing.

17,458. Was there any disturbance at the time between the pickets and the non-union men ?—It was represented as such.

FIFTEENTH DAY.

E. Fielding.

21 Sept. 1867.

17,459. Something very like a disturbance?—Yes.

17,460. What was the sort of thing that they said was done; were any blows exchanged?—They said so, but they could never prove it; we did not believe that ever there were; not through our men.

17,461. Do you believe that it was through the other men?—I do not know whether they ever left the door or not.

17,462. Do you know a person of the name of Benjamin Mason?—Yes.

17,463. Does he live in Bolton?—Yes.

17,464. Did you ever hear of his being constantly followed by the pickets or by your union men?—They have walked along with him, beside of him, but they have not said anything to him or done anything to him.

17,465. Have they been near enough to strike him?—I daresay they have, but I think they never have done.

17,466. Have they threatened him?—No.

17,467. Nothing of the sort?—No.

17,468. Was that a case of picketing?—Yes.

17,469. What other cases of picketing have you known lately?—That is the last.

17,470. That lasted three months; is it over now?—We have no pickets on; they have not been on for three weeks.

17,471. Is Mr. Tomlinson still employing non-union men?—Yes.

17,472. Have you given up picketing him?—Yes.

17,473. What made you give it up; did you find it of no use?—Because he will lick himself at the finish.

17,474. So you think you will gain your purpose that way?—Yes.

17,475. When was Mr. Tomlinson's strike over? You said that your men picketed him for three months?—They came out the latter end of last year.

17,476. How long before that was there another case? Have you had many cases of picketing in your union?—No, we had only one previous to that.

17,477. When was that?—That would be about 18 months since, as near as I can think.

17,478. You have never paid the men for doing anything else except picketing?—No.

17,479. Has any one of your men been charged for assaults?—Yes.

17,480. Who was that?—Jonah Winn and Benjamin Mason.

17,481. They were charged for assaulting non-union men?—No, those were the men who met the charge against the non-union men.

17,482. Was any fine put on?—No, they could not prove it.

17,483. Did you defend them?—Yes.

17,484. You paid money for defending them?—Yes.

17,485. To whom did you pay it?—Mr. Roberts.

17,486. Have any of your men been charged at any other time for assaults, whether the others were paid or not?—No, I never heard of any.

17,487. Are these the only men that you remember to have been charged for assaults, and for the defence of whom you paid money?—Yes.

17,488. They are the only men?—Yes.

17,489. About how much did you pay for the defence of those men?—About 30*l.*

17,490. Can you give me any notion how much the picketing cost you for those three months?—We paid the men 10*s.* a week whether they were picketing or not.

17,491. (*Mr. Chance.*) Unless I know how many men you employed I cannot form an opinion as to the amount?—There were 21 in all, besides their piecers and creelers that they had to employ themselves. We had all them to pay besides.

17,492. (*Chairman.*) You did not pay the men who picketed more than the men who were out on strike?—No.

17,493. How did you select the men to picket?—They picked them out themselves.

17,494. They chose themselves to picket?—Yes, they went on in their turns.

17,495. And you paid 21 men for each day for three months?—Yes, 10*s.* a week.

17,496. 10*s.* a week each man?—Yes.

17,497. You paid 21 men 10*s.* a week for each man?—Yes, I paid them for their children under nine years of age besides that.

17,498. How much did you pay for the children?—1*s.* 6*d.* a week.

17,499. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Does it take a long time to learn this trade of self-acting winding?—Yes.

17,500. (*Chairman.*) Do you allow men to have apprentices without your permission?—Some have two and some three. There are no apprentices in a mill; they are a great length of time before they become perfect.

17,501. May they have as many young ones to teach as they please without your permission?—Oh, yes.

17,502. Although there are no apprentices they may teach as many young hands as they like?—They may bring the mill full if they like.

17,503. Provided they belong to your union?—We do not meddle with children.

17,504. Provided the masters who teach them are members?—No.

17,505. (*Mr. Chance.*) What wages do the minders get?—They vary from 16*s.* up to 30*s.* odd.

17,506. You say that the men belonging to the union are respectable men; do you take into consideration the character of a man?—No, we never meddle with characters, only as far as this, we pay men when they are out of employment, and if they be discharged for drink or felony we do not pay them.

17,507. Unless felony is committed in the interests of the union, then you pay them?—Yes, if they are following up any of the rules of our trade.

17,508. (*Chairman.*) If your own particular union runs short of money do you then ask for money from the Amalgamated Union, the delegates of which sit here?—We do our best; if we want money we put an extra contribution on our own men.

17,509. Do you use for any purposes the money of the Amalgamated body from which the delegates come; do you get money from them when there has been a heavy strike?—We have certain rules to go by so that we can claim their assistance.

17,510. On what occasions do you claim money from them?—When we claim money from them we have to bring the case before them before bringing the shop out.

17,511. For what things can you get money from them?—For anything.

17,512. But you spend your own money first, and if you have not enough you ask them?—Yes.

The witness withdrew.

W. Ellison.

WILLIAM ELLISON sworn and examined.

17,513. (*Mr. Barstow.*) What is the name of the society of which you are secretary?—The Ironfounders' Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

17,514. You are secretary of the local branch?—Yes.

17,515. What do you call that local branch?—The Little Bolton Branch of the Ironfounders' Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

17,516. How many members have you in your lodge?—230.

17,517. What do you contribute?—1*s.* a week contribution.

17,518. I suppose that at Bolton you have both lodge meetings and general meetings?—We have no lodge meetings at all; they are general meetings, quarterly and special.

17,519. Then I suppose you send delegates to some general meeting of your body?—No, we do not; our body is governed by an executive committee in London.

17,520. I suppose the object of your society is the protection of your labour?—Yes; and for sickness, funerals, and accidents.

17,521. It is the protection of labour with which we have to do.—I am aware of that.

17,522. I presume that that is the cause sometimes

of differences between the society and the masters?—Yes.

17,523. And, not to go into particulars, those differences sometimes result in strikes?—We have had no strike in Bolton for the last eight or nine years to my knowledge.

17,524. Do you know Mr. Edge of Bolton?—Yes.

17,525. You had some difficulty with him I believe?—Not that I am aware of.

17,526. In August 1866 were not your men on strike at Mr. Edge's works? Do you remember any demand for an advance of 2*s.* per week being made there?—Not that I am aware of.

17,527. Were you secretary at that time?—Yes.

17,528. And I suppose such a thing would come under your knowledge?—It would.

17,529. Did no such thing as a strike happen at that time?—Not that I am aware of; I have our minute book here; we keep all our minutes in a book.

17,530. Please turn to the 6th of August.—We had a special general meeting on the 1st of August; they did not allude specially to Mr. Edge's case.

17,531. Was this after your meeting?—Yes.

17,532. The advance of wages was demanded after the meeting?—Yes, generally in the town; not particularly at Mr. Edge's.

17,533. Are you aware whether Mr. Edge consented to raise the wages?—I am not.

17,534. What was the result of the refusal to raise the wages?—The result was that the men left.

17,535. I believe that was your only strike?—We did not call it a strike, we called it a lock-out.

17,536. The masters call it a strike, and the men call it a lock-out?—Yes, we call it a lock-out.

17,537. In consequence of that strike or lock-out, whichever it was, I suppose Mr. Edge endeavoured to supply himself with workmen from elsewhere?—He did.

17,538. Did you take any measures to prevent those workmen coming to his employment?—No.

17,539. Were Mr. Edge's premises picketed?—They were not.

17,540. Do you mean that no men of your society watched Mr. Edge's premises?—I do.

17,541. I do not say, did they have the authority of the society, but I ask, did no member of your society, with or without the authority of the society, picket Mr. Edge's premises?—No, they did not.

17,542. You know that of your own knowledge?—I do of my own knowledge.

17,543. Are you aware whether any men, whether of your society or not, watched Mr. Edge's premises?—I do not know anything about the men not belonging to our society.

17,544. Has it come to your knowledge that any body of men watched Mr. Edge's premises?—I am not aware of any body of men watching Mr. Edge's premises, none whatever.

17,545. Are you aware whether any non-society hands who came to work there were assaulted?—I am.

17,546. They were assaulted?—Yes.

17,547. Who assaulted them?—There was a street brawl, nothing near the shop at all.

17,548. Not near the shop?—No, it was at the top end of Deansgate, near the "White Lion," and the shop is in Burke Street, a quarter of a mile from it.

17,549. Who were the parties at the brawl?—I do not know; I can only give the particulars as to what the foreman, a non-society man, told me. This was after he left Mr. Edge's employment, and he said that it originated through him; he had had some beer, and three of our men stood at the top of Deansgate; he went up to them and asked how they were getting on; that led to words, and he struck one of them and then they struck him back.

17,550. Is that man a member of your society?—No, he has not been for years.

17,551. He has not become a member since, has he?—No, he has not.

17,552. In consequence of that brawl was there any charge brought before the justices?—I believe there was.

17,553. Who were brought before the justices?—I cannot say, because I did not take any particular notice, because I was not one to attend the court.

17,554. You do not remember who were the defendants before the justices?—No.

17,555. Do you know their names?—No.

17,556. Do you know whether any of them were society men?—I think three men were society men; there were three men in the affair at any rate.

17,557. Do you know what was done to them?—I cannot say. I believe they were bound over to keep the peace. I am not positive.

17,558. We do not expect you to know these things positively; we only ask what you may know; if you know you will tell us, I am sure?—Of course I will.

17,559. Were they defended by anyone before the justices?—They were not.

17,560. No one appeared for them?—No; we censure such conduct in our society.

17,561. You would not under any circumstances defend the men who had misconducted themselves in a riot of this sort?—No; our society censures such conduct as that.

17,562. While you have been secretary has it happened that you have paid money for the defence of men?—No.

17,563. How long have you been secretary?—Three and a half years.

17,564. During that time you have never paid for the defence of any of your members before the justices?—We have not.

17,565. I understand you to say that you have not paid anything for picketing?—We do not agree with that system; we have not paid anything for that; in some branches they do, but the general society will not back it out; our branch is opposed to picketing.

17,566. It is the very ground of your society that you pay men on strike or when they are locked out?—Yes, in case of any dispute between masters and men we pay them.

17,567. They picket the premises where they have been at work, or not, as they like?—We leave that to themselves; we are never responsible for it if they do.

17,568. Have you heard of any other non-society men in Mr. Edge's employment being assaulted?—Not that I am aware of.

17,569. The only man you know of is this foreman?—The foreman; it may have been so, but not to my knowledge.

17,570. What is his name?—Samuel Lax.

17,571. Do you remember a man named James Wilkinson being assaulted?—I do not.

17,572. And some other man being beaten in the street by members of your society?—From Mr. Edge's shop?

17,573. Yes.—I am not aware of it.

17,574. It has not come to your knowledge?—No, it has not; if it had done I would have told you of it in a minute.

17,575. You have told us all with reference to Mr. Edge's case?—Yes. We had a case this year.

17,576. Tell us about that case?—We had a dispute with Mr. Marsden, of the Britannia foundry, the latter end of 1866.

17,577. Did any breach of the peace result from that?—Yes, he gave our men notice for a reduction of 2*s.* a week; they brought the case to the society, and we investigated it, and sent it to London to our executive committee, and they investigated it, and ordered the men to come out and resist the 2*s.* a week reduction by Mr. Marsden. When he heard that he withdrew his notice and let them work full price: a week or two after the masters had a meeting and they ordered Mr. Marsden to give our men notice again to reduce them; the notice was up on the 30th of December last year; our men came out and some of them are out yet through this notice. I believe about March a breach of the peace took place between our men and the non-society men; they were all drinking together

FIFTEENTH DAY.

W. Ellison.

21 Sept. 1867.

in a public-house, and they came out into the street and fought close to the shop. It was settled by the men. It came before the magistrates, but the magistrates discharged it. It was settled prior to going into court. They settled it among themselves.

17,578. The non-society men and the society men were all drinking together?—Yes, in a public-house.

17,579. Are those all the breaches of the peace that you know of?—Yes, they are, in our society.

17,580. Are you in a position to know the fact that your society has not paid any money for picketing?—No, we do not pay any money for picketing.

17,581. (*Chairman.*) I understand that you send up to London?—Yes.

17,582. You call your society a branch; does the principal society exist in London?—No, we are all principals; but our society is governed by an executive in London.

17,583. How many branches do you know of in your moulders' union; you called yours a branch?—We have somewhere about 107 branches.

17,584. Are they scattered over the country?—Yes.

17,585. Tell me generally where they are scattered; is it throughout Lancashire or throughout the country?—Throughout the country, England, Ireland, and Wales.

17,586. And the executive committee which regulates you is in London?—Yes.

17,587. Do you send delegates to London?—No.

17,588. How do you communicate with London, only as occasion calls for it?—They are elected in the executive from seven branches near London.

17,589. Seven branches near London elect an executive committee?—Yes.

17,590. Give me the names of the seven branches for the government of the society?—"For the general "government of the society there shall be an executive "committee, which shall consist of seven members "elected from the governing branch, Greenwich, "East London, North London, and Chelsea branches, "namely, two from the governing branch, one from "Greenwich, two from East London, one from "North London, and one from Chelsea."

17,591. That executive committee regulates and rules your society?—No, our rules are made at the delegates' meeting. Sometimes that takes place every five years.

17,592. In London?—No, it is left to the society; sometimes in London, and sometimes in Manchester.

17,593. What power has the body in London over the branches?—They have none; they see that the laws are strictly conformed to, and they deal with cases where the law does not strictly deal with them, where the law is silent.

17,594. And they deal with cases which may be against law, do they not?—No, we do not deal with cases against the law.

17,595. Have they any power over the funds in London?—The law provides for our funds.

17,596. Your branch has its own contribution and its own fund?—Yes.

17,597. That money I suppose goes for the purposes of your branch, and only of your branch?—For the general body of the whole society.

17,598. Of your branch?—No, the branch of trade; not of our branch only.

17,599. Of how many members does your branch union consist of which you are secretary?—230.

17,600. Do the subscriptions of those 230 go for the benefit of those 230, or do you give them elsewhere?—The benefit of them goes to the society at large.

17,601. Which is the society at large, the 107 branches?—Yes.

17,602. You remit it from one branch to another?—Yes.

17,603. Where is the central place?—Each branch has its own money in its own district; they have their own banking account; but supposing our executive committee required some money in London to invest in some other bank in London they would send for it from our branch.

17,604. And if you had any you would send it?—Yes, we must send it to be invested by the society in London.

17,605. How is the money of your particular branch used?—It is used for donations principally, and for sickness, superannuations, and accidents.

17,606. You said that there had been no strikes in your trade?—We do not call them strikes.

17,607. Lock-outs?—We have had one only.

17,608. You pay the wages of the men who are locked out?—We do if they are sanctioned by the executive; they get 11*s.* per week.

17,609. When was the last, the one you mention?—Mr. Marsden's case was the last one.

17,610. How much did that cost you, have you any notion?—I should say it would cost us something like 50*l.*

17,611. How long did it last?—The dispute with us only lasted 12 weeks, strictly speaking it only lasted six weeks; we only paid them the dispute money six weeks; but for the children under six years of age, their wives and families, we paid 14 weeks.

17,612. (*Mr. Chance.*) I do not understand you about the funds; are the funds which are contributed by you at Bolton used solely for your members, or are they used for the other branches?—That depends.

17,613. Supposing an accident occurs in another branch, could they come into your branch for the purpose of receiving a donation towards it?—No; if they are short of money anywhere the executive writes to the branch where there is the most money, and they have to send a remittance.

17,614. Can the executive distribute the money as they think just, and as occasion arises?—Yes.

17,615. Supposing a master reduces the wages below what you consider just, in such a case as that you withdraw the men?—Our men draw off us; I do not understand you.

17,616. Supposing Mr. Marsden wanted to reduce 2*s.*, in such a case as that would you object to it, and would the men strike?—Of course they are locked out.

17,617. You draw off the men; you take them away?—We took the men away from Mr. Marsden's; that is what we do if the executive committee sanctions it.

17,618. He was willing to employ them if they would work?—Yes.

17,619. Is there not a distinction between a lock-out and a strike; where you take the men away that is a strike?—No, the cause is through him.

17,620. He is willing to receive them?—If they will not work for a certain figure he locks them out; he says, "I do not want your services any longer, unless you work for a certain figure," and he locks them out.

17,621. He is willing to receive the men if they will work for a certain price?—Yes, if they work at what he thinks fit.

17,622. I want to know the distinction between a lock-out and a strike?—Supposing we want a general advance; we will say that we will go in for 2*s.* a week, and we will say that if the masters will not give it us we will strike.

17,623. You consider that the difference between a strike and a lock-out depends upon whether it is your calling for an advance of wages, or whether it is the masters asking for a reduction of wages?—It does. If the affair takes place on our part we call it a strike, if it takes place on the masters part we call it a lock-out.

17,624. I thought that a lock-out was in consequence of the master sending off his men and refusing to take them in upon any terms?—It is a lock-out.

17,625. He does not lock them out, because he is willing to take them back if they will come back at the reduction?—Yes.

17,626. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Then according to your

definition, and according to the resolution of the 1st of August, it does not in the least matter; it is a mere quibble about names?—I was mistaken in using the word lock-out for strike.

17,627. You resisted me very strongly when I used the word "strike;" what are the words there?—"That "we confirm the decision of the committee appointed "to manage the wage question with regard to mem- "bers paying as a levy their advance of 2*s.* per week "towards those who have to come out; the same 2*s.* "to be paid to them to make their donation into an "actual allowance."

17,628. (*Chairman.*) I suppose if there is a dispute between the masters and men the case is brought before the executive committee, and they decide whether it is a proper dispute or not for a lock-out or a strike?—Yes.

17,629. Have you ever known a case where you have decided that the masters are in the right upon a matter, whether as a lock-out or a strike?—Many a lot.

17,630. You have known a dispute between your men and masters brought before the executive committee, and they have decided for the masters?—Yes, many a time; that is quite common. I have brought two letters with me in which cases were decided for the masters.

17,631. Was that a dispute about wages?—Yes.

17,632. A case of a strike?—It was the masters reducing the wages.

17,633. And they decided that the masters were right in reducing the wages?—Of course they decided they were right so far as the circumstances took it.

17,634. Can you tell me at all the sort of circumstances in which the executive committee came to the conclusion that the masters were right in claiming a reduction; it does not appear from our inquiry here that that is quite a matter of course, but an exception?—They have settled plenty of cases in favour of the masters, but circumstances alter cases they say; and it is not the time for us to waste money with regard to strikes or lock-outs, and therefore, rather than waste money in strikes or lock-outs at the present time, we are willing that the men should have a reduction rather than come out.

17,635. Whether right or wrong, trade not being good, they thought it was not worth while wasting money upon it, and that the men had better give way?—Yes. I was requested by our branch to ask the Commissioners this: The masters of Bolton had an association like we had at the time the lock-out took place at Mr. Marsden's, and they issued a circular with the men's names attached to it, and the men have been kept out of work since then.

17,636. The men who were locked out or struck?—Yes.

17,637. How many men were there?—32.

17,638. A circular was issued with their names attached to it?—Yes.

17,639. Who issued the circular?—The iron masters.

17,640. Had these 32 men been working for Mr. Marsden?—Yes.

17,641. They issued a circular; what do you say upon that; was it injurious to the 32 men?—It was injurious; when they asked for work elsewhere the masters said they could not engage them because their names were on the circular.

17,642. What you seem to complain of is that the names of the 32 men who had struck against the masters should be known to the world?—Yes, of course.

17,643. Why?—We think that the masters' actions ought to be made known as well as the men's.

17,644. Could not you have published the names of the masters?—We do not do anything of the sort.

17,645. You complain of the masters publishing the names of the 32 men who struck. Supposing the name of Mr. Marsden was equally sent round to Manchester upon whose premises and works this strike had arisen; that would be the same case?—Of course; we did not publish Mr. Marsden's name.

17,646. It was well known?—Yes, it was publicly known; but this was a private thing carried on between the masters, and they do not make their actions known the same as the men do; it is kept more to the masters privately,

17,647. Do you mean that a circular of these names was sent privately round to the masters?—Yes, that is what I mean.

17,648. You would have liked it to have been in the papers?—We did not want their names to appear at all.

17,649. Why?—What we want in the papers is, that the actions of the masters should be made known as well as the actions of the men.

17,650. Mr. Marsden's conduct was publicly known?—Not publicly known. I said his actions were known privately among the masters after his publishing the circular.

17,651. There had been a strike, or whatever you may choose to call it, at Mr. Marsden's, which was generally known throughout the whole of Bolton, and probably throughout the whole of Lancashire?—Yes.

17,652. And you object to the names of those 32 men who had struck being publicly known?—Yes.

17,653. Therefore, although Mr. Marsden's name was publicly known throughout the whole of Lancashire, you object to the names of the 32 men being known in the district?—We should not object if Mr. Marsden's name was known, but we object that he should have issued the men's names; we call it a gross act of intimidation against our men.

17,654. (*Mr. Barstow.*) That seems just the same as the master tailors in London this year. I believe they published a list of the men, and they bind themselves not to employ them?—I am not at all acquainted with the actions of the tailors.

17,655. I only know it from the newspapers; there is some litigation about it now?—I know that something is going on between the tailors.

17,656. (*Mr. Chance.*) Supposing a master were to reduce his wages improperly, would not they have made his name known throughout the whole of your unions?—No.

17,657. It would be brought before the meeting?—Yes.

17,658. Therefore his name would be known to all the union men in your society as a master who had improperly dismissed his men?—No, we do not bring the names before all the members of the society: only locally.

17,659. Would it be brought before the general meeting?—Yes.

17,660. Therefore the name of the master who improperly reduced his wages would be brought before a public meeting?—Before a meeting of the members.

17,661. You would let the master's name be known to the meeting as a master who had reduced his wages improperly?—Yes.

17,662. What is the difference between the two cases?—The masters did not send it out; they sent it out in a private circular.

17,663. It being brought before your meeting it would extend through all the other branches of the society?—No.

17,664. (*Chairman.*) Where did Mr. Marsden send the names of the 32 men?—When I went on a deputation to him he told his cashier to reach down the wage book, and said the names of the men to the secretary in Liverpool.

17,665. What secretary?—The secretary of the General Masters' Iron Association, the general Lancashire branch.

17,666. What followed upon these men's names being published; have they been unable to get employment?—Yes.

17,667. Are some of them out now?—Yes.

17,668. How many?—14, I believe.

17,669. Are you paying them?—We are paying them their donation.

FIFTEENTH DAY.

W. Ellison.

21 Sept. 1867.

17,670. The 14 men?—Yes.

17,671. Does that donation amount to so much as their wages?—They are receiving 7*s.* a week now.

17,672. You are supporting these men so long as they are unemployed?—No; we pay a man 9*s.* a week for his donation for 13 weeks, then 8*s.* for his donation for 13 weeks, then 7*s.* for six weeks, then 5*s.* a week for 52 weeks; his donation ceases at the end of two years.

17,673. It extends over a period of two years?—Yes.

17,674. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Do you give any name to a master who employs non-union men, or any name to his shop?—No.

17,675. You take no notice of it whatever?—No.

17,676. You were not in court when the last witness was examined?—Part of the time.

17,677–8. Did you hear him say that when a master employs non-union men they called his shop a black shop, and that no respectable man would go to it?—No, we do not call them any ill names; we bring our men out and leave them to themselves; we bring deputations to the masters and try and arrange things, but we try all the means we possibly can before we bring the men out, in the way of deputations to the employers.

(*Chairman.*) You said that you wanted to mention to the Commission that case which you named. It is not within their province to inquire into it. I explained the other day what the things were with which it was our duty to inquire, namely, cases of intimidation, outrage, and wrong; and I have explained what was considered to be the meaning of the Act of Parliament. That case, whatever it may be, is not within our province. I am glad to hear anything you have to say, but we have nothing to do with that. There is a Commission sitting in London who will investigate everything connected with the whole system of unions; our province is confined to those particular words in the Act of Parliament which I have mentioned to you, but a Commission is sitting in London consisting of very eminent persons, members of parliament and others, where everything relating to trades unions can be mentioned. If your body should think it right to mention anything relating to trades unions you can mention it before them.

(*Mr. Barstow.*) That very subject which you mention now has been repeatedly discussed before. I know that the subject of the iron trade has not been discussed yet, but it will be discussed very shortly.

17,679. (*Chairman.*) Are you in the trade now?—No, I am debarred from working in the trade now. I cannot get a job.

17,680. How are you debarred?—Through being secretary.

17,681. Do you mean that you have too much to do?—No; I did work at my trade, but it is 12 months since I worked at it. I cannot get a job in the town. I have asked every foundry in the town and I cannot get a job; they do not like to employ officers of trade societies, especially in the iron branch.

17,682. What do you do?—I keep a news shop and a tobacconist's shop now.

17,683. How long is it since you have given up being a moulder, ever since you have been secretary?—No, I worked over two years at the trade after, but I had to work on sufferance; I worked in several shops. The masters said they had nothing against me so far as regards my work, but I was discharged and they could not give me any ground for discharging me.

17,684. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Is there greater bitterness of feeling in your trade between the employer and the employed than there used to be?—It has originated in the last few months; we worked amicably together until the last six months, and we have had bitter feelings lately with the masters.

17,685. About wages?—About wages.

17,686. That resolution of the 1st of August had something to do with that, had it not?—Yes, of course it had. The Bolton society was the last in our trade to ask for an advance, and the other societies had had it twelvemonths before we asked for it, and we told the masters why we asked for it. The reasons that we gave the masters they said were just, and they gave it without a murmur. There was only 62, I believe, getting it out of our members, out of 230 men, and of course when we asked for the advance we asked because everything had risen in proportion which we consumed in our households; our money which we were getting would not maintain our families as they ought to be maintained, and we thought that we were justified in asking for an advance of wages.

17,687. I thought you said that the trade in your branch was very bad at present?—In August last that sort of trade was exceedingly good.

The witness withdrew.

M. Morgan.

MARK MORGAN sworn and examined.

17,688. (*Mr. Chance.*) Are you the secretary to the tailors' union?—To the tailors' branch at Bolton.

17,689. Have you more than one branch at Bolton?—Two branches.

17,690. Have you a general society of which your society forms a branch?—There are two separate societies.

17,691. But is there a general society to which those two branches belong?—Yes, there is the general amalgamation.

17,692. Where does the general amalgamation society hold its meetings?—In Manchester.

17,693. How many branches are there belonging to the society?—I should think that there are about 80 towns belonging to it.

17,694. Over what part of the country does that society spread?—It is through all the provinces.

17,695. Does it include London?—No, London is independent.

17,696. Then your society has nothing whatever to do with the London society?—Not so far as the amalgamation goes; they have a separate amalgamation in London.

17,697. Then do you subscribe to the general society?—We subscribe to the Manchester amalgamation.

17,698. Are there also contributions to your branches?—Yes, to the branches.

17,699. What are the contributions to the branch society?—4*d.* a week.

17,700. And how often are those usually collected?—Every fortnight.

17,701. What are the subscriptions to the amalgamated society?—We pay 3*d.* a member per quarter.

17,702. You have the control over your own funds as far as the branch is concerned?—Yes.

17,703. And are the funds of your branch only applicable to the purposes of the branch?—No one has anything to do with our funds, only the branch, any further than paying the amalgamation levy; that is a quarterly levy.

17,704. Then the amalgamations, as I understand you, have no power over your funds?—Not in the least.

17,705. Your funds are entirely separate and independent?—Yes.

17,706. And I suppose that all matters connected with the advance or the reduction of wages come before your society?—They do.

17,707. When a master reduces his wages is that brought before your meeting?—If a master wishes to reduce the price of a garment it is brought before a general meeting, and if the general meeting concludes to oppose it they can do so; but the proper course is to get the sanction of the amalgamation, and if the amalgamation do not recognize it the town is at liberty to strike, but it has to support itself.

17,708. Then, unless the amalgamated society

recognize the strike, they will not pay towards it?—No, the town must support its own men.

17,709. You are at liberty, as I understand, to draw off your men, but you must support them?—We must support them.

17,710. Have strikes happened in your society lately?—There has been one this year.

17,711. And was there one also in 1866, last year?—There was one in 1866, but I was not secretary during that strike.

17,712. How long have you been a member of the union?—Well, I was not a member at the time that strike occurred; I had been a member up to the January previous to that.

17,713. During that time you had ceased to be a member?—I had.

17,714. I dare say you can tell us what occurred?—Well, I can tell you some portion of it which I got from the public papers at the time; that I think was Mr. Horrocks's strike. The strike I think was over making police clothing. We have what we call a price list, in which there is the price for every garment agreed upon between the masters and the men. From what I understand there was some police clothing wanted making, and Mr. Horrocks sent in a tender; but previous to doing so, he asked his men what they would make the garments for; the men I think offered to make the garments at a slight reduction off the price list. Mr. Horrocks went in and got the job, and after agreeing to make the clothes, a difference arose between him and the manufacturer as to the price of the cloth, and then he wanted to reduce the men, and the men naturally objected. That I believe was the sole origin of that strike at Mr. Horrocks's.

17,715. And then I suppose they left work?—They left work.

17,716. In consequence of Mr. Horrocks refusing to give the price which they demanded?—They told him at what price they would make the garments, and then afterwards he wanted to reduce them again.

17,717. Do you remember whether any disturbances took place in consequence of that strike?—A disturbance occurred not far from Mr. Horrocks's workshop.

17,718. Do you know whether Mr. Horrocks endeavoured to get fresh hands?—He did get fresh hands.

17,719. Were those fresh hands non-union men?—They were.

17,720. I suppose that would be necessary, the union men will not work with the non-union men?—In some cases they will, but in that case they would not.

17,721. Is there any rule in your society that non-union men shall not be allowed to work with union men?—In the case of a strike, if the society brings men, and non-union men go in, the society men are not allowed to work with them; but if a man coming into Bolton gets work in a non-society shop we do not prevent him from working if he is a society man, and we do not prevent non-society men from working in a society shop. We may ask non-society men perhaps to join the society, but we do not further interfere with them.

17,722. When you draw off your men in consequence of a strike, you do not allow the society men to go in?—We do not.

17,723. And in this case Mr. Horrocks got fresh hands?—He did.

17,724. Upon that were Mr. Horrocks's premises picketed?—They were.

17,725. Is that the practice under those circumstances?—Whenever a strike occurs we always put the men in that shop on picket.

17,726. How many men were employed on Mr. Horricks's premises?—I think there were about ten men brought out there, and if they all remained in the town they would all be put on picket.

17,727. What would be the object of putting so many men on picket?—It is to keep them employed; they were put on in turns.

17,728. Are they not put on all at once?—They go on in turns.

17,729. Do you pay them wages during that time?—We allow them 9*s.* a week during the time they are on strike. When they are receiving this strike money we appoint them out in numbers to picket.

17,730. Do you not pay the men on picket any more than the men on strike?—No, it is men that are on strike. If a shop has struck, and there is work to be had anywhere, we do not picket.

17,731. What is the object of picketing?—The object of picketing is to watch the shop, and see what men are at work there.

17,732. Supposing that they are non-society men, is the object always to endeavour to prevent non-society men from working?—The object of the picket is to try to get the non-society men to leave the place.

17,733. Supposing the non-society men object to leave the place, what do the pickets do then?—They are expected to take no further notice of them.

17,734. But do they not, as a general rule, make use of some intimidation or coercion to induce them to join the union or leave the place?—I do not know; it was before I was secretary. I know that men do use words occasionally to men that are working.

17,735. Have you heard the word "knobstick" very often used?—Yes, that is common enough.

17,736. I suppose when men are on picket that is a common mode of addressing a non-union man?—When on picket or off picket.

17,737. Do you remember, at the strike at Horrocks's, a man of the name of John Campbell committing an assault upon some men who were working for Horrocks?—I remember reading in the papers at the time of a man being sent to prison for it, but from what I gathered at the time I think the other parties were the aggressors, though Campbell suffered for it.

17,738. The magistrates seem to have thought differently?—The magistrates thought different.

17,739. Did your society provide funds for defending Campbell?—I think if there could have been an attorney got in time to defend him the society would have paid his expenses, but I do not think there was an attorney engaged.

17,740. Would it be your practice to pay the expenses of the attorney whenever an assault was committed by a picket on a non-society man, and he was taken before the magistrates?—No; but if we thought the non-society man made an attack upon one of our pickets, or upon one of our society men, then we should consider it our duty to engage a pleader for our man.

17,741. But in all cases where there is an assault by one of your pickets on a non-society man, do you not pay the expenses of the defence?—If he caused the assault, and the society was aware of it, I do not think they would pay the expenses of an attorney. If they actually knew that the society man was the offender, I do not think that the society would pay the expenses.

17,742. Have you ever had a case arise in your experience as secretary where that occurred?—No.

17,743. You mentioned just now that there was a strike this year?—Yes.

17,744. Where was that?—At Mr. Roscoe's, in Bradshaw Gate.

17,745. Was there any breach of the peace in that case?—No.

17,746. There was picketing as usual I suppose?—The men that we brought out there went away out of the town, with the exception of three, and they got work. If there was picketing it might be for about three days, but the men that remained in the town got work the same week.

17,747. But the natural result of picketing is to lead to a breach of the peace, is it not?—I do not think it is.

17,748. A number of men go picketing and calling non-society men "knobsticks;" what is more likely than that to cause a breach of the peace?—A picket is not put on to insult men. If we put on a picket we tell them, "If you can meet with those parties, try and

FIFTEENTH DAY.

M. Morgan.

21 Sept. 1867.

"persuade them to leave the place; if they wish to "leave the town we will give them a card." We do not expect them to begin to blackguard parties because they will not agree with them.

17,749. But, as a fact, of course it very often does lead to a breach of the peace. Do you remember another person also being sent to prison for throwing stones at a non-union man?—No, I do not remember that in Bolton.

17,750. You cannot tell me of your own knowledge whether any money has ever been paid for defending any of those men for committing an assault?—I do not know; I cannot tell whether there was any money paid or not. I do not know that any money was paid for defending Campbell; I do not think he was defended.

17,751. Have you your books here?—Yes. I find here on November 5th 1866, there is the commencement of Mr. Horrocks's strike or lock-out, whichever you like to call it.

17,752. I suppose if any money was paid for defending a charge of assault it would appear there?—Yes, it would have to be entered what it was for.

17,753. Under what head would it appear?—Well, it would be for lawyer's expenses "paid for defending So-and-so."

17,754. Is there any entry of lawyer's expenses in the book?—Here are the donations that were paid——

17,755. If you will hand the book up I will look through it.—You will find entries at both ends of the book, all connected with that business (*handing the book to the Court*).

17,756. I see the expression here that Mr. Horrocks's shop shall be "in block;" what does that mean?—It is drawing the men out and not letting them have any men.

17,757. It looks as if it was blocking them up so that no person could work for them?—The society men are drawn out and he is allowed to have no society men work for him; that is what "blocking" means.

17,758. If any payments were made for defending a man under those circumstances would they appear in the minute book?—There would have to be a minute of what the expense was for.

17,759. This is not the cash-book, is it?—No.

17,760. Have you the cash-book there?—Yes.

17,761. Is there an entry about defending anybody in 1866; I suppose if any money were paid for any purpose of that kind it would be the duty of the secretary to enter it in this book, would it not?—Yes.

17,762. Who would pay the money?—The secretary would make a cheque, and the landlord of the house would pay the money.

17,763. Have you not a treasurer?—We have a treasurer, but the landlord pays all monies.

17,764. Does this book contain all the disbursements and receipts?—It contains all I think from 1864.

17,765. (*Chairman.*) I see here, "Secondly, that "the men be called from Mr. Roscoe's and Brooks's "shops until the machines are dispensed with?"—Yes, I think that that is last April.

17,766. And that "300 bills be printed and "circulated of the names of those who would not "comply with the wish of the society?"—Yes.

17,767. So that I see you publish the names of those who will not comply with your wishes?—We did publish the names of about four.

17,768. The last person who was here as a witness belonging to another society complained that the masters published the names of those who went away on strike, and I see here that 300 bills were printed and circulated with the names of those who would not comply with the wishes of the union. Did you do it?—Yes, we did.

17,769. What did you do with the bills?—We sent them round to various towns.

17,770. To how many towns did you send them?—It was within about 10 or 12 miles round Bolton, just to the tailors' society.

17,771. And the consequence of that would be, I suppose, that those men would not get employed in any of those towns; that is so, is it not?—There were only four men; the men did not leave the town.

17,772. But if they did that would be the consequence of it, and that was your object?—It was our object to let the society men know the parties who would not agree to our rules.

17,773. And it was also an object that they should not be employed in any other town?—We knew very well they would not go out of the town.

17,774. Then what was the use of sending the bills round to other places?—It was to let the other tailors know who those parties were.

17,775. But what was the use of letting them know who they were if the men would not leave Bolton?—Some of those men had been working in Blackburn and Manchester, and towns round about.

17,776. But you said you thought that they never would leave Bolton?—No, I did not think they would ever leave Bolton.

17,777. But was it, in case they left Bolton, to make it impossible for them to get work?—If they went to other towns and met society men I daresay the society men would object to work with them.

17,778. That was your object, of course?—Well, that was an object.

17,779. Have you ever heard of anything of that sort before?—It is the first case that I have known.

17,780. Did you send a bill round to each town? There were 300 bills; how many towns do you think you sent them to?—We might send them to about 10 towns, for about 10 or 12 miles round.

17,781. What was the machine that caused this resolution?—It was a sewing-machine that Mr. Roscoe got into his shop, and his men, without consulting the society, agreed with him to work at a certain price, and the society thought that they should have consulted the members before they took this upon themselves.

17,782. Then the tailors are against machinery being used as well as others?—Some of the tailors are against it.

17,783. Your union is against it?—At that time there was a feeling against it, but I think had those parties come and explained to the society what they were going to do, that would never have occurred.

17,784. Has that feeling worn off now?—The feeling has partly gone off now, but there was a feeling against it, and that caused the strike.

17,785. But is there a feeling against the machine among tailors?—There is a feeling against the machine among tailors.

17,786. Is there any machine now employed among tailors for sewing?—Yes.

17,787. Do your union tailors work with them?—Yes.

17,788. How many places are there where a machine is used?—There are about three places at which the machines are worked.

17,789. Do you allow your union men to work there?—Yes.

17,790. Do they get the same wages there as they get at other places where no machines are used?—No, they do not get the same wages, because the machine gets one half of the work.

17,791. But do the men employed in the tailoring business where machines are used get the same wages as your union men who are employed in other places where no machine is used?—Yes, they get the same wages.

17,792. Then you allow them to work where the machines are used?—We allow them to work where the machines are used.

17,793. It was only last April that this resolution was come to; what was the dispute between your men and Mr. Roscoe?—Mr. Roscoe brought a machine in, and those men agreed with him to work after the machine, and would not satisfy the society what price they were getting for their labour.

17,794. Then it was the men who did not get your permission as to the wages which they were to receive, and that was the reason that you endeavoured to

punish them in this way?—We withdrew the other men out of the shop. We asked them to leave and they would not.

17,795. Were they getting low wages, or would they not tell you what wages they were getting?—They would not tell us what wages they were getting; they would give us no information.

17,796. And because they would not tell you what it was they were individually receiving you withdrew the other men from the shop, did you?—The other men were withdrawn.

17,797. How many were withdrawn?—I think there were three.

17,798. I see also that your society undertook to regulate the times at which your men should work, did they not?—Yes.

17,799. "Moved, that the hours of work be from "7 in the morning to 7 in the afternoon, and on Sa- "turdays from 7 in the morning to 2 in the afternoon?" —Yes.

17,800. Supposing any of your men, without your gracious permission, chose to work a little later to get a little more wages on Saturday, would you allow that?—Yes, we allow that, and then they get paid overtime for it.

17,801. What is the effect of your resolutions; is it that a man may work, but that if he works beyond those hours he must have extra wages?—Yes.

17,802. But he must not work at the same wages as the other men beyond those hours?—What caused that resolution to be passed was that there were some men who were working about 20 hours a day.

17,803. Well, why should they not do it if they liked?—Because it was injuring the other men that were working along with them.

17,804. Then you have in your opinion a right to control freedom of labour among the operative tailors? —The reason that that resolution was passed was that there were men working 20 hours a day, and there were men in the same shop who could not work 10 hours a day.

17,805. Then you think that you have the right to restrict the freedom of labour by saying, "You shall only work a given time?"—By restricting the hours of labour the labour was divided.

17,806. Therefore you will not allow a man to work more than that given time unless he gets something extra for it?—No.

17,807. You control as much as you can the freedom of labour amongst the operative tailors?—The masters were solicited and they were willing, and then the resolution was passed. A deputation waited upon the masters.

17,808. That is the freedom of labour which you permit to exist in the tailoring trade?—It was a resolution, as it were, between the masters and the men, and that is the minute which was passed.

17,809. (*Mr. Chance.*) John Campbell was the man who was sent to prison, was he not?—Yes.

17,810. He was a member of your union, was he not?—Not being the secretary at the time I do not know, but I fancy he must have been.

17,811. I see an item here, "December the 31st, Campbell's sister, 8*s.*;" that was soon after the strike took place. What item was that?—Campbell's sister was depending upon him for a livelihood. When he was sent to prison the society agreed to pay her 8*s.* a week to keep her on until the time when he came out of prison. There was a grant given to her of 8*s.* a week; I think there is four weeks there at 8*s.* a week.

17,812. During the time he was in prison she received 8*s.* a week from the society?—Yes.

17,813. I see another 8*s.* here?—There are four 8*s.*, I think.

17,814. That would correspond with the time that Campbell was in prison, a month?—Yes.

17,815. Then I see, under the date of January the 14th, "John Campbell, 1*l.*?"—Yes, that was after he came out of prison. The trade was dull at that time, and the man had nothing to take out, and they gave him 1*l.* to do what he had a mind to.

17,816. That was the action taken by the society after Campbell had been convicted for assaulting another man?—They did not think that Campbell was the man that should have been sent to prison.

17,817. But he was sent to prison?—He was sent to prison, there is no doubt about that.

17,818. Those payments were made by the union to Campbell and his family?—Yes, they were made to his family.

17,819. (*Chairman.*) I find another entry on March the 27th of this year, "Proposed by John Ray, and "seconded by Joseph Burn, that the society do not "recognize machines;" and that was carried. Is that so?—Yes.

17,820. Then do you mean to tell me that the effect of that resolution of yours not recognizing machines is that any man may go and work there nevertheless. What does your non-recognition of machinery mean? —Machines were not recognized at that time.

17,821. But what is the effect of your not recognizing them?—We consider that it would throw a number of men out of labour.

17,822. That I understand; but what is the effect of your not recognizing them: did you prevent your men from working where the machines were?—At that time we did, as I think I told you before, but we do not at present.

17,823. I find these words, "Proposed by John "Thompson and seconded by James Carr, that men "and masters dispense with machines on the 6th of "April." You seem to have given them about eight or nine days to dispense with machinery, was that it? —Yes, there was some short time I know.

17,824. What action did you take upon that resolution?—We had a general meeting, and the result was that Mr. Roscoe's and Mr. Brooks's men were drawn out.

17,825. That was for the purpose of compelling Messrs. Roscoe and Brooks to dispense with machines?—Yes.

17,826. When did you come to a different disposition upon this matter and allow your men to work for Roscoe and Brooks?—It may be two months ago now.

17,827. What made you alter your course of action after coming to the three resolutions which I have read out against machinery?—If a man or a society does a thing which he thinks is injuring him, and he wishes to retract, he is at liberty to do so, is he not?

17,828. Yes, we are quite aware of that.—Very well; that is the view that the society took of it.

17,829. Then you thought that those resolutions against machinery had the effect of injuring you instead of benefiting you?—Yes, we found it out.

17,830. And so you gave up those resolutions?— Yes, we gave up those resolutions.

17,831. You found out that your resolutions against machinery were prejudicial to your interests?—We did.

17,832. This is a resolution of November 27th 1866, what is the meaning of it: "Any man finishing "and preparing work for machinery to receive one- "half the price of all the work so done?"—I was not the secretary then, but I can tell you how we are acting now.

17,833. But can you tell me the meaning of that; I suppose you have a pretty shrewd notion of what it means?—I can tell you the regulation now, whatever the machine does a man gets one-half; take the edges of a coat, a man would receive 1*s.* 6*d.* or 2*s.* for the edges of a coat, and if the machine does it he receives one-half of the money; the master takes one-half of what the machine does and the man gets the other; if it is a 2*s.* edge they get 1*s.* each, and the same for any portion of a garment; the man has to prepare it and finish it.

17,834. (*Mr. Barstow.*) I suppose women could make clothes by machines as well as men?—Yes, there are women who work machines as well as men. You asked me a question respecting the sending of those bills out exposing those men. The master tailors had a placard up in their cutting-rooms with the names of

FIFTEENTH DAY.

M. Morgan.

21 Sept. 1867.

men who were discharged from various towns. If I was to go into some of the shops in Manchester and ask for work they would ask me, "Where do you come from, from Bolton? What is your name, So-and-so?" They would say, "We cannot give you any work here: "you have been connected with the society in Bolton "as a society officer, and we cannot employ you." I have been refused in two shops myself through it.

17,835. Then it is a sort of retaliation?—Well, I think that if the masters are allowed to combine the men ought to be allowed to combine.

17,836. It is no question about their having a right to combine; there is no doubt about that?—I think that if the Commissioners would examine some of the masters as well as the men it would do them good.

17,837. When Mr. Pickering opened the Commission he said that he would be glad to hear any cases of that kind if they were brought forward, but none were brought forward.—It is a pity that some were not brought forward.

17,838. The Act of Parliament authorizes us to inquire into combinations both of masters and men, and that was stated most distinctly.

17,839. (*Mr. Chance.*) The masters say that John Thomas is a union man?—Yes.

17,840. And you try to make non-union men join the society?—Yes.

17,841. They say, "We prefer non-union men to union men, and we employ non-union men?"—Yes. Have there been any of the employers summoned to appear before the Commission, or any Commission which has been sitting?

(*Mr. Barstow.*) Not with regard to combinations.

17,842. (*Mr. Chance.*) There must be intimidation or injury to person or property.—Suppose I go and ask for work, and then I am told, "You belong to the "society; you are secretary, and I cannot give you "work on that account?"

17,843. It is no threat or intimidation to you; it is simply that the master will not employ you because you happen to be a member of a union.—But is it not intimidation on the master's part to tell a man that he shall not work for him because he is a member of a union?

17,844. (*Chairman.*) It is not intimidation within the meaning of this Act. The intimidation must be a threat of actual or implied violence or injury to his person or property, and it is coupled with the words "outrage and wrong," but "intimidation" means either some threat of violence or injury. There is a Commission sitting in London which will deal with the general nature of trades' unions and those sort of combinations, whatever they may be. We have nothing to do with anything except intimidation, outrage, or wrong. We are sent down here to examine into cases of that description, whether of the masters or of the men; it certainly applies to both. There must be acts of that description so far as our province is concerned.—That I understand.

(*Mr. Chance.*) It is not for us to say whether the course taken by masters or a man is right or wrong; we have simply to say whether anything comes within the meaning of the words "intimidation, outrage, or wrong."

17,845. (*Mr. Barstow.*) If you think for a moment you will see that there can be no intimidation in declining to enter into a contract with a man?—Yes; but I think if a master declines to employ a man because he may take an active part in a society it is not right.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. Charles Harris Hawthorn sworn and examined.

Mr. C. H. Hawthorn.

17,846. (*Chairman.*) What are you?—The manager of Mr. Horrocks's No. 6 establishment.

17,847. Where is his establishment carried on?—At 6, Oxford Street, Bolton.

17,848. Mr. Horrocks is a tailor, is he not?—He is a tailor and draper.

17,849. Do you remember a strike among his men taking place in November last year?—Yes.

17,850. How many of his men left in consequence;—Well, I cannot tell you the exact number; I should think perhaps 14 or 15.

17,851. What was the occasion of it?—There are two societies, and we were employing both societies at that time. We had got a large contract on, and they were not agreeable for us to employ the two societies, and we were to pay the best price for all garments; and we at two different dates——

17,852. I do not quite understand your explanation; you say that there were two societies?—There are the No. 1 and No. 2 tailors' societies.

17,853. There are two tailors' unions in Bolton?—Yes.

17,854. Were you employing men from each of those unions?—Yes.

17,855. There was some dispute; what was that dispute?—They struck against us for employing the two; they wanted to make it one society.

17,856. Did they both strike because you employed them both, or did one strike because you were employing the other?—No. 1 struck, and they would not allow the others to work.

17,857. No. 1 struck because you employed No. 2?—Yes.

17,858. The one union would not allow you to employ the other?—No.

17,859. And the consequence was that both went out?—Yes.

17,860. Why did No. 2 go out?—The two societies had a meeting, and they fixed among themselves which should be a No. 1 shop and which should be a No. 2 shop through the town.

17,861. Then those two societies had a meeting and came to an agreement as to which of the union men should work at particular shops?—Yes.

17,862. Which did you get the favour of, No. 1 or No. 2?—The No. 2 wished to work for us, but No. 1 compelled us to employ them.

17,863. Then although you preferred to employ the two unions it was arranged for you that you should only employ one?—Yes.

17,864. How long have you had the pleasure of having your business arranged for you by these societies?—Only these last three years.

17,865. Under those circumstances what did you do?—We employed non-society men.

17,866. The consequence was that all your hands consisted of non-society men?—Yes.

17,867. They did not belong either to No. 1 or to No. 2?—No.

17,868. Then I suppose the consequence was that you were picketed?—Yes, we were.

17,869. Had you the shop watched by men both from No. 1 and No. 2, or which had the care of you?—Both the societies.

17,870. How many men came to picket you?—I should think there would be nine or ten.

17,871. In consequence of that what did the men do; did the non-society men who were with you get insulted or assaulted, or anything of that sort?—Yes, they followed them, and called at them through the streets "knobsticks;" and one of the union men, a stout man, went upstairs into the work-room and struck one of them.

17,872. Do you mean to say that he actually came into your shop and went upstairs and struck one of the non-society men?—He did.

17,873. What happened; did they submit to it?—I heard a noise in the work-room and I went up myself, and he had then got hold of the man by the throat, and I threw them both down myself; and one of the other workmen, a non-union man, and I laid hold of him while he was down, and carried him and pushed him downstairs.

17,874. How many tailors were sitting working together when this stout man, as you call him, went upstairs and seized the other man by the throat?—I should think seven or eight.

17,875. What did the other six do?—They were looking at him, they were afraid of him.

17,876. Seven tailors were there, and one strong man came up and seized a man by the throat, and the other six were afraid?—They never attempted to touch him till I got up.

17,877. I suppose they all had those large scissors which one sees; they were all armed in that way?—Small scissors they generally have.

17,878. However, they did nothing, and were all afraid, but you went up and got hold of the big man, and then you turned the big man out?—Yes.

17,879. Was that big man a tailor?—He was.

17,880. Do you remember anything else besides?—Yes; as the men were coming to their work three men met one of them, stopped him, and struck him, and then there were several stones thrown at him, but they had a by-word, which this man called out, and got the others to his rescue.

17,881. I do not thoroughly follow you; one of your men was coming to his work, you say?—Yes.

17,882. Three men threw stones at him?—Yes.

17,883. Did they hit him?—They did.

17,884. Upon his being hit, what else did they do?—Two of the non-society men secured this society man who had been throwing stones.

17,885. What became of him?—He was sent to prison for a month.

17,886. And he was one of the society men, you say?—Yes.

17,887. Did any system of intimidation go on against the non-society men by those union men who picketed them?—They threatened them what they would do; they said they would give them a certain time to stay in the town, and then they were going to drive them out.

17,888. How long did they say they would allow them to remain in the town before they drove them out?—I should say two months at least.

17,889. After that they were to go?—Yes, they kept giving them first one week, and then another, and it kept on till this man was taken prisoner.

17,890. Which man?—The man for throwing stones; and after that they were perfectly quiet, and we heard no more of them.

17,891. And your non-society men remained with you?—Yes.

17,892. Do you know the man's name who was sent to prison?—John Campbell.

17,893. He was not the same big man as we heard of before, was he?—He was not.

17,894. Was the violence or intimidation such that you requested the services of the police?—Yes, several times.

17,895. And how long altogether did that sort of intimidation go on?—I should say about eight or ten weeks.

17,896. It began in November 1866, and lasted for about eight or ten weeks after that?—Yes.

17,897. Did they station any men at your shop to prevent customers coming?—One, I think.

17,898. What was the name of the man whom they stationed there?—Samuel Ray.

17,899. Was he there for the purpose of preventing customers from entering the shop?—He was on the picket, and he came across to the window where there were a quantity of customers, and tried to persuade them not to come in.

17,900. Did he succeed?—He did not.

The witness withdrew.

JONATHAN EDGE sworn and examined.

J. Edge.

17,901. (*Mr. Barstow.*) What are you?—An iron-founder.

17,902. Where do you carry on business?—At Bolton.

17,903. How many hands did you employ last year?—About 70 in all.

17,904. That was in every branch of your trade?—Yes.

17,905. On the 6th of August last year your moulders turned out, did they not?—They threatened to do so.

17,906. Did they make a demand from you for a rise of wages?—Yes.

17,907. That was 2*s.* a week?—Yes.

17,908. I believe you refused to give it?—I did.

17,909. In consequence of that did they leave your employment?—They did.

17,910. I believe you endeavoured to supply their places with non-society men?—We did; I advertised.

17,911. And was your advertisement answered by men who came to your employ?—Yes.

17,912. Were any efforts made to prevent the non-society men coming into your employment?—Yes, they were picketed by the moulders in the street.

17,913. Your premises were picketed?—Yes.

17,914. In what way were they picketed?—They congregated round within 100 yards or 200 yards of the works at the meal times, and they annoyed the non-society men.

17,915. Were those your old workmen?—Yes, some of them, and others besides.

17,916. They came to your premises at meal times?—Yes.

17,917. But they did not regularly keep watch up and down the street, did they?—Yes, they did for a number of days, for two or three weeks.

17,918. Did they walk two and two together up and down?—Yes, they walked up and down.

17,919. And tried to prevent anyone who looked like a workman from coming to your place?—Yes.

17,920. Did you hear of any man working for you being assulted or intimidated?—Yes.

17,921. What was that?—They met the picket at the end of the street, and they struck them.

17,922. Whom did those men who you say were on picket strike?—One person of the name of Samuel Lax.

17,923. Was that your foreman?—Yes.

17,924. Who struck him?—A man of the name of Hayes on that occasion.

17,925. Who was Hayes?—He was a moulder.

17,926. A union man?—Yes.

17,927. What time of day was this?—This was the dinner hour.

17,928. Was anything done upon that?—No, not upon that occasion.

17,929. Was Lax struck again?—Lax was intimidated by a man of the name of Ratcliffe.

17,930. How did he intimidate him?—He got through the fence of the yard, and threatened his life, for which he was taken before the magistrates.

17,931. Is Lax here?—I do not know.

17,932. What was done to Ratcliffe?—He was bound over to keep the peace.

17,933. Was anything else done to Lax?—He was annoyed many times in all, but I could not speak to the occasions.

17,934. Do you know of anything happening in Deansgate with respect to Lax?—I cannot speak to that. I know there was a deal of annoyance, but I cannot speak to that point.

17,935. Then that is all that you know about Lax?—Yes.

17,936. Was there any other of your men assaulted?—There was one of the name of Atkinson, who was assaulted and very badly used.

17,937. Was a man named James Wilkinson assaulted?—I do not know the name.

17,938. Who assaulted Atkinson?—There was a man of the name of Henry Brooks.

17,939. Is he a society man?—Yes, a moulder.

FIFTEENTH DAY.

J. Edge.

21 Sept. 1867.

17,940. Where did he assault Atkinson?—It was in a street called Anthony Street or Well Lane.

17,941. Was he taken before the magistrates?—Yes.

17,942. What was done to him?—Nothing was done to him: he was mistaken in identifying him, but the man admitted in court being in the scuffle.

17,943. Was Atkinson very severely beaten?—Yes, very.

17,944. What was done to him?—His face was cut.

17,945. Was it done with the fist?—We supposed that it was done with a kick.

17,946. He was knocked down and kicked?—Yes, he said he was kicked.

17,947. Do you know of any other case?—No, not of assault.

17,948. Now, have you yourself been threatened at all?—Yes, I have been threatened by the moulders; but of course I did not take any notice of their threats to me.

17,949. Do you mean by men who had been in your employment?—Yes.

17,950. What threats did they use?—One told me that he would "knock my bloody head off;" that was the expression he used.

17,951. Is that all?—That is all of that kind of annoyance.

17,952. Perhaps he had had "a sup of beer?"—Well, I cannot say. I walked down the street before the non-society men to keep them from being molested.

17,953. Did you have the non-society men escorted by the police to your works?—Yes.

17,954. That was done of course from fear of being attacked by the others?—Yes, to prevent the disturbance.

17,955. Were they put up in your place, or did they lodge in the town?—They lodged in the town, close by within a few yards.

17,956. How long did this continue?—About two months, until we had a case before the magistrates, and then it ceased.

17,957. After which case did they cease?—There was Ratcliffe and Henry Brooks, and Winterbottom.

17,958. What was Winterbottom's case?—For an assault on Atkinson; there was Edward Horrocks; they were all in the court on the same day.

17,959. Did any solicitor appear for them?—I believe not.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. H. Hargreaves.

Mr. Henry Hargreaves sworn and examined.

17,960. (*Mr. Chance.*) What are you?—I am the manager of a cotton mill.

17,961. Of whose cotton mill?—John Thomason and Sons.

17,962. Do you remember in December 1866 the self-acting minders turning out of work?—Yes.

17,963. On what grounds was it that they left their work?—They said bad work.

17,964. I do not quite understand what you mean by "bad work;" did they not do their work properly?—Well, they said they could not make good work of it.

17,965. Of the cotton that they had to use?—Yes.

17,966. Did they complain of the cotton?—Yes.

17,967. Was there any good grounds for that complaint?—Not exactly; there was a ground, it was not so good as we had had it.

17,968. Whose fault was that; was it the fault of the people who supplied you?—The employers said that the cotton turned out was not so good as they expected.

17,969. Did they all leave your work because of it?—They all stayed away quite unknown to me on the 15th of December last, and did not come near.

17,870. Was that the only reason why they left your work?—Yes.

17,971. Was there no dispute about wages or anything of that kind?—No.

17,972. And were those men who left your employment members of the union?—Yes.

17,973. Upon their leaving your work did you endeavour to get fresh hands?—Yes, they left on the 15th, and we commenced on the 17th to get fresh hands.

17,974. And I suppose you got non-society men?—Non-society men generally, I think.

17,975. How many did you get?—There were 21 turned out, and we got 21 fresh ones in their places.

17,976. Upon getting the fresh hands was anything done by the members of the self-acting minders' society?—They commenced picketing the mills on the morning of the 17th, at 6 o'clock.

17,977. How many men were on picket?—About 12.

17,978. Were the non-society men interfered with at all?—Yes.

17,979. What was done to them?—They were insulted, and several of them were taken before the magistrates. Two of them are here.

17,980. What are their names?—Mason and Winward.

17,981. Were they the two men whom you had up before the magistrates?—No, they were the two men that were insulted.

17,982. When you say that they were insulted, do you mean that they were called "knobsticks?"—Yes, and all such like names.

17,983. Were any threats used against them?—Yes, they misused one badly; he had to run for his life.

17,984. Which was that?—Winward.

17,985. Did they beat him?—They beat him.

17,986. Did they hurt him badly?—They hurt his leg; he had a very bad leg.

17,987. What did they beat him with?—With their feet.

17,988. They kicked him?—They kicked him.

17,989. Do you know the names of the men who beat Winward and kicked him?—Yes; Richard Ball and John Henry Ryland were their names.

17,990. Were they two of the pickets?—Yes; they took them before the magistrate at Bolton.

17,991. Did they also beat Mason?—They insulted him.

17,992. But they did not beat him?—They did not personally beat him.

17,993. Were Ball and Ryland committed?—Yes.

17,994. What term of imprisonment were they committed for?—It was taken to a higher court, and there was some flaw in the indictment.

17,995. There was an appeal against the conviction, was there?—Yes.

17,996. Was the appeal proceeded with?—It was quashed on account of informality.

17,997. And then no further proceedings were taken?—No.

17,998. Were the men defended before the magistrates by any attorney?—Yes.

17,999. Who defended them?—Mr. Richardson and another lawyer; I forget their names.

18,000. Somebody at Bolton, I suppose?—Yes.

18,001. Was it necessary for you to get the assistance of any police to protect your premises?—We had them there continually, night and morning; we had them the whole of the day from 6 to 6.

18,002. Was it to protect the non-society men?—To protect the non-society men.

18,003. Have you ever been threatened or ill-treated in any way?—No, I scouted the men off.

18,004. Did the pickets endeavour by intimidation generally to prevent the non-society men from working?—Yes.

The witness withdrew.

FIFTEENTH DAY.

B. Mason.

21 Sept. 1867.

BENJAMIN MASON sworn and examined.

18,005. (*Chairman.*) What are you ?—A self-acting minder.

18,006. Do you live in Bolton ?—Yes.

18,007. What is the name of the firm by whom you are employed ?—Messrs. Thomason.

18,008. They are cotton spinners, are they not ?—Yes.

18,009. Do you remember a strike about last December ?—Yes.

18,010. How long have you been employed by them ?—Ever since January last.

18,011. After the strike you were employed, were you not ?—Yes.

18,012. Their men went out and you went in ?—Yes.

18,013. When you went in were you at all assaulted or disturbed by those men who had gone out ?—They followed me home occasionally.

18,014. Did they ever assault you ?—No ; they called me knobstick and this and the other.

18,015. Did they ever strike you ?—No.

18,016. Did they say anything which they would do to you if you did not leave off work ?—Yes, they said they would strike me and kick me.

18,017. Were you constantly kept in fear of some injury being done to you ?—Yes.

18,018. Did this happen often ; every day, or repeatedly ?—It happened several times, when they got a chance ; sometimes I used to slip them.

18,019. At night as you went from your work ?—Yes.

18,020. Were there several men about picketing the works ?—Oh, yes.

18,021. Do you remember on Saturday night, the 16th of February last, being followed by some of the turn-outs ?—Yes.

18,022. Were you then going home from your work ?—Yes.

18,023. What time was it ?—Somewhere about 3 or 4 ; it might be a little before 3.

18,024. How many men followed you ?— There might be a dozen or more, and a crowd with them.

18,025. Had they sticks with them ?—Not that I saw.

18,026. What language did they use ?—They called me "knobstick" and "blackguard," and said I was a "waster."

18,027. That was on Saturday ?—Yes.

18,028. On the following morning were any stones thrown at you ?—There were stones thrown at my bedroom window the same night, of about two or three pounds weight.

18,029. Were you in bed at the time ?—Yes.

18,030. Are you a married man ?—Yes.

18,031. Was your wife with you ?—Yes ; but it happened that my bed was below instead of upstairs.

18,032. But it was thrown through the window upstairs ?—Yes, into the bedroom.

18,033. Was anybody sleeping in that room ?—No.

18,034. But you happened to be sleeping, with your wife, downstairs ?—Yes.

18,035. That was a bedroom, was it ?—It was the bedroom window that they pitched the stone through.

18,036. How came you to be sleeping downstairs ?—Because I apprehended danger.

18,037. Because you apprehended danger you left your own bedroom and came downstairs ?—Yes.

18,038. This stone of 2 lbs. or 3 lbs weight was thrown in at the window ?—Yes.

18,039. It came right into the room, I suppose ?—Yes ; and it made an impression upon the wall which divides the building at the back.

18,040. It was thrown with so much violence as that, was it ?—Yes.

18,041. You had not any private quarrel with anybody, had you ?—No.

18,042. Had you any reason for suspecting anybody except those turn-outs ?—I had no reason to suspect anybody else.

18,043. Did you hear the stone thrown, and do you remember what time of the night it was ?—Yes, it was in the morning, from 2 to 4.

18,044. Did it go right through the window ?—Yes, it wakened me.

18,045. It went right through the window ; the window was not open, I suppose ?—No.

18,046. It went right through, straight into the room in the way you describe ?—Yes, where I should have been lying only I went downstairs, but as soon as I heard the stone come through I went upstairs to see what was the matter, and I found the stone, and I found an impression in the wall. It is a lathed wall on both sides and plastered.

18,047. I believe those are the only occasions on which such things have happened to you ?—Yes.

18,048. How many weeks did this threatening and following continue ?—I cannot tell exactly, but it continued several weeks.

18,049. Did it continue two or three months ?—No, it did not continue two or three months, a month or two.

The witness withdrew.

J. Winward.

JOHN WINWARD sworn and examined.

18,050. (*Mr. Barstow.*) Are you a self-acting minder ?—Yes.

18,051. Did you go into Messrs. Thomason's employment after this turn out ?—Yes.

18,052. Were you molested as you went to and from your work ?—Yes.

18,053. Was anything done to you more than following you and insulting you ?—Yes, I was kicked.

18,054. I suppose you were called a knobstick ?—Yes.

18,055. And other abusive names ?—Yes.

18,056. Who kicked you ?—Ball and Ryland.

18,057. They were taken before the justices ?—Yes.

18,058. And they were committed by the justices ?—Yes ; but there was an appeal.

18,059. What did they do to you ?—They kicked me.

18,060. Did they knock you down ?—No, I made my escape as well as I could, and ran into a neighbouring house close by.

18,061. Has anyone else assaulted you ?— Well, I have been called names several times by different people.

18,062. You have not been beaten more than this once ?—No.

18,063. Has any relation of yours been insulted ?—Yes, my wife.

18,064. What have they done to her ?—Well, they called her names.

18,065. Who called her names ?—Those turn-outs.

18,066. Did they do anything to her, or did they only call her names ?—No.

18,067. How long did they continue to persecute you in this way ?—Well, as near as I can guess, they were picketing night and morning for about 10 or 11 weeks.

18,068. And then when the picketing ceased they ceased to insult you too ?—Yes.

The witness withdrew.

FIFTEENTH DAY.

21 Sept. 1867.

Chairman. We have now gone through all the cases which are ripe for investigation, and which have been presented to our notice; but from the information we have received we think it right, and indeed we feel that it is our duty to adjourn this inquiry. I may say that we have given directions that all the boxes, books, papers, and documents which have been in our possession for the purpose of this inquiry shall be immediately returned to their respective owners. I shall have another opportunity, of which I shall most gladly avail myself at the final close of this inquiry, to tender our best thanks to the authorities and individuals who have in their several capacities rendered us their assistance and services in the course and conduct of this inquiry, and also for the facilities which have been so kindly afforded to us in allowing us the use of these assize courts. It only remains for me now to say that this inquiry is adjourned, and that due and proper notice will be given of the time when it will be resumed.

Adjourned.

INDEX OF WITNESSES.

	Page
Adshead, Mr. Samuel	195
Ainsworth, Mathew	80
Aitken, Mr. Thomas	74
Armitage, Mr. Benjamin	244
Ashworth, Mr. John	229
„ William	232
„ Thomas	232
Atkins, Mr. William Alfred	195
Bagulay, Mr. Frederic	251
Bailey, Mr. Peter	79
Bamforth, Joseph	127
Barker, James	186
„ Robert	167, 172
Barlow, Thomas	93
„ Mr. John	98
„ Charles	115
„ Mr. Joseph	119
Barnett, John	277
Barry, Andrew	289
Barrett, Mr. Edward	77
Beasley, Richard	214, 216
Blocksage, Thomas	185
Bourne, William	207
Bowling, Matthew	277
Bradburn, Benjamin	255
Bradbury, Mr. George	164
Brooks, Mr. John	213
Broom, James	147
Brown, Joseph	37, 57
Buckley, Peter	188
Burns, Timothy	131
Burton, George	261
Butterfield, John	137
Callaghan, Daniel	256
Callinan, Patrick	234
Carr, Mr. George Henry	258
Cheetham, Holland	32
Clent, John	79
Clifford, James	135
„ John	245
Cole, Thomas	145
Collins, John	237
Connell, William	201
Coppock, Richard	265
Cotton, Moses	282
Cowdy, James	179
Cox, Edward	71
Cox, Mrs. Tamar	74
Dalton, James	147
„ Mrs. Bridget	163
Davies, Henry	264
Deffley, Thomas	157
Doherty, Alfred	285
Dunning, Richard	124
Edge, Jonathan	303
Ellerton, Mr. Robert	228
Ellison, William	294
Fielding, Eli	293
Frith, Joseph	138, 139
Goodir, George	242
Green, Henry	177
Hadfield, Mr. Charles	196
Hague, Mr. Thomas	193
Halliday, Thomas	278
Hargreaves, Mr. Henry	304
Harris, John	192
Harrison, Mr. James	140
„ Thomas	107
Harrop, George	82
Hartley, John	191
Haworth, George	290
Hawthorn, Mr. Charles Harris	302
Hay, John	200
Haywood, George	211
Henderson, Mrs. Ellen Ellensworth	76
Hibbert, Joseph	63
„ Mr. William	188
Hindley, Mr. Edward	247
Hipwell, Frederick	85, 118
Holford, William	274
Holt, Mr. John	199
Hulme, George	45
Johnson, Peter	70
„ John Clay	223
„ Charles	249, 250
Jones, Henry	276
Kelly, Peter	194
Kershaw, James	122
Kettle, John	253
Kirk, Mr. John	127
Knowles, John	269
Little, Mr. Joseph	184
Langford, John	188
Lomas, John	241
Macdonald, Mr. Harrison	211
Mason, Charles	283
„ Benjamin	305
Maybury, Mr. John	176
McLaughlin, Michael	150
Meadows, Mr. Thomas	2
Mills, William	260
Morgan, Mark	298
Mosedale, John	235
Murray, John	159
Newton, Samuel	126
Parkes, John	233
Parrott, James	189
Platt, Peter	51
Potts, Samuel	275
Potter, Mrs. Sarah	235
Power, James	266
Rawlinson, Thomas	190
Renshaw, Mr. Charles	223
Rigby, Joseph	69, 214
„ Thomas	218
Robinson, Joseph, junior	275
„ „ senior,	276
Rogers, Mr. John	125
„ Thomas	225
Scholes, John	146
Shepley, Thomas	179
Sidebotham, James	187
Singleton, William	12
Simpson, Mr. John	48
Slater, William	22, 25, 53
Smethurst, Mr. Joseph	121, 124
„ Mr. John	200
Smith, Samuel	221
„ Mr. Charles	142
Sutcliffe, John	171
Sylvester, Captain William Charles	253
Taunton, George	238
Taylor, Mr. James	133
Taylor, Mr. James	214
Tetlow, William	128
Thompson, Mr. Jonah	286
Thorpe, James	248
Tinsley, James	244
Tould, John	84, 92
Twigg, John	228
Walker, John Middleton	194
Walwork, John	273
Warburton, John	243
Warden, Mr. John	193
Watson, Henry	132
Whitehead, Samuel	263
Wilde, Thomas	6
„ Mrs. Sarah	9
Williams, Mr. George	250
Wilson, Mr. Robert	226
Winward, John	305
Wogden, Thomas	198
Worthington, Buckley	181
Wrigley, James	220
Wyatt, Joseph	182
Wylde, Mr. William Henry	126

LONDON :
Printed by GEORGE E. EYRE and WILLIAM SPOTTISWOODE,
Printers to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty.
For Her Majesty's Stationery Office